GUIDE TO THE MD4 RWALA FILE

[The Rwala (also called the Ăl Ğiflı) are an Arab Bedouin tribe of true nomadic camel-breeders. They nomadize over a vast area ranging between 28 to 34 degrees north latitude and 36 to 42 degrees east longitude, thus cross-cutting four national boundaries - Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria (cf. 2: Musil, p. 676). Their principal grazing grounds are in the Syrian Desert along an axis running southeastward from Damascus into northwestern Arabia. During the dry months of July and August they camp in the neighborhood of Damascus; the remainder of the year they go into the interior of the desert (cf. 1: Raswan, p. 5, and 2: Musil, p. 666).

There seems to be very little information available concerning Rwala demography. In a rather casual statement, 1: Raswan (p. 4) places their total population at 35,000 - with 7,000 tents and over 300,000 camels.

According to Musil, the Rwala divide the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula into two major categories: the hazar, or those who dwell in permanent houses, and the 'arab, those who dwell in movable tents. "Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only." But not all Arabs are Bedouins. The Rwala further distinguish two categories of Arabs, the šwāja and the Bedouins. The šwāja have black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks do not permit them to nomadize in the interior of the desert; they are limited to the territory where there is an abundance of water and annual fodder plants. The Bedouins, on the other hand, are Arabs who breed camels exclusively or primarily, and who dwell in the interior of the desert (jesarrezun) for ten months of the year. Musil notes that the Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. Moreover, they are "warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses" (2: Musil, pp. 44-45).

Among the Bedouins, the Rwala belong to a large group of tribes called 'Aneze, which is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The northern 'Aneze are further subdivided into two branches, the Zana Muslim and the Zana Bisr. The Rwala are included in the Zana Muslim branch along with the Weld 'Ali, while the Zana Bisr includes the Sba'a, the Fed'an, and the 'Amarat. In Rwala ideology, all of the component groups of the 'Aneze are patrilineally descended from a common paternal ancestor, and are thus all their "paternal cousins" (beni al-'amm) (2: Musil, p. 46).

In summary, the social world of the Rwala may be conceptualized as a series of concentric social categories delineating progressively broader units of identification, starting with local groups within their own tribe and ranging outward to encompass all of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula.

The literature on the Rwala is relatively sparse, and the MD4 Rwala file presently consists of only two sources, both in English. The major source is 2: Musil, by a Czech geographer. This source approximates a general ethnography in its coverage, although there is a special emphasis on folk lore and literature. The other source is 1: Raswan, by a traveler who lived with the Bedouins for many years. Raswan's book presents a popular treatment of many aspects of Rwala culture, with particular attention to ethics and the code of honor, hospitality, migration, raids, courtship and marriage, and personality types.

It should be stressed that these are the two basic sources from which most other writers on the Rwala have derived their information.

Unfortunately, it cannot be determined with any precision how much time either Musil or Raswan spent among the Rwala, although it is very likely that their periods of field observations overlapped. Musil simply mentions "traveling and camping with them for months" (p. xiii), but he does not give any field dates. What we do know for sure is that his field work must have occurred prior to 1928, the date of publication of his monograph. Raswan, on the other hand, does note field dates, but in a rather ambiguous

manner. Thus he says he "spent three years among the Arabs" (p. 12), evidently from 1911 to 1914, and subsequently returned for various periods of time on numerous occasions during the years from 1926 to 1935. Much of this time seems to have been spent with the Rwala, but he did live among other Bedouin groups as well.

On the whole, the data in this file lack depth except on a few topics such as literature, but they do provide a fairly good general account of the basic patterns of Rwala culture and society. Moreover, this account is especially valuable for its portrayal of a fully functioning, traditional Bedouin group.

It should be noted, finally, that it may be difficult for the non-specialist to extract a systematic picture of Rwala social structure from these data, and it may be advisable to read beforehand a modern summary of Bedouin social organization such as the one presented in George A. Lipsky et al, Saudi Arabia, New Haven, HRAF Press, 1959: especially pp. 72-78.]

Processed in 1955

Revised File Guide prepared in 1972
by Robert O. Lagacé

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 721 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his own tribe, his eldest son, Nauaf, was charged with leading the Ruala against their external enemies. Nuri was the father of a large family and was in fact credited with eighty-two children, of whom thirty-seven were sons, nearly all of whom died violent deaths.

A few days after this first meeting with Nuri Sha'lan, I paid a visit to Nauaf, whose tents were pitched a day's ride away, by the rain-water pools of Rukuban, one hundred and twenty odd miles east of Damascus.

Nauaf differed greatly from his father. He lacked the old *Sheykh's* strong personality. Nor had he the talent 101 to organize for warfare a tribe so vast as the Ruala, with 162 its seven thousand tents, thirty-five thousand souls, and over three hundred thousand camels.

721 He had just mustered another small camel-troop to strengthen his forces operating against Jauf, the oasis at the southeastern end of the wide, fertile depression of the Wadi Sirhan. They had already taken a few lesser fortified outposts. But these successes had brought Nauaf little credit: neither from his own tribesmen nor from the subjugated settlers could he win the respect which would have consolidated his position. Moreover, [438] this attack on Jauf was a reversal of tribal policy. From of old the Ruala had peacefully traded with that oasis, bartering their camels, wool, cheese, and butter for dates, barley, salt, coffee, tent fittings, camel-saddles, and textiles. Suddenly, and quite against the old *Sheykh's* intentions, Nauaf conceived the scheme of monopolizing that trade for himself and occupying the oasis as a strategic stronghold from which to dominate Northern Arabia and the caravan routes to Nejd.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

Within sight of Jauf opens out the great, red-sand desert of the Nufud, which extends more than three hundred miles from east to west and nearly two hundred miles from north to south. Its northern half, called El-Labbe, forms the proper grazing ground of the Ruala. Their real home is there. The southern part is held by the Shammar Bedouins, who have made Hayil, on the southern edge of the Nufud, their trading centre.

Until after the Great War, the Shammar were ruled by Ibn Rashid, a renegade governor of the Ibn Sa'ûd family, who, with his Negro bodyguard, had rebelled against his masters and had taken Hayil. Ibn Sa'ûd, however, succeeded in recovering that dominant position, which secured him undisputed power in Central Arabia (Nejd, Kasim, and Hejaz).

The efforts Ibn Sa'ûd made to weld all the tribes into one national unit, his subjugation, in campaign after campaign, of all *Shiyukhs* (*Sheykhs*) who resisted him, are well known. Now, at the time of my first sojourn in the land of the Bedouins, this Ibn Rashid, the traitor governor, had still the greater part of Inner Arabia under his power. He became so completely sovereign that his former masters, the Ibn Sa'ûd family, had to live for decades in exile, while the "Black Princes" held sway over the towns and oases as well as the many Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. In the history of Arabia there are few bolder achievements than Ibn Sa'ûd's recovery, with a mere handful of men, of his capital, Riyadh, his subjugation of Hayil and the Shammar, until he, adding success to success, became at length the

PREFACE

101 114 The Rwala are recognized by all their neighbors as the only true Bedouin tribe of northern Arabia. Traveling and camping with them for months I had ample opportunities of studying their life. The results of these studies are given in this volume. I have found it advisable, however, to add some [115] details which I learned from my companion Blejhân eben Mesreb, who was not a Rwejli (or member of the Rwala), but hailed from the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe. Both Sba'a and Rwala belong to the 'Aneze group, the Ḳmuṣa being neighbors of the Rwala and almost identical with the latter in manners and customs.

104 In transliterating Arabic terms, phrases, sentences, ditties, and poems I have tried to reproduce exactly the words of those whom I quote — Rwala, for the most part. I have not corrected their many inconsistencies in grammar and pronunciation. All the ditties, songs, and poems were explained to me in the desert. I used no dictionary as an aid to their translation.

In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my works *The Northern Ḥeǧâz* (New York, 1926), *Arabia Deserta*, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), *Palmyrena*, and *Northern Neǧd* (New York, 1928), attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols is indicated below.

000 Closing the publication of the results of my explorations and studies since 1908 I must thank all those who have helped me morally and materially both in the East and West, among them: the Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Archbishop Dr. František Bauer, Olomouc; al-Ḥâǧǧ Dâûd eben Sulejmân eben Ṣâleḥ, Damascus; Khalil Fattal, Damascus; Dr. Otto Feilchenfeld, Prague; the Geographical Society, Vienna; Dr. Max Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Gilbert Helmer, Teplá; Dr. Joseph Ritter von Karabacek, Vienna; Jindřich Klinger, Prague; the Lackenbacher Fund of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna; the reigning Prince Johann von und zu Liechtenstein, Vienna; Dr. Melchior Mlčoch, Olomouc; Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân; Baron Louis Rothschild, Vienna; Philipp Alois Schoeller, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Method Zavoral, Prague.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *ʿarab*, or those who dwell in
●101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
829 the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase is used: "*ʿArabna raḥalow, ʿarabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *ʿarab al-žebîla* are members of the same tribe. *ʿArab ad-dîra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *ʿorbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *ʿOrbân ʿala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Ḍmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-ʿarab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn annak min al-ʿarab mâr min ajj al-ʿorbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḳarâwne*
221 (the individual is known as *ḳarwâni*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *raʿw* (or *raʿijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *raʿw* or *raʿijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *šwâja* (or *šûjân*). The
233 *šwâja* have two things black, *lehom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-dire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *razw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeṛarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'w* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'îdîn az-ṣa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The Šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called
619 ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula
614 and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Hejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳaḥaṭân and Muntifeż. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ǧlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the
602 right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark
609 as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm*," or: "The Beni Ṣaḫr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḫr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḫr aṛlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḫr aǧânib mâ* [illegible] *ǧidden wâḥed*."

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.
602 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than
827 those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs: *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḥwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *má 'alejh arrbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ*. The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥaḳḳ al-beni'am* (or *ḥaḳḳ al-beni'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-beni'ame swât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *zejr*, or fellow traveler, *ḥawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teglîḥ al-ḥači min ṛejr manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered: moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm*. 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedidet*, or *'aširt*) *ar-rwala*, *'ašire* having the same meaning as *bedide* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Feriž* is the 101 601

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor; a *fertĭ* is also wider than an *ahl*.

The *ahl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," in a technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individual only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father or son (although all three kins in this case would include many individuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descendants to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the third generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants to the third generation from each. Descent is reckened through male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collaterals that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to the same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ancestor of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provided not more than five individuals are thus counted between X and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is not separated from either X or Y by more than three generations, X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of the kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfather, whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be absolutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the following explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓeri, who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâleḥ. Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left me, that is Blejhân, Ǧî'ân, and 'Ašwân, while Baṛri's sons were Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named Nedi and Ǧlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḍijâb; Ǧlejdân had Neǧîb and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *ahl*, and nobody else. My father's *ahl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the father of Ẓeri and 'Abdallâh, but the descendants of 'Abdallâh do not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I shall not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew nothing at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (and therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he had a brother, Ma'rûf by name. But how many generations there were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anybody in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as being thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1) his father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

sounds of anger and irritation, *zebiḥ*. A *dammâm* is a large drum, to the notes of which the inhabitants of villages by the Euphrates make merry all night. 3. The Dahâmše belong to the ʿAmârât tribe. Originally they are said to have dwelt in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar. From there they were led forth by their chief, Ǧḍêʿ eben Haḍḍâl, together with the Ṣḳûr and Selḳa, and by swift marches advanced to the borders of the lower Euphrates. The kindred of Ṛannâm, *rabʿ ṛannâm*, who set out with them at the same time, returned before long to Ḥajbar, not being able to keep pace with them. The Ṛannâm were engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep, while the others bred camels. The flocks of goats and sheep cannot endure the long and swift marches which are performed by the herds of camels. The poet alludes to the feat of the Dahâmše and at the same time recalls that none of the numerous tribes encamping by the Euphrates and engaged almost exclusively in the breeding of goats and sheep could outstrip the former. All the tribes are compelled to send them gifts annually, if they do not wish to be the victims of their raids. 5. A *belḳaʾ* is a pliant sword or saber of Persian workmanship, covered with gray and dark strips and patches. ʿAzzâm was the name of the Ǧḍêʿ's sword. 6. Dâûd was a craftsman of Jewish origin, who made the best wire corselets and chain armor.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 R
539 R

Oh, woe is me! sweetheart of mine!
Alas, she was angry with me, that is why they refused her to me.

A maiden in her anger persuaded her relatives to refuse her to her lover and moved away with them beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl ridge. The expression *'azzâk* is used when lightning flashes. [132] In the desert people are often killed by lightning; therefore Allâh is asked to comfort the survivors. The parting with the girl of his heart has struck the youth like lightning.

Niğmet aṣ-ṣubḥ dannat fanâğîlaha
'okdeten bizmîri w-ana-dîraha
jâ ḥwâlen 'alla-llâh tadâbiraha.

The morning star has shot her rays
Like a knot into my bosom, where I feel it constantly.
Alas, these changes! No one but Allâh can restore my fortunes.

It is to Allâh alone that the disappointed lover looks for help. *Fanâğîl* mean not only glittering coffee cups but the pale rays of the morning star and the reflection of a beauty's white cheeks. The lover has sought his girl in marriage, but without success because her kin object, although at first they were not opposed to him.

Elja 'âd ani min šammar
waš wala'ani bruwejli
en šarraḳaw ṭâb al-kejf
w-en ṛarrabaw jâ wejli
šiḳren ḏwâjeb zahra
miṯl al-barḳ blejli.

Why did I, a descendant of the Šammar,
Become attached to a Rwala girl?
If they come to the inner desert, I am cheerful of mind,
But should they go to the settled country, then, Oh woe [is me!
Zahra with her blond tresses
Shines for me like lightning at night.

[101 221] The Šammar camp in the Nefûd and to the south of it, and seldom leave their territory. Only a few Sinğâra clans sometimes go to the settled country, *ṛarrabow*, generally to the Euphrates between al-Kûfa and as-Samâwa, to provide themselves with grain.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* *Safâjef* are variegated woven ribbons, often five to eight centimeters wide and over a meter and a half long, fastened behind the saddle and hanging down the sides of the animal's belly. 6. *Šejjâl al-ḥmûl aṭ-ṭeẓîlât* means "collecting important news with which he burdens his mind." 7. Abu Nawwâf is Prince an-Nûri. His tent is the gathering place of the needy, who carry away what his munificence gives. 10. *Ḥorr* signifies a hunting falcon of the best kind. A small star is easily hidden by a little vapor, but *shejl*, Canopus, shines even in a hazy night. 12. Aš-šejḫ Mûsa is the writer of this work. 14. Abu Zejd is the hero of the 'Antar tales. 19. *Ar-ra'ijje* are the *felláḥin* who pasture their goats and sheep on the desert border and camp in tents. The Fed'ân and 'Amârât are members of the 'Aneze group. 20. *Al-frû' al-ḥalijje* is the territory of al-Wudiján stretching down to the right bank of the middle Euphrates. Dîret aṣ-Ṣawwân is the district west of the Sirhân depression. The Ḥwêṭât camp in southern aṣ-Ṣawwân and on the Red Sea. 21. *Neda'* is experience, which makes every enterprise succeed in the same way that moisture helps the vegetation. *Mṛuwwât* are all the noble qualities which a model Bedouin should have.

[101]

'Abdallâh Answers Fejḥân's Reproaches[8]

1. *Jâ râčeb min 'endana ṣej'arijjât*
   min sâs 'ajrâten e'râben ettelâdi
2. *ḫanât ḫorren faḫḫalowh aš-šarârât*
   el-ğejš ja'na' leh ğami' al-bawâdi
3. *bitr al-fḫûḍ wrûkahen mistaǧellât*
   ḫoẓ' ar-rżâb mufattalât al-'aṣâdi
4. *šib al-ṛawâreb w-al-maḥâżeb emšîbât*
   min al-ḳofl má zejjen lehen at-twâdi
5. *beš-šadd waṭnât w-bel-maši 'aǧlât*
   ṛaff al-mesâme' w-an-nwâṣer eḥdâdi
6. *mirbâ'ahen kabšîn lel-bedw mašhât*
   limâ beda' niǧm at-twejbe' wkâdi
7. *w-en hâż min bên an-neḥîfên hejṛât*
   jer'an zahar má lâḳ bikîll wâdi
8. *ǧâ' ḥakkena behen w-hen ḥakkehen fât*
   ḳaf' al-ḫarâjem w-ad-djâr al-bâdi
9. *aṣ-ṣubeḥ min rá'i nefi mistalǧât*
   ješšen rebden mṛajjeren ma' ḥamâdi

[8] See above, pp. 181 f.

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1. O Abu Reğa', I have advice for you,
   But, remember, advice sometimes misses, sometimes reaches its aim.
2. How sweet to ford the Euphrates at Manğûr!
   And yet a strong neck only will destroy firm plans.
3. We shall go to Eben Ša'lân to find power there,
   Oh, that power in a camp from which both friendship and wars arise!
4. Our tents we shall pitch from aš-Šâma to al-Ḥerr abu Zowr
   On pastures for young camels with wide mouths and humps.
5. Such the Rwala are who, when they dig the whole spur into the flanks of their mares,
   Throw everyone from his saddle and send him to his fate.
6. The sons of 'Abdallâh with the sons of Mašhûr
   Give the cheeks of their daggers with their shining blades [blood] to drink,
7. And if the Swâlme shall come, troop after troop,
   In their right hands [weapons will flash] robbing a horse of its rider without quarter.

The poet was Sâğer ar-Rafadi; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. The chief Abu Reğa' and his clan, as-Selka, having quarreled with the head chief Eben Haddâl, prepared for war. Eben Haddâl camped at that time on the left bank of the Euphrates, Abu Reğa' on the right. When the latter tried to ford the river at Manğûr, he was warned against the unequal contest and advised to find allies first, as one of whom Eben Ša'lân was recommended. Abu Reğa' took the advice and emigrated with his people to the Rwala, then camping in the inner desert.

Verse 1. *Muḫṭi w-ṣâjeb*, missing and reaching, are expressions used in hunting and shooting at a target. 3. *Al-ḫara'* means charity, generosity, friendship. 5. Rwejlât is used instead of Rwala in both a flattering and a contemptuous sense. 6. Awlâd 'Abdallâh and Awlâd Mašhûr are members of the reigning kin. *Musabbeḥât al-ḫazâjeb* are the blades and handles of daggers variously ornamented with silver, gold, and precious stones. 7. *Hal al-belka* means the Swâlme, whose war cry is: "*Hajjâl al-belka*, the rider protecting the Belha!" as they call their camel herds. *Du'âfiğ w-da'ṭûr* are the different troops

[101]

CHAPTER XXIV

TERMS APPLIED TO PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

101 131 The Rwala tribe camps in northern Arabia between latitude 28° and 34° north and longitude 36° and 42° east. For the various topographical features of this area the tribe has strictly defined terms, of which we noted the following:

133 *'Abd*: black cone

104 *Abraḳ*: dark rock partly covered with reddish sand

'Aḏā': both dead and live bushes, grasses, excrements, clay, coarse sand, and any débris brought down by a torrent

'Aḏra: pastures defiled by the excrements of countless herds

'Ajârât or *'ejârât*: huge, flat-topped elevations

'Aḳla: a well by a channel or in a valley, which caves in after heavy rains and has to be restored

'Aḳûla: a rather small, low depression in a plain, where the rain water gathers

'Alâme (pl., *'alâmât*): landmark

'Amijja: the pear-shaped hollow of a *mokr* rain well

'Anza (dimin., *'unejza*): a long flat-topped hillock rising from a plain

'Arejž: a long arm of a sand desert

'Arǧa (pl., *'arǧât*): a turn of a valley or gully

'Arḳûb: a slope; steep rocky hillside

'Asâma: scorched tract of land without pasture or water

Aṣba'a (pl., *aṣâbe'*): "fingers," a row of low isolated cones

Baḥṣa: soil from which the rain water runs off quickly

Barârit: desolate, waterless regions; camel paths across such regions

Barbak: a small artificial rain pond

Barḥûs: movable sharp ridge of sand dunes or drifts, bare of vegetation

Barrâde (pl., *barârid*): a path trodden out by camels between stones or gravel

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Baṭḥa (pl., *baṭḥât*): a shallow river bed

Baṭn (pl., *buṭnân*): a low hillside, slope, base

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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539 x

Verse 1. ʿAwde climbs high hills to see the route taken by his sweetheart, who prowls or creeps cautiously, *taḏebb*, to the channels in order to meet him without being observed. 2. *Ḳarm* is a poetical form of address, referring here to Ṛusna's father. 4. *Neṭâjel* is the earth with which a stone-covered grave is filled. The hill of Žijâl is 46 kilometers northeast of al-Ǧowf. 5. Ṭawîl al-Felǧ (the High One With Snow) is the name given by the Rwala to the Hermon mountains, which are covered with snow most of the year. Ḥâjel lies about six hundred kilometers southeast of Hermon. Bird and Rwâf are mountains about four hundred kilometers south of the Ḥawrân. 6. Ḥâmi Raṛîf rises beyond Tiberias. *Dannû ar-raḥâjel*, bring hither the female pack camels, is the order of the tent owner when he intends to move. *Meẓâhîr* are the camels when laden with tents, utensils, and litters for the women. *Salaf* are warriors riding one or two kilometers in front of the laden camels. 7. *Enkâf* is the return from a raid without success and without booty. ʿAwde will not desist until Ṛusna becomes his wife. 8. He who tries to drink from a wooden cup, but continues talking all the time, cannot pay attention to what he is doing, so that the cup often inclines to one side and the water is spilt. Then his comrades correct him with the words: "O So and So, the cup is tilted, *al-žedaḥ mutaṣâweṛen*." Likewise one who does wrong also bends, partly because he is ashamed, partly with intent to deceive. Abu Ṯamad makes straight or rebukes such a crooked fellow, *ṣeṛ kill ʿâjel*, and thus prevents injury.

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THE WEDDING

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The wedding, as a rule, takes place immediately after the wooing. In the morning some one—even a slave—kills before the bridegroom's tent a she-camel, as a *ḏbîḥt al-ʿars*, wedding sacrifice. Neither of the betrothed needs to be present. Towards evening a small round tent, *heǧra*, is pitched by the women near by and the bridal bed made there. Among the poorer people a corner of their inhabited tent is partitioned off for the young couple. Two or three of the bridegroom's female relatives go to the bride to bring her towards sunset to the prepared tent. A little later the bridegroom also enters, after which the tent is closed altogether, *ǰeḥaǧǧeren ʿalejh heǧraten*.

PREFACE

101 114 [115] The Rwala are recognized by all their neighbors as the only true Bedouin tribe of northern Arabia. Traveling and camping with them for months I had ample opportunities of studying their life. The results of these studies are given in this volume. I have found it advisable, however, to add some details which I learned from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb, who was not a Rwejli (or member of the Rwala), but hailed from the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe. Both Sba'a and Rwala belong to the 'Aneze group, the Ḳmuṣa being neighbors of the Rwala and almost identical with the latter in manners and customs.

104 In transliterating Arabic terms, phrases, sentences, dities, and poems I have tried to reproduce exactly the words of those whom I quote — Rwala, for the most part. I have not corrected their many inconsistencies in grammar and pronunciation. All the ditties, songs, and poems were explained to me in the desert. I used no dictionary as an aid to their translation.

In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my works *The Northern Ḥeǧâz* (New York, 1926), *Arabia Deserta*, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), *Palmyrena*, and *Northern Neǧd* (New York, 1928), attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols is indicated below.

000 Closing the publication of the results of my explorations and studies since 1908 I must thank all those who have helped me morally and materially both in the East and West, among them: the Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Archbishop Dr. František Bauer, Olomouc; al-Ḥâǧǧ Dâûd eben Sulejmân eben Ṣâleḥ, Damascus; Khalil Fattal, Damascus; Dr. Otto Feilchenfeld, Prague; the Geographical Society, Vienna; Dr. Max Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Gilbert Helmer, Teplá; Dr. Joseph Ritter von Karabacek, Vienna; Jindřich Klinger, Prague; the Lackenbacher Fund of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna; the reigning Prince Johann von und zu Liechtenstein, Vienna; Dr. Melchior Mlčoch, Olomouc; Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân; Baron Louis Rothschild, Vienna; Philipp Alois Schoeller, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Method Zavoral, Prague.

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000 The editor Dr. John K. Wright has cared for my works as if they were his own. For over eight years Miss Anna Blechová, Secretary of the Oriental Seminar at Charles University, Prague, has devoted herself with rare enthusiasm to the task of preparing these volumes and maps for publication.

It should be pointed out that the printing of this series as a whole, and particularly that of the present volume, raised exceptional typographic difficulties. The work was carried out by the Státní tiskárna of Prague under the able direction of Mr. Karel Dyrynk. The typesetters were unfamiliar with both the English and Arabic languages and the transliteration of the latter involved the use of innumerable letters with diacritical marks. It is altogether extraordinary that the work has been accomplished so accurately and expeditiously.

TRANSLITERATION

104 Line (-) or bow (⌣) under the letter indicates an aspirated, a dot (.) an emphatic, and the sign (ˇ) over the letter a palatal pronunciation.

ʾ = أ	z = ز	ḳ = ق
b = ب	s = س	ž = ژ (like z in azure)
t = ت	š = ش (sh)	k = ك (like k in like)
ṯ = ث (ts)	ṣ = ص (sz)	č = ك (ch)
ǧ = ج (like g in gem, or dsh, dj, or y in yoke)	ḍ = ض (dh, dah)	l = ل
ḥ = ح	ṭ = ط	m = م
ḫ = خ	ẓ = ظ (zh)	n = ن
d = د	ʿ = ع (strong, guttural sound)	h = ه
ḏ = ذ (dz)	ġ = غ (ghr)	w = و
r = ر	f = ف	j = ى (y in yoke)

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ʿAlâme (pl., *ʿalâmât*): landmark

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Baṭn: long depression bordered on one side by a high slope
Bed': abundant or large spring
Bejâḥa: a plateau giving a wide view
Berḳa' (pl., *burḳ*): a rocky hill partly covered by sand
Bilâd 'aḏijje: the salubrious districts of an-Nefûd and al-Ḥamâd
Bilâd mâbijje: the unhealthful districts of al-Ṛûṭa, Ǧowlân, al-Mzêrîb, Ḳerajât al-Meleḥ, and al-Ǧûba
Bîr (pl., *bijâr*): a well in general; well with spring water
Bûra: a narrow, deep ditch
Burrêž: rock salt; also mica

Čeṭṭân: a rock or stone which falls to pieces, crumbles

Dabbe: a rough ridge of flat-topped hillocks
Daḥl (pl., *duḥûl*): a long, subterranean cavern where water bubbles out, doline
Daww: a vast, elongated, level plain enclosed by two mountain chains
Demlûṛ: an isolated, blunted butte in a wide plain
Ḏerwa: a sharp summit
Dîre: the Bedouins' term for a settled territory where they get their supplies and the inhabitants of which pay them tribute

'Ebb (pl., *'ebûb*): a shallow dale, gully, bay
'Edd: a perpetual spring well
'Edwe (pl., *'edwât*): low place in a *sowḥ* valley incapable of holding rain water and therefore suitable for pitching tents
Ekšâš: a mixture of large stones and gravel
'Eleb (pl., *'elebân*): an isolated table-topped hillock
'Elejm (pl., *'alâjem*): an isolated elongated hill rising from a plain
'Erf: isolated hill, visible from afar
'Ernîn (pl., *'aran* or *'arânîn*): channel of a torrent; channel in a steep hillside
'Erž (pl., *'urûḳ*): long spur of sand

Fâǧ (pl., *fiǧân*): a wide rocky hollow
Far' (pl., *frû'*): the starting-point of a gully or valley; a branch gully of a side valley
Faraǧ: a spacious area where no danger threatens the Bedouin
Farše (pl., *frûš*): a funnel-like pit in the sand

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Fazr (dimin., *fzêr*): a crevice in clay soil where the rain water accumulates; a narrow, deep channel
Feǧǧ: a hollow of some width between two hills, with a road running through it
Fejẓa (pl., *fijâẓ*): a fertile depression
Feḳâra: stony table-land
Felḳ (pl., *flûḳ*): an elongated sand dune

Ġâbija: a shallow pit in the earth into which water for camels is poured
Ġâdde (pl., *ǧwâdd* or *ǧwâd*): path trodden out by camels in the flat desert
Ġâl (pl., *ǧîlân*): the bank of a river channel; the slope of a gully or valley; a long, steep escarpment by which a plateau falls off to a lower level
Ġam': rain water
Ġaww or *ǧaw*: a basin or valley with spring wells having water enough to supply big camps
Ġeba': an open cistern
Ġebb (pl., *ǧbebe* or *ǧebâb*): a deep rain well or cistern, wider at the bottom than at the top
Ġebw: a natural hole in a rocky plain, as much as two meters deep, where rain water accumulates. Sometimes it can be covered with a big stone
Ġelad: a rocky desert
Ġelîbe: a low, flat-topped elevation
Ġemede (pl., *ǧemed*): the stony foot of a *ǧâl*
Ġer': a region covered with white or gray sand, where nothing will grow
Ġhara': a desolate plain
Ġilf: a steep, narrow, rough ridge
Ġûba (pl., *ǧûbât*): a deep valley; a basin in a plain
Ġubb: an artificial well with spring water
Ġufra (pl., *ǧfâr* or *ǧafar*): low ground in a plain, where rain water gathers
Ġurf: a crevice; steep river bank

Ḥabâra': mouse holes
Ḥabb (pl., *ḥbûb*): long, narrow strip of rocky land bordered by sand dunes
Ḥabče: narrow, elongated depression as much as three meters wide and filled with rain water

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Habije: a rain water hole
Habîr: stony hollow forming a passage between long sand dunes
Ḥabl (pl., *ḥbâl*): a narrow long sand drift
Ḫabra (pl., *ḫabâri*): a large or small depression in a plain in which the rain water gathers
Ḥabt: a basin covered with gravel and sand, where small ponds are sometimes formed by rain water which cannot run off
Ḥadaḳ: a round hole in either clayey or stony, but soft, soil into which water runs
Haḏlûl (pl., *haḏâlîl*): shallow valley without a visible channel
Ḥala': volcano
Ḫala': a region where the camels will find no sustenance in any particular year; all that lies beyond the camp
Ḥâlât: an area covered with basalt or lava, through which neither horse nor man can move except by a few very narrow paths
Ḫaliže: an artificial, subterranean hollow; a cave
Ḥalḳ al-želîb: the opening of a well
Ḫall: a path or trail through the sand
Ḥamâd: a barren, scorched-appearing plain covered with small gravel
Ḫarbaṭa: a region of rough hillocks
Ḫarîme (pl., *ḫarâjem*): a narrow gully shut in by steep hillsides
Ḫariže (pl., *ḫarâjež*): a shallow well (from which water can be drawn by hand)
Ḥasa': rocky lowland covered with a layer of clay, sand, and gravel, under which the rain water gathers
Ḫaṣa': gravel
Ḫašm (pl., *ḫšûm*): a "nose" or steep spur of a ridge
Ḫawâja: shallow, artificial, stone- and mud-walled reservoirs on a rocky surface, where rain water is caught
Ḫawṭa: a fenced-in date grove
Ḥaẓba or *ḥaẓb* (pl., *aḥẓâb*): an extensive but isolated rocky hill
Ḫazm: a rather narrow but long height sinking down into a plain steeply on the one side and gradually on the other
Hebǧe: undulating country where it is possible to hide but also to be attacked from ambush
Ḫefne: a round hole by the river bank or at the foot of a hillside, where rain water gathers; it resembles the *radir* hole, but the latter is usually found in the river bed itself

133 *Ḥejd*: the foot of a hill; a slope shutting in a plain
104 *Ḥemma* or *ḥamme*: lava
Ḥerr (pl., *ḥerara*): a river channel in clay soil, with steep banks
Ḥesw (pl., *ḥesjân*): a depression in a rocky river bed into which the rain water runs under sand and gravel
Ḥôr: a depression where the rain water forms numerous pools
Ḥšabe (pl., *ḥšabât*): a circular, natural rocky wall shutting in small level spaces called *krajje* (pl., *krajjât*)
Ḥubta: a depression in a flat rock, where rain water can accumulate

ʿIṭa: undulating plain covered in places with sand

Ḳâʿ (pl., *žiʿân*): a flat plain where the rain water forms no brooks
Ḳaʿara (pl., *ḳaʿar*): a large hollow shut in on three sides by steep slopes
Ḳaraʾ or *aḳraʾ*: a ridge
Ḳâra (pl., *ḳûr*): an isolated table mountain; a mesa
Ḳaṣʿa (pl., *ḳṣâʿ*): a shallow natural depression in a rocky surface, where the rain water remains
Ḳaṣîme (pl., *ḳaṣâjem*): isolated sand dunes in a rocky plain
Ḳasr: a large but shallow basin which becomes a pond after unusually heavy rains
Ḳaṭar (pl., *ḳṭâr*): the last spur of a mountain range
Ḳaṭṭâr: a spring the water of which does not flow actively but merely trickles drop by drop
Ḳejš: shallow holes in a channel
[202] *Ḳenna*: an isolated conical hill on top of which a beacon is lit whenever the enemy means to attack herds grazing far from the camp
Ḳîr or *ḥummar*: bitumen
Ḳrajje (pl., *krajjât*): roughly circular basin surrounded by walls of crumbling stone

Lâl: a level plain glistening in the sun
Laṣṣâfa: a hillock with mica
Luṛuf: the eroded border of a sand desert

Maḥâl: a great distance between two wells
Maḥâri: the last spurs of a range of hillocks
Maḥfûr (pl., *maḥâfir*): artificial rain pool

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Maḥîra: a small flat area flooded and thus fertilized by rain water 133 104

Marabb: low-lying ground where the rain water of a channel is absorbed

Maṣmad (pl., *maṣâmed*): an extensive but shallow crevice at the foot of a hillside, where the rain water remains. It is of greater dimensions than the *žalta*

Maṣnaʿ (pl., *maṣâneʿ*): a rocky flat area artificially changed into a large reservoir

Maṭabb: a junction of two channels

Matne: flat-topped elevation rising gradually from the surrounding plain

Maʿw: hollow on two sides bounded by sand dunes and on two merging into rocky plain

Mefâze: barren tract between two camping grounds

Meğneb: a slope shutting in a valley through which a creek runs

Meḥîr (pl., *maḥâjer*): a basin where much water is absorbed; small hole in clay soil where the rain water accumulates

Mehmehijje: waterless desert

Melaʿ: a plain covered with a thin layer of alluvium

Mellâḥa: salina

Meẓîʿ (pl., *meẓʿân*): a shallow branch channel in a valley through which the rain water runs off into the main channel

Mizʿaže: the highest conical hill near a camp, whence warning signals can be given to herdsmen and watchers on similar hills near other camps

Mšâš: a shallow well in a clay basin into which rain water slowly percolates through the soil

Muḳra or *moḳr* (pl., *mḳûr*): half natural, half artificial well, five to ten meters deep, dug in a rock, into which the rain water flows. The opening, which is usually narrow, can be covered with a stone of moderate size [312]

Munṭâr: a conical hill

Mutribe: a path through a lava field

Nabʿ: spring water

Nâzije (pl., *nawâzi*): a vast sand plain

Nâẓra: height conspicuous from afar

Nebaʾ (pl., *nebjân*): isolated dome-shaped hillock

Nedra: spur of a rock

Nedwijje: a small spring disappearing in gravel

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 *Niʿ*: a ditch around a tent for draining off the rain water
104 *Nijâṭ*: a boundless stony plain
Nukra: basin into which much rain water runs
Nuṛur (pl., *nuṛûr*): a hillock composed of white and dark strata

ʿObṭa: a deep basin

Raʿan (pl., *raʿûn*): a line of rocky hillocks
Rabḫ: the small stones which scatter under the hoofs of a galloping camel
Radha: a cavity in a stony slope, into which rain water runs
Radîfa (pl., *radâjef*): a low spot in a wide, shallow river bed where the rain water gathers
Ṛadîr (pl., *ṛudrân* or *ṛudr*): a hole in a channel with steep banks where rain water remains for a long time
Rahârîh: a wide plain glistening in the sun
Rakrûka: a plain covered with small, crumbled stones
Ṛâr: a precipice; crevice; canyon
Ṛarb (pl., *ṛurûb*): a reservoir from which water is distributed
Ṛarmûl (pl., *ṛarâmîl*): an isolated, low, narrow hill
Rasm: an artificial well left unfinished
Rašrâš (or *rašrâšijje*): a plain with rock surfaces worn flat by wind and sand, with pebbles and gravel scattered around. When a camel treads on such pebbles, the friction against the rocky surface produces a sound not unlike the word *rašraš*, which gives such plains their name
Reğde (pl., *riğdât*): a stratum of solid rock in a steep slope
Riʿ: a narrow, short defile
Rîf: a region with good pasture, good crops
Riğle (pl., *riğl*): a shallow valley, particularly one tributary to a main valley
Rîšijje or *rîše*: a shallow valley in an undulating stony plain
Riss (pl., *rsûs*): a well without water
Rowẓ (pl., *riẓân*): lower ground in a level desert, into which silt is deposited by rain water, producing a growth of perennials, sometimes even of annuals; a meadow
Ruzuma: a stone, boulder, rock

Śaʿara: a spring which merely trickles and does not flow
Sabḫa: salt marsh
Šaʿfe: an elevation not necessarily high, but prominent
Ṣafḫa (pl., *ṣfâḫ*): the base of a mountain
Šâhek (pl., *šhûḳ* or *šehžân*): the highest summit of a range

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133 *Ṭarak* (pl., *ṭrûk* or *ṭrâk*): a long, low ridge
104 *Tel'* (pl., *tlâ'*): a small gully ending in a tributary of a main valley
Tell (pl., *tlûl*): an isolated hill standing high above the surrounding country; volcano
Ṭemîle (pl., *ṭemâjel*): a small depression in a rocky river bed, into which the rain water runs under the gravel
Ṭenijje (pl., *ṭenâja*): a mountain defile; passage between two rows of tents
Ṭomijje: hillocks, slopes, and depressions formed in sand by the wind

'Ûd: a narrow valley in rocks

Wâdi (pl., *wudijân*): a long and wide main valley
Waššâš: cascade
Wizij (pl., *wuzâje*): cavities in the solid stony strata of a steep hillside
Wuṭi: ditch around a tent for draining off the rain water

Żadme: a projection from a rocky hillside
Żalta (pl., *žlât*): a crevice in a rocky slope, at least one meter deep, where rain water accumulates
Żel': an isolated, rugged mountain, usually of granite
Żelîb (pl., *ḳulbân*): a well, whether walled and deep or unwalled and wide
Zemle (pl., *zeml*): a low elevation; a rise
Zerâže: vast arid plains
Żoboṭ (pl., *żubṭân*): the clay foot of a *ǧâl*.

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Saḥl (pl., *sḥûl*): a narrow channel dammed-in by rocks, where rain water accumulates under gravel 133 104

Ṣaḥṣaḥ: a plain shut in by low but steep bluffs

Šâma (pl., *šâmât*): hills of different colors; dark undulating country covered in some places with rose-tinged sand

Ṣa'nûn: a deep well with no water

Ṣarâhîǧ or *ṣahârîǧ*: deep rock crevices with a narrow opening where the rain water remains pure for a long time

Sarḥa: a plain covered with young annuals

Šaṭne: short branch valley; a shallow channel in a plain

Ṣawwâne: tract or hill covered with flints, *ṣawwân*

Ṣedawijje: a plain covered with dark-brown gravel

Še'en: creek

Šefa': a flat top of a long ridge

Šeffa (pl., *šfâf*): the brink of a plateau sinking steeply down to a valley

Še'îb (pl., *še'ibân* or *še'bân*): a main valley or watercourse of an intermittent stream

Selîl al-ma': a wild torrent, appearing and disappearing with equal suddenness

Semâḥ: a plain covered with coarse sand, with nothing to hinder rapid movement

Ṣen' (pl., *ṣnû'*): an artificial hollow in a rocky surface, where rain water remains

Senûd: the upper parts of a valley

Šeṛje: narrow gully

Siḥl: a crevice in a stony plain, where rain water remains a long time

Sirdâb: subterranean passage

Sowḥ (pl., *sîḥân* or *sijâḥ*): a valley without a channel or with one partly filled in; shallow depression

Šrejf: a narrow mountain spur

Swâhîǧ: small paths

Šwâhîž: high, steep, impassable mountains

Ṭablât or *ṭbûl*: hollow knolls, domes, or "bubbles"

Ṭaffa (pl., *ṭfâf*): a plateau cleft by a deep valley

Ṭâǧ: the opening of a snake hole

Ṭanhaǧ (pl., *tanâheǧ*): a hillock serving as a landmark

Ṭâr: a long, high, steep escarpment

Ṭarab (pl., *ṭurbân*): a crevice in a rock or a small hole in a rocky gully, where rain water gathers

1: Raswan, Carl R. Black Tents of Arabia. New York: Creative Age Press, 1947.

Pp. xvi, 206; 14 plates.

Yale: Eeia 935 rg.

[The author, a German by birth, spent 22 years off and on among the Bedouins of Arabia. He recounts in his book his experiences in migrating, hunting, and raiding with the various tribes, the major part of the book being devoted to his life with the Rwala. There is a great deal of information on the code of honor and ethics in dealings between individuals and tribes. There is an account of a drought and the resulting emigration of the Rwala tribe to Syria in search of pasture. There is also a full account of a courtship and marriage between two of the author's Arab friends. There is illuminating material throughout the book on personality types and behavior among the Bedouins. While the bulk of the material appears in the categories of the Rwala file, several sections concerning other tribes have been categorized for the Bedouin file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1913-35
Analyst: Beverly Calsoyas

Evaluation: Traveler-3
Processed in 1955

2: Musil, Alois. The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins. New York: The American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 6, 1928.

Pp. xiv, 712; 60 illustrations; physiographic glossary; index.

Yale: Nkd72A6. 928m.

[The author, who was Professor of Oriental Studies at Charles University in Prague, spent many months traveling and camping with the Rwala. The results of his studies are given in this volume, supplemented by details learned from a companion of the Sba'a tribe. He has presented an immense amount of detailed information on the structure of Rwala society, native customs and traditions, domestic animals and animal transport, native beliefs and code of ethics, and war and peace. On most of these subjects the author has presented native ditties, songs and poems in Arabic and in translation which he heard in the desert and has tried to reproduce exactly as he heard them. In the author's notes following the literary texts there is a great deal of miscellaneous ethnographic material which has been categorized, as well as information about the poets and authors and the circumstances of composition. Throughout the volume there is much valuable information on native terminology and stylistics, the Arabic term and

2: Musil

the author's translation being given in each case. There is an especially comprehensive section on war and peace in which the author makes clear how large a part this plays in Rwala life. He has not only described all the aspects of raids and warfare between the various clans and tribes, but has also presented a number of native accounts of wars and raids in which there is considerable material on tribal relations, the recent history of the Rwala, famous warriors and chiefs, etc. Large sections, including the poems, dities, songs, narratives, anecdotes, etc. have been categorized for section 116 only. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Beverly Calsoyas

Evaluation: Social Scientist--5
Processed in 1955

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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call of adventure which led my footsteps into the wilder parts of the Near East, but just the love of horses and in particular of the splendid Arab horse. So intense was (and is) my passion for this noble animal, that I wished to meet him in his native pastures and there learn his history and the secrets of his breeding; and, if there was a secondary interest, it was to enquire into the wanderings of the Bedouin tribes. This grew more fascinating the further I proceeded, so that I came to study the geographical features of their pasture-areas and lines of migration, their historic past and ethnographical peculiarities—subjects on which I have published in various lands a series of special articles, maps, and tables.[1]

The Arabian peninsula is inconceivably vast; its area is half as great as that of the United States of America. My wanderings, naturally, stretched over only a part of Arabia, the highland plateau of the Bedouins that lies inland.

Although I touched the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf more than once, I have never yet visited such well-known places as Aden or Oman, not to mention Mecca and the Rub-el-Khali, which was crossed for the first time by two Englishmen (Bertram Thomas and St. John Philby) only a few years ago. I claim one thing, however: that during my sojourn in Arabia, I lived entirely as a Bedouin. I had never any need to deny my

[1] *American Geographical Society* (New York, 1930); *Asia* (New York, 1929); *Hippologische Sammlung*, Schickhardt und Ebner (Stuttgart, 1930); *Sportologue* (Los Angeles, 1931); *Sankt Georg* (Berlin, 1930–33); *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin, 1933); *Country Life* (London, 1934); *Sphere* (London, 1934); *Strand* London, 1935), etc., and Bulletins of the Agricultural Colleges and Animal Breeding Associations in Hungary, Poland, Russia, Japan, Argentina, Egypt, etc.

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The reason that I was allowed to live with them on the most intimate terms and was implicitly trusted by them may perhaps be explained by the simple fact that I refrained from mingling in their politics, except when invited to give my opinion in internal tribal affairs. Furthermore, I was careful to adhere to all their cherished customs and prejudices, particularly those relating to their women. These are strict, and no European can hope to gain the complete confidence of a Bedouin without studied observance of them.

Like the desert itself, the Bedouins, looked upon from the outside, have a forbidding appearance; but the closer one lives to them, the better one comes to know them and is the more astonished at their placid unconcern.

The most astounding thing, which will ever command my admiration, is the equanimity with which the Bedouin leads his family and his herds from the oases and cultivated lands into the wilderness and across desert areas, which appear to be absolutely barren. The first cloud proclaiming the advent of rain lures him irresistibly to the highlands of the Hamad and the flint desert or into the sand dunes of the Nufud. After the first rains the bold camel-plunderers also leave their tents. With their war-mares tied to their racing camels, they ride out into the blue, often covering a thousand miles, "and sit on the roads (as the holy script says) and lie in wait for booty like an Arab in the desert. . . ."

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643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

●114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

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II

Faris—"A Friend of God"

•114

AT THE OUTBREAK of the Great War—I had then already spent three years among the Arabs—I returned to the land of my birth and offered my services as a volunteer in the German Cavalry. I was, however, sent to Stamboul and served under the Turkish Crescent during the fighting at the Dardanelles. Later, I was attached to the Fourth Turkish Brigade on the Suez Canal. Here, like so many others, I fell a victim to spotted typhus; but, unlike the majority, I recovered. But my health was so undermined that I was invalided home. Apparently Fate had no wish that I should become mixed up in the desert warfare and politics of the Bedouins. I was laid low again with malaria and an abscess on the lung, the aftermath of the typhus. In the long run, the compulsory rest was beneficial. God had blessed me with an exceptionally tough constitution.

Up to now my history ran as follows: When eighteen years of age I went to North Africa; a year later I was in Arabia; then, when I was twenty-one and a half years old, the scene of my activities was in and about the Dardanelles, followed by a gruelling experience for eight months near the Suez Canal, which resulted in long periods of illness. When I celebrated my twenty-fourth birthday, I was a mere skeleton, my blood reeking with fever. Though I could scarcely stand on my legs, I expressed my willingness to serve again in Turkey, but the

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authorities did not want me there, and instead sent me to Russia, where I spent eighteen months at Prisoners' Clearing Camps. The Armistice found me in the Ukraine, with Germany in collapse and Poland in revolution. Much of all that I had hoped for was lost. Europe held no future for me, and the Near East was closed to Germans. I set out for California and arrived there with one dollar and fifty cents in my pocket, after I had sold my camera and two lenses (faithful companions in many lands) in New York, in order to raise money for the fare to Santa Anna. And here, in this land of milk and honey, of fruit and sunshine, I could look forward to a happy and healthy new life. Living on a ranch, I spent eight or more hours each day on horseback. Thus I recovered my health and my blood was renewed. By the year 1926 I was indeed a new man, and my thoughts began to wander again to Arabia. The yearning grew and grew—this yearning for my Bedouins. Was Amir Fuaz still alive? How were the Ruala doing? And old Nuri? The day came when the yearning could no longer be resisted.

Indeed, four weeks later I celebrated my reunion with Nuri Sha'lan in Damascus, where he had lived since the end of the Great War. At eighty years of age he was still head of his tribe, although he dwelt in a palace in a city and drew an ample revenue from the French. Lately he became a deputy in the Syrian Parliament. The leadership of his tribe in its desert home he had entrusted to no other than Amir Fuaz, his grandson. The latter's father, Nauaf, and two other sons of Nuri, who were

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Frontispiece

Aš-Šejḫ Mūsa ar-Rwejli

PREFACE

101 114 [115] The Rwala are recognized by all their neighbors as the only true Bedouin tribe of northern Arabia. Traveling and camping with them for months I had ample opportunities of studying their life. The results of these studies are given in this volume. I have found it advisable, however, to add some details which I learned from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb, who was not a Rwejli (or member of the Rwala), but hailed from the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe. Both Sba'a and Rwala belong to the 'Aneze group, the Ḳmuṣa being neighbors of the Rwala and almost identical with the latter in manners and customs.

104 In transliterating Arabic terms, phrases, sentences, ditties, and poems I have tried to reproduce exactly the words of those whom I quote — Rwala, for the most part. I have not corrected their many inconsistencies in grammar and pronunciation. All the ditties, songs, and poems were explained to me in the desert. I used no dictionary as an aid to their translation.

In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my works *The Northern Ḥeǧâz* (New York, 1926), *Arabia Deserta*, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), *Palmyrena*, and *Northern Neǧd* (New York, 1928), attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols is indicated below.

000 Closing the publication of the results of my explorations and studies since 1908 I must thank all those who have helped me morally and materially both in the East and West, among them: the Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Archbishop Dr. František Bauer, Olomouc; al-Ḥâǧǧ Dâûd eben Sulejmân eben Ṣâleḥ, Damascus; Khalil Fattal, Damascus; Dr. Otto Feilchenfeld, Prague; the Geographical Society, Vienna; Dr. Max Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Gilbert Helmer, Teplá; Dr. Joseph Ritter von Karabacek, Vienna; Jindřich Klinger, Prague; the Lackenbacher Fund of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna; the reigning Prince Johann von und zu Liechtenstein, Vienna; Dr. Melchior Mlčoch, Olomouc; Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân; Baron Louis Rothschild, Vienna; Philipp Alois Schoeller, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Method Zavoral, Prague.

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BLACK TENTS OF ARABIA

(*My Life Among the Bedouins*)

BY

CARL R. RASWAN

PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

CREATIVE AGE PRESS

New York 1947

p. i-iii No CONTENTS

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To
my
beloved
PARENTS
for
all their
love and patience
with me during my
years as a wandering
Ishmaelite

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Introduction

"I took care of thee in the wilderness." HOSEA xiii, 5.

IT IS MY desire in this book to deal with things of human interest rather than with scientific questions, and where possible to allow my adventures and experiences with the men and animals of the wilderness to comprise my story.

My soul is bound up in this romantic "Arabia Deserta." The great peace and calm of the Arabian wilderness holds me in thrall—that tremendous quietude, which on the last day of the creation must have brooded over the whole world. In the desert I breathe freely and the accumulated ballast of civilized life falls away, like a great burden from my shoulders. Even now I am amazed to think how little man really needs to be happy, and how carefree one is with nothing but the merest necessities of life.

My expeditions into the desert and my life among the Arabs were not prompted by scientific aspirations; the Arab horse was the lodestone. The "white patches" on the map did not attract me so much, even though I lived for the most part in quite unknown regions never, or very rarely, visited by Europeans. It was not even the

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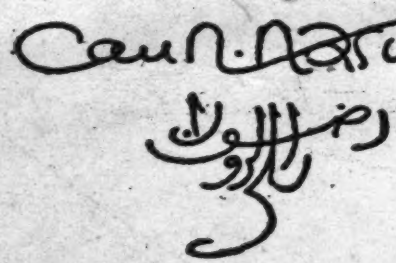
Introduction

000

In this book my object, therefore, is to tell the story of these wandering herdsmen and mounted raiders, and my experiences amongst them.



AMMAN,
TRANSJORDANIA.

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Part One

THE HEIRS OF ISHMAEL

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I

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

622 THE SETTING SUN painted in delicate tints the naked hills of the Jabal Ruak.

In the southwest, black tents and fawn-coloured camel-herds covered the close-cropped plain of Tueyf. Armed men on nimble mares galloped towards us, as I, accompanied by a few horsemen, for the first time in my life approached the woven goat-hair "houses", a camp of the Ruala Bedouins.

The mounted sentries, who had come to meet us, conducted us to the smoke-blackened tent of an old slave. It was here I was received by Amir Nuri Sha'lan, the grey-bearded prince of the tribe.

643 628 The aged Nuri had lately (it was two years before the outbreak of the Great War) exchanged, not without reason, his own comfortable tent for the mean shelter of one of his slaves. He was in hiding. He had been warned of the activity of blood-avengers, men of his own kith and kin. For in the struggle for the headship of the tribe, he had shot one of his brothers with his own hand, and his slaves had killed another. Their sons, now grown to manhood, were not only seeking to avenge the murder of their fathers, but also to wrest the position of chieftain from Nuri Sha'lan.

000 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his

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643 721 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his own tribe, his eldest son, Nauaf, was charged with leading the Ruala against their external enemies. Nuri was the father of a large family and was in fact credited with eighty-two children, of whom thirty-seven were sons, nearly all of whom died violent deaths.

A few days after this first meeting with Nuri Sha'lan, I paid a visit to Nauaf, whose tents were pitched a day's ride away, by the rain-water pools of Rukuban, one hundred and twenty odd miles east of Damascus.

Nauaf differed greatly from his father. He lacked the old *Sheykh's* strong personality. Nor had he the talent 101 to organize for warfare a tribe so vast as the Ruala, with 162 its seven thousand tents, thirty-five thousand souls, and over three hundred thousand camels.

721 He had just mustered another small camel-troop to strengthen his forces operating against Jauf, the oasis at the southeastern end of the wide, fertile depression of the Wadi Sirhan. They had already taken a few lesser fortified outposts. But these successes had brought Nauaf little credit: neither from his own tribesmen nor from the subjugated settlers could he win the respect which would have consolidated his position. Moreover, [438] this attack on Jauf was a reversal of tribal policy. From of old the Ruala had peacefully traded with that oasis, bartering their camels, wool, cheese, and butter for dates, barley, salt, coffee, tent fittings, camel-saddles, and textiles. Suddenly, and quite against the old *Sheykh's* intentions, Nauaf conceived the scheme of monopolizing that trade for himself and occupying the oasis as a strategic stronghold from which to dominate Northern Arabia and the caravan routes to Nejd.

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The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

Within sight of Jauf opens out the great, red-sand desert of the Nufud, which extends more than three hundred miles from east to west and nearly two hundred miles from north to south. Its northern half, called El-Labbe, forms the proper grazing ground of the Ruala. Their real home is there. The southern part is held by the Shammar Bedouins, who have made Hayil, on the southern edge of the Nufud, their trading centre.

Until after the Great War, the Shammar were ruled by Ibn Rashid, a renegade governor of the Ibn Sa'ûd family, who, with his Negro bodyguard, had rebelled against his masters and had taken Hayil. Ibn Sa'ûd, however, succeeded in recovering that dominant position, which secured him undisputed power in Central Arabia (Nejd, Kasim, and Hejaz).

The efforts Ibn Sa'ûd made to weld all the tribes into one national unit, his subjugation, in campaign after campaign, of all *Shiyukhs* (*Sheykhs*) who resisted him, are well known. Now, at the time of my first sojourn in the land of the Bedouins, this Ibn Rashid, the traitor governor, had still the greater part of Inner Arabia under his power. He became so completely sovereign that his former masters, the Ibn Sa'ûd family, had to live for decades in exile, while the "Black Princes" held sway over the towns and oases as well as the many Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. In the history of Arabia there are few bolder achievements than Ibn Sa'ûd's recovery, with a mere handful of men, of his capital, Riyadh, his subjugation of Hayil and the Shammar, until he, adding success to success, became at length the

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643 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day
669 accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the
619 hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins
721 and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he
868 already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

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small *khanjar* is a curved dagger, and it was with this very one Nuri had killed in single combat a minor chieftain of the Muntefiq.

One afternoon young Fuaz and a group of his little friends were practising with slings, the ancient weapon with which David slew Goliath. They shot flat pebbles with astounding accuracy at the small wooden pegs, which held the tent ropes down about thirty paces distant. Unseen by them, I suddenly stepped out from behind his tent. A stone, which had hit its target close to me, rebounded from the smooth wood and struck me on the forehead between the eyes. For a moment I was nearly stunned, more perhaps from shock than from the actual blow. My first thought was that I had been struck by a bullet.

Gasping and with a frightened face, Fuaz ran up to me. He had noticed the wound in my forehead and a few drops of blood on my fingers, which I had, in my confusion, pressed to my head. When I took the lad in my arms and laughingly lifted him up, to let him know that it was no great matter, a look of anger crossed his face, as if he had been offended. He wriggled free and stood still before me. Then he tore his *aghal* and *kaffiyah* (the veil and head-cloth) from his head, letting the six fine braids of his hair fall over his shoulders. They reached to his hips. With tears welling from defiant eyes, he cried, "*Ana dachilak!* Before the face of God I deliver myself unto you: tell me the price of your blood." It sounded not in the least regretful, nor did it suggest any wish to be forgiven. It was sheer defiance, because he thought I had made fun of his offer.

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683 How my heart went out to the wild little creature!
609 He had such an air of aloofness and arrogance. Yet it would have been impossible to be angry with him. Was not his whole way of thinking different from a European's? Quite unintentionally he had the blood of his father's guest on his conscience, and he only thought of the satisfaction due to me, before the news of this accident could travel any further. How much blood was shed—in this case only a few drops—did not matter; the only thing that mattered was the unwritten Bedouin law that secures to the stranger absolute safety and inviolability, even in the tent of the humblest nomad. The blood-price of a guest is reckoned twice as high as that of a man killed in fight—fifty camels and four mares.

683 I had to smile when I thought of the value set on a
572 few drops of my blood. But outwardly I composed my face to due solemnity and, calling the other boys and some men, who had gathered round out of curiosity, as witnesses, I said to Amir Fuaz: "This has happened according to the will of Allah. I know no other price than thy friendship."

For a moment blank amazement! He stared at me wide-eyed. Probably Amir Fuaz could not yet believe it possible that I, a stranger, should invoke the ancient custom of his forefathers. Suddenly he flung away the fateful sling and advanced to me with outstretched arms, and with childish affection he clasped them round my neck as I bent down to him. In a wave of joyous love, I pressed the youngster to my breast and kissed him on both cheeks. With his little finger he lightly

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dabbed the scratch on my forehead and rubbed four drops of blood on his own forehead between his black eyebrows—the old Bedouin "*Nur-ed-Dam*", the "Light of Blood."

In this unusual, dramatic fashion I became, by the will of Allah, the blood-brother of Amir Fuaz.

Our friendship was soon to receive baptism by fire. A band of Ruala, two hundred and sixty-eight warriors, led by Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, set out on a *ghazu* (raid) into the Hamad and the Wudian region, against the Shammar Bedouins, and I accompanied them. We rode twelve hours the first day. In camp that night we were overhauling our riding-gear, water-skins, and so forth, when to our amazement we discovered, curled up in one of the goat-hair camel saddlebags—huge receptacles made of goat skins—little Amir Fuaz, sound asleep.

Not by the slightest sound or sign had he betrayed to us during the long and hard day's ride that we were carrying a stowaway. Our leader, Rasheyd (of the Muraf Ruala), wanted the boy taken home on the morrow by a camel-rider, but Fuaz pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the old freebooter was softened. He merely sent a mounted messenger to Misha'il's camp to let her know that her son was with us.

We were gone on this great *ghazu* almost two months. When we returned, worn out, having suffered serious losses, yet victorious, Amir Fuaz took four of the booty-camels, splendid fawn-coloured beasts, into the camp, and made them kneel before the tent of his blind mother. Misha'il, still a young woman, enquired pleasantly who was the stranger seeking her hospitality. Custom for-

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bade asking direct questions of a stranger. A Rueyli called out: "Khalati—it is a great prince who comes, O blessed daughter, to honour thee."

"And where is his *dira* (pasture) that I may send Hamar, our old slave, to proclaim him to our neighbour?"

"His name is 'The Young Falcon', and his *dira* extends as far as his eyes rove. It is thy son, O mother of Amir Fuaz."

In this foray, Rasheyd, the leader, had his right hand severed by a sword cut. He fainted from loss of blood. Our slaves then plunged the mutilated arm in boiling fat—a desperate remedy but successful, for Rasheyd recovered. He carried his amputated hand from that day forward in the saddle of his racing-camel. It dried up completely, like the hand of a mummy.

When we reached Bahr Saigal, not far from Dumeyr, the first Turkish fortress in Syria, its Commandant sent a cavalry detachment to our camp. He had been informed by telegraph of our illicit operations in the vicinity of the cultivated lands of Mesopotamia. His troopers were seeking Rasheyd, who was to be made answerable. But Rasheyd could not reconcile himself to the prospect of a Turkish dungeon. He placed his withered hand in a leather bag and dictated to Nauaf's *katib* (scribe) the following letter addressed to the Commandant at Dumeyr:

"In the name of the Benevolent and Compassionate! As *askar* (soldier) I cannot serve thy *Padishah* (Sultan), for I have but a stump of an arm. As thy prisoner I could do no work for thee; nay, as a friend I could not

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even grasp thy hand. What use then being with thee? As a token of my everlasting surrender, however, I offer to thee my hand, since thou art wont to cut off the hand of a thief. Be sure it is my own hand—the hand of Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, the robber. May God be forbearing with us."

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II

Faris—"A Friend of God"

114 AT THE OUTBREAK of the Great War—I had then already spent three years among the Arabs—I returned to the land of my birth and offered my services as a volunteer in the German Cavalry. I was, however, sent to Stamboul and served under the Turkish Crescent during the fighting at the Dardanelles. Later, I was attached to the Fourth Turkish Brigade on the Suez Canal. Here, like so many others, I fell a victim to spotted typhus; but, unlike the majority, I recovered. But my health was so undermined that I was invalided home. Apparently Fate had no wish that I should become mixed up in the desert warfare and politics of the Bedouins. I was laid low again with malaria and an abscess on the lung, the aftermath of the typhus. In the long run, the compulsory rest was beneficial. God had blessed me with an exceptionally tough constitution.

Up to now my history ran as follows: When eighteen years of age I went to North Africa; a year later I was in Arabia; then, when I was twenty-one and a half years old, the scene of my activities was in and about the Dardanelles, followed by a gruelling experience for eight months near the Suez Canal, which resulted in long periods of illness. When I celebrated my twenty-fourth birthday, I was a mere skeleton, my blood reeking with fever. Though I could scarcely stand on my legs, I expressed my willingness to serve again in Turkey, but the

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authorities did not want me there, and instead sent me 114
to Russia, where I spent eighteen months at Prisoners' Clearing Camps. The Armistice found me in the Ukraine, with Germany in collapse and Poland in revolution. Much of all that I had hoped for was lost. Europe held no future for me, and the Near East was closed to Germans. I set out for California and arrived there with one dollar and fifty cents in my pocket, after I had sold my camera and two lenses (faithful companions in many lands) in New York, in order to raise money for the fare to Santa Anna. And here, in this land of milk and honey, of fruit and sunshine, I could look forward to a happy and healthy new life. Living on a ranch, I spent eight or more hours each day on horseback. Thus I recovered my health and my blood was renewed. By the year 1926 I was indeed a new man, and my thoughts began to wander again to Arabia. The yearning grew and grew—this yearning for my Bedouins. Was Amir Fuaz still alive? How were the Ruala doing? And old Nuri? The day came when the yearning could no longer be resisted.

Indeed, four weeks later I celebrated my reunion with 643
Nuri Sha'lan in Damascus, where he had lived since the end of the Great War. At eighty years of age he was still head of his tribe, although he dwelt in a palace in a city and drew an ample revenue from the French. Lately he became a deputy in the Syrian Parliament. The leadership of his tribe in its desert home he had entrusted to no other than Amir Fuaz, his grandson. The latter's father, Nauaf, and two other sons of Nuri, who were

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still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

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nay deadly, enemies for centuries. But the family of 619
Faris had, because of a blood-feud, been living with the 628
Ruala for the past sixteen years. This accounted for the
fact that a Shammar could act as my protector in the territory of his tribe's deadly enemies; but the choice also displayed Nuri's wisdom. Being a Shammar, Faris could safeguard me with the enemies of the Ruala, while as Nuri's confidant, he could answer for me before every Rueyli.

Faris was an exceptional man. From the moment of 157
our first meeting, when Nuri introduced him to me, I felt that this must be more than a mere chance acquaintance. The softness of his voice, as he wished me "Peace", and the grip of his strong, manly hand in an instant disclosed to me the open and pure soul of the young Bedouin. Under his hair-cloth cloak beat a heart so affectionate, yet so stout, that I must confess I have never encountered its like among the children of men. To his last breath he was the truest friend I have ever known. Faris was also one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His noble, oval face was unforgettable, with its gentle, dark eyes. His wonderful hair and beard, his flowing shepherd's cloak, made him a striking figure. Tender and gentle as he was, Faris was yet among the boldest and bravest of Ishmaelites. Perhaps he was living two thousand years too late.

After we had left the old suburbs of Damascus be- 487
hind us, our way led through walnut, olive and apricot orchards into the great open spaces. Majestically the snow-capped peaks of the Syrian mountains rose into

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487 the brilliant blue of the skies. Bumpy, dried mud-paths ran through the bare fields and thin, grey meadows. Then came rolling plains, across which ran a puzzling confusion of paths. On the edge of the steppe stood a [486] Syrian Customs station, where our passports were examined. At last we could leave the overland route; and now, without paths or signposts to guide us, we were in the uncharted desert. Our automobile raced over the hard, dry, pebble-strewn soil, ever eastward, along a never-ending, narrow tongue of land that seemed to dip deeper and deeper into a boundless, shimmering sea. A cloudless sky rose above us and on either side were misty gleams of water over which the air quivered. Suddenly, like apparitions out of the haze, appeared some Arab [492] sheep-breeders. They had but few camels and horses with them, but they rode on asses—a sign of their decadence. They were Fus're. We noticed them as we bore away towards a sheet of water glistening in an elongated depression of the desert.

133 Mirages were frequent and often incredibly deceptive. Only with difficulty was it possible to distinguish the real rain pools, which were only a foot or so deep with their surfaces ruffled by the wind, from the phantom pools, whose surfaces would be smooth and glassy. Suddenly we noticed ahead of us numerous flocks of sheep. Almost breast-deep they were crossing the flooded land. Automatically I reduced speed, for I suddenly saw, not a hundred yards ahead, a gleam of water—a shallow lake—and we were driving straight into it. I twisted the steering-wheel round, and then only did I realize that what we saw was a dry trough filled with

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hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the 133
rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared, not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shep- 609
herds rode over to us with their women and children, 221
scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home-
pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had [578]
disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian up- 133
lands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, 136
with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

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133 We also came across a huge owl, which sat blinking and
136 bewildered by the daylight, and we brought our car to a standstill close beside it.

Unexpectedly, just before sunset, we had a shower of rain which greatly refreshed the dusty desert. The greater part of the night we passed stretched out on the bare sands in the shelter of a dry river-bed.

221 On the evening of the following day, after driving like mad, with a sand-storm on our heels, we came up with the Ruala. The great tribe was migrating northward in a body, its encampment sprawling beyond the range of vision, its vast herds spread out in all directions. A shallow depression held one cluster of some eighty tents of all sizes, their open fronts facing to leeward; and among them stood out the most spacious pavilion in Arabia, the famous tent of Nuri Sha'lan.

We drew up there, and my first question was for Amir Fuaz; but the young leader of the Ruala was not at home; he was on a visit to a clan, camping some distance from the main body.

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III

The Lone Shepherdess

FARIS AND I set out next morning on horseback; for the headman of the camp had lent us two mares. With the rustle like that of silk, the delicate stems of wild lavender and camomile broke under the hoofs of the horses. We rode all day. All around us, over low, rain-swept hills and wide levels, stretched the steppe. Not a sign of man; no Bedouins on trek, no herdsmen grazing their beasts; only the wonder of the virgin desert.

Westward the setting sun beamed on us from between thunder-clouds. The darkening East quivered with sheet lightning; distant thunder muttered; and some grey rags of cloud drove before the evening wind as night fell.

As we drew rein on a hill-top, there came from above a sound as of the beat of giant wings. It was the warm wind, driving before it a spring shower. Sadha, my mare, cocked her ears inquisitively. Restlessly she danced and pawed the ground, bent her head and whinnied softly. Then she shook her thick mane, whipped her tail against her thin flanks and thrust her head up. Her senses, keen as a hound's, had made a discovery.

On lightly stepping feet she trotted forward, ears pricked, nostrils wide, making for a small fire that suddenly became visible to us between the mingled shadows of the sky and earth. A fresh scurry of rain obliterated

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000 it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. 516 From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

233 A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive 609 tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

[342]

142 She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

000 In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

In accordance with the numerical system of the

The Lone Shepherdess

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desert, she set before us a bowl of fresh ewe's milk and, turning to me first, said: "Swear to thy sister that no harm will come to her." She gazed at me with large trustful eyes. Her white teeth flashed, and small dimples danced in her cheeks. Taking a dried twig from the brushwood pile by the fire, she held it out to me and said: "Take this in thy hand and swear by the life of the Lord, the giver of all life."

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I quickly did her bidding and solemnly pledged the sanctity of her hospitality in the oath no child of the desert would break—an ancient Ishmaelite formula:

"In the name of God: as He took the life from this piece of dead wood, thus may the Lord take life from me if I do not honour and protect thy soul and thy body, O my sister!"

After Faris, too, had taken this oath, she was encouraged to offer us the freedom of her "house" and spread before us all her store of food—bread, fresh milk, a little butter, and dried dates. While Faris and I were supping, she dragged up to the tent a lamb, bleating pitifully and struggling to get free. When I leaned down to hold the animal fast, the girl drew my dagger from my belt and cried: "Kill me this victim, so that I may cook it for thee."

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I took the curved blade from her hand and set the frightened lamb free to skip back to the flock. But the maiden looked at me reproachfully.

"All that is needful for sustaining life," I said to her, "thou hast already given to the strangers. Allah is witness, we could not consume a whole lamb. Nor, indeed, can I see any vessel in which its meat could be cooked."

[A Bedouin Shepherdess — Analyst]

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609 "But here," she said, "is a spit; on it I could roast the kidneys and loin pieces."

Fortunately the girl stood in such horror of killing the animal herself that Faris and I found it easy to convince her that the sacrifice was needless. All she feared was the reproach of her father for not according us Bedouin hospitality in full measure.

Without more words she sat down before the tent and made herself a small fire, that lit up her figure as she bent over it. The flickering light played over her comely face glistening with raindrops. She made a lovely picture of wild, unspoiled beauty and health.

When it became clear to us that the young shepherdess meant to pass the night unsheltered in the open and the rain, I urged her repeatedly not to be afraid and to share the tent with us. I even threatened that if she would not, Faris and I would ride on. But she did not take my threat seriously: she laughed and replied lightly that she could go to her father's tent and come back in the morning.

"Who is thy father?" Faris broke in.

"I am Tuēma, daughter of Sha'il ibn Surhan: and we pitch our tent with the *ashira* (clan) of the Freyje."

000 "Tuēma," said Faris coaxingly, "it is far to thy father's place and it is night. Do thou trust us and repose thyself here at our feet."

"Truly, I am not afraid," the girl said at last; "stay with me and do not ride on." She rose as she spoke, flung a handful of faggots on the fire, and waited for the flames to leap up. Then she straightened her magnificent young body to its full height and, slipping the cloak

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from her shoulders, came into the tent. She stood facing us while she undid her wet neckcloth, both her tapering arms with their delicate wrists stretched high above her head, seemingly quite at ease; only her dark eyes regarded us somewhat shyly. ooo

I had stretched myself out in the shelter of the tent-cloth. Close behind me the crippled mother-ewe and her lamb had bedded down; they had found a warm spot against my shoulder and my fur-lined cloak.

Faris, who had been lying at my side, jumped up when the girl entered and helped her to spread her wet shepherd's cloak over a tilted tent-pole. When she had made up a "bed" for herself and was lying down, Faris spread his own shepherd's cloak over her. The girl protested; but he pointed to his *fərwə* (fur caftan) and warm bedding of sheepskins and she let him have his way, casting a friendly glance at him. Both Faris and I were concerned not to disturb Tuĕma's trust in us by word or deed.

The rain cleared and the silent moon rose. Its tender light shone on the gentle slopes of distant hills, while a warm wind fanned the steppe, drying grasses and flowers, the shivering sheep and our wet tent-wall.

Tuĕma and Faris were sound asleep, as I could tell from their rhythmic breathing. I lay musing between waking and sleeping.

Suddenly the dogs started to bark furiously. In a trice Faris was up, had drawn his pistol from its holster and had rushed out. But even before he could pass beyond the shadow of the tent, Tuĕma had reached him and had flung her arms round his body. "Thou wilt scare the

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flock," she cried warningly; "do not shoot. It is only some small wolves; my dogs will chase them away. . . . Sushan! Kasabi!" she shouted, as she urged on the dogs.

Faris lowered his pistol. Tuëma took it out of his hand and replaced it in his belt; but she did not release him. Timidly she pressed herself against him, her arms about his hips. Her garments fluttered faintly, stirred by the warm dry breeze. The steppe exhaled its perfume. The air was saturated with a scent like that of lavender. Dawn had come, revealing the woolly backs of the huddled sheep, now quiet again. From far away, growing fainter and fainter, came the barking of the dogs, still chasing the wolves. Close by, our tethered horses snorted.

Faris gently disengaged himself from Tuëma's arms and, taking her by the hand, led her to the tent, where they sat down side by side. As he leant towards her and kissed her on the top of the head, Tuëma drew the curved poniard from his belt and put it in her lap.

"Let this dagger rest in my lap," said she. It was thus she reminded him of her virginity. Among Bedouins of pure race, a girl's chastity has been, and still is, the most sacred rubric in the tribal code of honour. For its violation a father may kill his daughter, a brother his sister, and have her flesh cut in pieces.

The sun broke through the veils of the morning, shooting flaming fingers across the heavens, and the dark earth glowed rosily. "Sabah!" whispered Faris to his beloved. *Sabah* means the morning, but it is also a poetic word for "virgin bride." Tuëma leaned her cheek to his.

So they sat, motionless, without a word. Then Tuëma

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rose silently and strode toward her flock, but stopped suddenly and stood still. Entranced, Faris's eyes drank in the beauty of her figure, clearly outlined beneath the folds of her thin garments, glorified by the rays of the morning sun. But when he started to follow, she gave a laugh and drawing her cloak about her shoulders, ran off swiftly to the depression where her sheep were grazing and her dogs played, rolling over each other in the luxuriant herbage.

The radiance of a flawless morning was over the wilderness. In the crystal-clear air the eye could sweep far horizons across an immense succession of tawny hills and green glades. A few fleecy clouds sailed in the blue heavens. A lark rose, jubilant, soaring higher and higher in an ecstasy of melody. And over the steppe, like a caress, still moved the gentle, warm wind.

Such was the morning on which love awakened in Faris's heart.

Breakfast; and then Faris and I must resume our ride. Tuĕma rekindled the fire on the hearth, stirred some flour into cold water, shaped the dough into small thin loaves, and baked them on the glowing ashes. During the meal she dipped dates into butter, rolled each into a piece of the still warm bread, and fed these morsels alternately into Faris's mouth and mine.

"Wilt thou ever return?" Tuĕma asked her new-found lover.

"All is known to the Lord," replied Faris wistfully.

"And wilt thou think of me?"

"And thou?"

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600 For answer she took him by the hand and led him to our horses. When Faris had swung himself on to the back of his mare, she hid her face against his thigh and began to weep. Leaning down, he gently raised her head by the chin and looked deep into her eyes. As her lifted face yearned towards him, their lips met for the first time. Her long eyelashes swept his cheek.

And Faris told me later:

"I felt her shining teeth when my lips left her lips; it was like the taste of milk."

"Stay!" Tuĕma cried after us.

"God be my witness," Faris called back, "that henceforward thy love will be the inseparable companion of my heart."

"Peace be with thee, O Faris."

As often as we looked back, we could see Tuĕma standing motionless by her flock, gazing after us. On the last hillock Faris unwound his *kaffiyah* (head-cloth) and waved it to the dwindling figure of the girl. She fluttered her shepherd's cloak in answer.

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IV

I Meet My Blood Brother Again

PEACE AND HAPPINESS smiled on the world. Here and there a rain pool still shone in a hollow; wind and sun had already dried the hill-crests. A whirlwind rose ahead of us: it swept the ground like a broom; uprooted, snapped, and scattered small plants and flowers, and left behind it a narrow zigzag track, like that of a monstrous snake. We were coated with a dust of fine sand and pollen. Crickets chirped in the herbage. Bustards and pintail grouse were busily hunting for woolly red caterpillars. Suddenly and quite unexpectedly, on topping a rise, we caught sight of black tents at the foot of the opposite slope. Very soon now I should see Amir Fuaz again.

The tent of ceremony in which, long exciting years before, I had enjoyed Nauaf's hospitality and had come to know his small son, was pitched far from the place on which it stood then. Yet everything seemed the same. I felt myself spirited back to that time and place. There were the same far-scattered lines of low black tents, open in front; the same camel-herds stringing out into the endless desert under the brilliant sun. The cushioned camel-saddle in the guest-tent against which I reclined, the very fire on the hearth where the coffee-water was

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steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent. From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamin we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings. With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.

The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

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I Meet My Blood Brother Again

All eyes were on the coffee-cook, who raked together 574
the smouldering embers on the hearth and added new 609
dried camel dung. On the silence soon fell the sound of [272]
boiling water bubbling in the capacious long-spouted pot.

The Amir's body-servant, Mnahi—the same who had spread the rug of greeting—took a stick of incense from a fold of his head-cloth, broke off a piece and placed it on a glowing dung-ember. Through the black roof-cloth filtered faintly the sunshine and wove a pattern of lights and shadows on the ground. Courtiers, warriors, and slaves formed a solemn, silent semicircle. Facing these squatting figures, Mnahi alone was on his feet; he had taken his post on his master's left and stood there, erect and motionless, one sinewy black fist on the silver hilt of his sword.

I stole surreptitious glances at my host. His *kaffiyah* framed an effeminate type of face, oval, with regular features and a high-bred, slightly aquiline nose. The dark eyes, brilliant and very large, were set beneath wide thick brows and a rather narrow forehead. When he smiled, dazzling white teeth showed under the small black moustache. The more I looked at this romantic young man, the more I recognized in him that spirited little blood-brother of mine in the long ago. It required an effort of will to restrain my impatience and not to declare myself forthwith; but I had to await the fitting moment. So far, no one had uttered a word. All seemed to be interested exclusively in the cook, still puttering about his hearth. In desert etiquette it is a gross breach [576]
of courtesy to ply a guest with questions about himself.

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574 609 At length, however, Fuaz gave me the longed-for opening; he turned to me suddenly and said: "Whencesoever thou comest, O stranger, be thou welcome here!"

572 "O Amir Fuaz," I replied, "stranger I can hardly be called among thy people. For once upon a time, in this very tent, I knew a boy, then little taller than the sword under thy slave's hand. And it came to pass one afternoon, when that boy and his playmates were shooting with the sling, that I, by the will of God, chanced to walk near; and a pebble flung by that child's hand struck me squarely between the eyes. Now, one might have said that Allah had marked my forehead with the *Nur-ed-Dam* (Seal of Blood). Therefore demanded I a great price for my blood."

Fuaz, who had listened with head inclined and lowered eyes, as if pondering, now raised them impetuously. For a moment he stared at me as in a trance. Then his face lit up; with a shout of joy he leapt to his feet, seized me by the shoulders, and strained me to his breast. "Aziz," he cried, using the Arab name bestowed on me by his tribe in the days of his childhood, "Aziz, thou art returned! *El-hamdu l'illah!*"

Again and again he kissed me on the cheeks and embraced me. "Now," he said, "do I understand the words I learned from my *mu'allim* (teacher): thou who followest with thy eye the flight of a bird or the course of the pebble flung from thy hand, what knowest thou of God's purposes?"

000 Yes, I had returned!

Once more I was with my Bedouins, to migrate again with their herds, to lie under their humped tent-roofs,

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to cover league after league perched on a racing-camel 000
under the sun and the stars, to gallop astride one of their blue-blooded mares, those "Drinkers of the Wind", with slim greyhounds racing on the flanks of our cavalcade.

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Amir Nuri Sha'lan, Supreme Chief of the Rwala

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1: Raawan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

V

Love in the Desert

000 IT WAS A SEASON of great fertility here in the south by the Wadi Sirhan. Thunder showers and rain al over the land. The face of the earth had become one great pasture. The swelling udders of the she-camels oozed milk. Their calves were legion—comical, clumsy, long-legged creatures. A medley of sounds filled the air—mingled with the creaking and groaning of camel litters on the dromedaries' backs, from under the awnings of which appeared happy-faced mothers, fondling their young babies. This was the springtime of the year, when [844] nature was pulsating with life. Women were being delivered of their children in their tents and some even in the shade, amongst the animals, which were also big with young. In the low bushes and camel-grass could be heard the cheeping and chirping of desert chicks and fledgling bustards. The withered old desert had miraculously renewed herself and had become beautiful again with the bloom of youth.

The gentle caresses of the rain and the sun had coaxed out myriads of blossoms. A diaphanous haze, silver and green, suffused hill and dale. Deeper and richer glowed the green of the flower-strewn meads in the wide depressions. Scent-laden, the soft spring wind blew gently over the gracious land. The eyes of the herdsmen were bright with gratitude; yet, morning after morning, the women would pull the tent-posts from under the

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Dahiya, a Friend of Tuhna

Mawia, a Friend of Tuhna

Attala, the Mother of Faris

Tuhna

opposite page 33

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buckled roofs, roll up the unwieldy goat-hair tents and load them on the sturdy camels.

Of that time, when the sun was moving northward and the tribe was moving with it—a time when Faris went to see his betrothed nearly every day—one memory stands out in high relief.

"Let us go hunting," Faris said to me one morning, and bade Mnahi hand him the automatic hunting-rifle which I had given him as a keepsake. We went to our horses, which stood patiently between the lines, loosed their halters, and vaulted on to their backs. Then we cantered out into the plain.

As we swept across a hill-top, we saw, a long way off, a good-sized herd of gazelles in full career and heading straight toward us. From time to time the animals disappeared from sight in a hollow, but as they came nearer, we saw that they were in flight from a Bedouin, pursuing them on a swift sorrel mare. He was plainly seeking to cut out a pure white buck, the leader of the herd. Again and again the buck found safety by pushing into the midst of his racing mates; but the sorrel was nimble of foot and well-trained, and her rider skilful. The herd repeatedly broke and scattered; and the pursuer steadily gained on his prey. At last he fired at close range and the gazelle-buck tumbled over and over and lay still.

When we had come closer to the hunter, who was already dressing his game, we noticed with amazement that it was no man at all. "By my faith, it is a maiden," cried Faris. We urged on our horses, and I was the first to come up with the huntress. She had risen, the blood-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 stained knife in one hand; with the other she pulled her neckerchief up to her eyes, to hide her features. But I had already recognized her. "Tuēma!" I called out delightedly. For a moment she showed only her laughing eyes; then she let the neckcloth drop from her face and held out both hands to me. I drew her to me and kissed her on the forehead.

Faris, still in the saddle, pretended to be greatly astonished. "Aziz," he exclaimed, with perfect dissimulation, "dost thou know this maiden?"

Taking up his jest, I shook my head. "No; but she looks very much like one I know."

But love's impatience cut short the little comedy. Faris slipped from his horse and embraced Tuēma, babbling his delight at meeting her so unexpectedly. Then he took one of her hands and laid it in mine, saying: "This is thy sister, O Aziz; and if she were not my betrothed, she might well be thine. Is it not so, Tuēma?' She nodded bashfully.

[583 231] When Faris helped her to tie the buck on her mare's crupper, I noticed with surprise that the animal did not shy at the smell of blood. Faris had trained it, Tuēma explained. He had taken the mare on a raid and had only recently sent her to Tuēma's father as a bride-gift. She was a *muhajjala* and he had named her Sabah on account of her colour—a sorrel with a white blaze and white stockings on the forelegs. The beautiful beast whinnied softly and rubbed her forehead on Tuēma's shoulder. "She is coaxing you," said Faris.

With a few vigorous and dexterous strokes of her hunting-knife Tuēma severed head and neck from the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

buck's carcass and handed me the bloody trophy. Then she picked up her carbine and, like a boy, vaulted on the back of her horse with a single swing over its flank and a twist of her body. She gave us a roguish parting look and rode off.

Faris gripped me hard by the shoulder. "She is as shy as a gazelle fawn," he exclaimed ecstatically. "And can there be another maid as beautiful as she?"

The following day Faris fetched me to go on a visit to Tuĕma's household. After we had exchanged compliments with her father, Surhan, we went to the women's quarters. Tuĕma was there alone; the other inmates of the harem had gone out.

Faris put his arms about his beloved. "My wild he-ostrich," she greeted him, nestling her head on his shoulder. "My little ostrich-hen," he replied.

Tuĕma presently handed her lover one of the Bedouin bread-loaves, which was twisted together in the manner of a dumpling. It contained a small sugary cake of Tuĕma's own making, the traditional offering of an espoused Bedouin maiden to her husband-to-be. Faris broke it into three pieces, sharing it with the girl and me. He thanked her gravely and then, stroking her hair, he said: "In exchange for this I shall gather for thee a bouquet that shall not wither, and I shall bring thee also a pair of silver ankle-rings."

Tuĕma laughed and held out her hand. "No bigger than the tip of my little finger are the flowers of our wilds, and thou dost promise to pick a bouquet for me? And where wouldst thou find silver bangles where there is no silversmith?"

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584 "In truth, loveliest maid, O my mistress, I shall pick for thee a bunch of rare flowers wherewith to adorn thyself for our festive hours in the hills," he insisted.

Still incredulous, she mocked at him, gaily rumpling his head till she had pulled off his *agbal* and *kaffiyah*.

"Oh, how untidy thou art!" she exclaimed.

302 Six dishevelled tresses had tumbled over his shoulders. She drew him closer and put his head in her lap. Then she set about rebraiding in proper fashion his Ishmaelite locks. From the flap of her head-cloth she took a handful of dried gazelle dung; small blackish-green capers. They spread an odour of thyme and camomile as she crumbled the pellets between her palms and rubbed the stuff, like a scent-powder, into the long strands of hair. Faris kept as still as a mouse, without a word.

000 At last she had completed her task. Faris replaced his head-dress; then he declared: "Now it is the turn of Aziz!"

Whether I would or no, I too must put my head in Tuĕma's lap and let her, with Faris's assistance, plait my mop into little pigtails and powder them with her exotic perfume. What a sight I must have looked! I always regret that I did not have my photograph taken then. At all events, Faris and Tuĕma grew so merry over their handiwork that people from the neighboring tents came running up and burst out laughing at "Aziz Radhwan."

As Faris and I were leisurely riding homeward that night, we heard distant hoof-beats behind us. The sound rapidly grew, and there came a rush of riders—twelve or more Bedouins on swift steeds. In the moonlight I saw their long locks and head-cloths fluttering, their shep-

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herd's cloaks flapping in the air. They noticed us and came straight towards us. As they galloped past, they brandished their carbines and boisterously called out our names. We urged on our horses and sped after them to the tent of the chieftain. ooo

VI

The Commander of Our Camel-Saddles

721 [202] WHEN WE DREW rein, slaves were already lighting a huge signal-fire to call together the warriors of the tribe. A strong raiding-party of the Bishri (the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Saba, and Amarat) was reported to be advancing. It was said to number five hundred camel-riders, with some hundreds of war-mares. Perhaps the numbers were exaggerated.

That night Amir Fuaz made all his dispositions. Before the first grey of dawn Faris was at my bedside. "Awake, if thou wouldst ride with us," I heard him say, with a laugh. I jumped up and hastened to make ready for the march. Faris handed me a filled water-skin, a lump of pressed dates, several balls of hard Bedouin cheese, the size of a fist, and a stack of fresh-baked [492] bread-cakes. With the help of Mnahi, who was to be my rider-attendant, I stowed everything in the saddlebags of my *dhalul* (racing-camel), saddled Sadha, my white war-mare, and tied her by her halter to the dromedary's cinch.

Amir Fuaz had appointed Faris leader of our camel corps.

726 It was still dark when we started. The moon had set. The night was calm and the voices of the riders chanting as they rode made no echo, but moved over the desert

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like a wave of sound—eerie, magic, beautiful. In the darkness loomed the indistinct figures of the camels; now and then only was heard the faint padding of soft soles, or the creak of a saddle. Thus, like riders from another world, we made our noiseless way among the hills, till dawn broke over them and at last the sun rose. 726

Slender, silver chains, braided girths, and coloured halters, embroidered with blue and red beads, adorned the necks and flanks of our camels. At their sides cantered the riderless mares, necks gently arched, supple backs taut, tails high—held only by the gay-coloured top-piece of the woollen headgear; for the Bedouins of Arabia, in contrast to the African, use neither bit nor bridle. The thin saddle-cloths were made of panther or gazelle skins, secured by a narrow leather girth. [492]

Like wildcats, with glittering eyes and taut muscles, the companion-riders crouched behind their comrades on the high humps of the camels, carbines at the ready. From their shoulders floated the ends of their *kaffiyahs*, which they wore wound about head and neck. [291]

In the early afternoon, Faris, riding at our head in the midst of his black bodyguard, gave the signal to change mounts; he had seen a dust cloud which, it appeared, was caused by two automobiles now approaching rapidly.

In the twinkling of an eye, sixty-seven fierce fellows had flung themselves, rifle in hand, from their trotting dromedaries to the backs of their mares and had unslipped the lines from the camel-girths. Then they dug their bare heels into their horses' flanks, and leaving the camel-troop behind, forged ahead and were lost in a

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726 cloud of dust. Only their wild yells, the neighing of their horses, and the drumming of the hoofs were audible. The mad rush of the horsemen had made Sadha, my mare, restive; she pulled at her line and gave me to understand that she wanted to be in it too. I grabbed my Mauser and vaulted from the high saddle of my *dhalul* to her back. With a whinny she responded to the pressure of my thighs and careened after the others, extending herself like a gazelle when I, with my face almost touching her mane, called her by name. Closer and closer to the band thundering ahead she carried me, and soon I had overtaken the rearmost and was coming up with Faris and his escort.

[715] The automobiles now appeared on a ridge and we recognized them at once as battle-cars of the Ruala. We all stopped and waited for their coming. It turned out that they carried Amir Fuaz himself, accompanied by Mijhem and several other men. They had captured in the neighborhood of their camp a scout of the Beni Sakhr. This man had refused to answer questions, and the Amir had forbidden his men to force information from him by torture; yet from the appearance of the spy in that locality, the young chieftain thought it reasonable to infer that the tribe of the Beni Sakhr had also taken arms against the Ruala, who were threatened from the other side as well by the Bishri. He therefore divided our force: two thirds, now under the command of Mijhem, were to remain facing the Bishri; the other third, under Faris, was to swing southeast against the Beni Sakhr.

000 Naturally, I attached myself to Faris's command. Be-

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fore we parted from the others, I purchased a magnificent racing-camel six years old, which its owner, a Rueyli, had looted from the Sharrarat; a fawn she-*dhalul* with a lion's head and great gazelle eyes. I had fallen in love with this fine animal at first sight. She was the pride of her captor and she cost me more than I had ever dreamed of paying for a racing-camel—sixty-five pounds sterling—but she was worth the money. 060

What was most beautiful in her and what charmed me most were the long, ideal line of the back and the high-swung belly-line from the breastbone to the hind thighs. This racing build gave her ample freedom for paces which were a sheer delight—even and soft, easy and long-striding. She was very speedy and indefatigable in either trot or gallop, as I proved the very day I bought her. It was pure joy to be privileged to ride this thoroughbred animal; I had not been deceived in her.

She was small, but had extraordinary endurance, though she was often overtaxed. Despite her size and light build and fine bones, she was a great load-carrier. In vigour she was equal to the very biggest and strongest racing-camels. Without losing a scrap of her elegance and good looks, this noble animal carried me for weary weeks on the long ride into the Nufud and back. Her satin skin never lost its lustre. Even her sweet breath was more pleasing than that of any other of the many racing-camels I have known. Her hips, neck and legs were slim; her hump small, but firm; her voice soft and tender, a low gurgling or sobbing. But as a rule she would converse with me by means of her speaking eyes or a gentle push with her nose against my shoulder or

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000 thigh. She loved to rub herself against me and to play with me; and at night, chewing her cud, she would snuggle and bend so cleverly that I had a comfortable, sheltered bed-place against her warm body.

She was sumptuously caparisoned. Her *shedad*, the silver-mounted saddle of acacia wood, with its leather cushions and three sheepskins, still rests on the floor of my room; and often of an evening I sit on it and read, or dream of Maha, the fleet Sharrarijeh. On the wall of my room hangs, wonderfully preserved, her saddle trappings and the huge goat-hair saddlebags, with long rows of knotted tassels and braided fringes that used to reach far below Maha's belly and swing in rhythm with her gait. Her *rashma*, too, I still have—the head-halter of fine, coloured wool—red, blue, and green on a black background.

492 533 Shouting merrily to one another and singing camel-songs, we trotted southward. In Arabia neither spurs nor whips are needed for urging on horses or camels. The riders' cheerful, rhythmic chants, their merry yodeling, their clear melodious voices, suffice. The Arab voice is very unlike the nasal, sleepy, monotonous croak of the Egyptians and Syrians. The Bedouin camel-songs are masculine, bold, and tuneful, so that the camels and the horses love this diversion. On the march these hardy, lean riders will sing hour after hour. But often enough they will be silent, when hunger, thirst, and dust have wearied them, or when it is expedient to muffle mouth and nose from the heat and sand.

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VII

Death in the Desert

FARIS AND HIS band marched along in high spirits. The sky was blue, the earth a verdant green, the scented air full of sunshine; and from horizon to horizon stretched the wilderness in one unbroken expanse.

At times one lost the sense of progress. Were we standing still? Riding in a circle?—so unchanging was the landscape. Yet one never tired of it, nor could one have enough of this exhilarating motion.

Steppe, desert, rising and falling imperceptibly; ridge hardly distinguishable from valley; except, perhaps, that the valley still glistened a little from the last shower and showed a more vigorous touch of fresh green.

Three days we thus journeyed. For three days no tents, no herds; nothing but the empty wilderness under the serene sky; now gay with herbage, now grim with gravel, stones, and lava.

On the fourth day, from the edge of a steep escarpment, as from a sea-cliff, we suddenly saw spread before our eyes the Wadi Sirhan, here immensely wide. A medley of chalk-coloured banks rising from lime rock, stony plains, salt marshes, sand dunes, grey shrubs, tablelands, deep-furrowed, loamy beds of rain torrents, called *wadian*, covered with black rubble.

Towards the evening of the next day we reached Mayku', an old watering-place of the Ruala. Some hundreds of them were still under tents there in the shadow

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of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All through the night they kept watering their herds at the deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bearings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which extends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste without water, without pasture, on which it seems to have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta —the *samb*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed granules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark, bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well, we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

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Sakhr. One after another we reconnoitred the scattered 726
camps of our supposed enemy, despatching after each such reconnaissance two couriers with messages to our main body, which was then camping near the Umm Wual. One night Faris himself, "Commander of our Camel-saddles", as we called him, crept close enough to the tents of the Beni Sakhr to be able to listen to their talk. The total result of our efforts seemed to be the comforting conclusion that the Beni Sakhr must have given up their plans for a raid on the Ruala.

We preserved caution, however; and one morning, soon after sunrise, as we were lying in ambush on the salt-crusted ground under cover of some bushes, long lines of free camels appeared on the plain and scattered to graze. Behind them came loaded camels and migrating families of the Beni Sakhr. We hoped they would make camp before noon, so that we might make sure whether their fighting-men were still with them. But it was already late afternoon when we saw them, from a great distance, halt their camels. Tent-rolls and props tumbled to the ground, and women, children, and slaves industriously started to pitch the new camp. Now there arrived also numerous horsemen and camel-riders—the guards who had been covering the flanks of the migrating band.

Almost without sound our *dhaluls* rose as we left our last hiding-place and with long strides trotted after Faris's she-camel. She was pregnant and had been restless all day. Suddenly she refused to go farther and lay down. This spelt danger for us, for scouts always range

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726 the vicinity of a Bedouin camp. Moreover, there could be no better place for the enemy to ambush us: white lime rocks shut us in on one side, while the rest was a confusion of blackish glistening scree and bush-crowned clay tumuli.

231 Several of us helped Faris to unharness his *dhalul*, since it was clear that she would calve. She turned on her side. Faris looked at us crestfallen, as if expecting reproaches; but all merely laughed at this misadventure. There was not a harsh word, no cursing, no blaming of the innocent camel—only that calm and composure of the Bedouin that ever evokes my admiration.

Faris kept tenderly stroking his beloved *dhalul*, and when the moment had come, while I held down the animal's head, he and one of his slaves aided the delivery of the calf. It was as tall as a grown man. At first, I thought it was stillborn, but after its mother had licked it for some time, it gave signs of life. That night the baby camel could stand on its legs and was allowed to suckle; but toward morning it was led aside and killed. The poor mother wailed and moaned loudly for her offspring. But she quieted down when Faris came back to her. She kept nosing his arm and shoulder and sniffing the air. This aroused my curiosity and I went nearer. Faris had sewn a piece of the baby camel's hide on the sleeve and shoulder of his cloak. It was this that had soothed the mother. Later in the afternoon, before we remounted, she let herself be milked. She would still whimper from time to time, but instantly became quiet when Faris reached out his arm or pressed his shoulder to her nostrils.

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At length, about noon, we rode forward, our scouts 726
in advance.

Beyond a ridge we saw vultures circling. At the foot of its farther slope we found trampled ground and the dead bodies of a Bedouin and his riding-camel. The man's body had been stripped. Not a scrap of clothing could we find, neither saddle nor gear, to help us find out whence he had come and of what tribe he was.

One of our scouts came back just then to report that camels of the Beni Sakhr were grazing close ahead and that armed guards were with the herdsmen.

Suddenly we caught sight of a number of men on some rising ground, half hidden by the bushes, and the glint of rifles levelled at us. "Ho, there! Ye camel-riders!" they called to us.

"Friends!" Faris shouted back, as we pulled up. But shots cracked and bullets whistled over our heads. Faris laughed. "Beni Sakhr," he exclaimed. "Here stand Ruala. Here stands Faris ibn Naif. Peace—peace unto you!"

But the men did not trust us. It must, indeed, have seemed very suspicious to them that a *ghazu* of the Ruala should appear in so distant a region. They did not return our peace-greeting. Instead, cries of "Kill them! Kill them!" rose from many throats all around us.

New opponents seemed to rise out of the ground. Undoubtedly they had left their horses out of sight and had crept up under cover. At last, just when their shouts of "Kill them" sounded particularly ominous, and shots crackled repeatedly, and we were vainly trying to make ourselves understood in the general hubbub, one man strode from cover and called out: "Faris ibn Naif!"

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726 Our leader slipped from his *dhalul* and called back joyously: "Jirad ibn Jeneyb!" It was one of the *shiyukhs* of the Beni Sakhr, and an old acquaintance of Faris.

726 619 In a trice the Beni Sakhr broke cover and pressed about us. We were deluged with questions as they led us to their camp, a few hours' distant. On the way Faris told them of the capture of a scout of their tribe and of our peaceable journey of inquiry into their grazing-grounds. Ever and again Ibn Jeneyb protested that the Beni Sakhr were at "unclouded peace" with the Ruala and that the captured spy must be a robber and an outcast from the tribe, who wanted to plunder the Ruala on his own account.

[486] When we had dismounted in his camp, Ibn Jeneyb had a camel slaughtered before our eyes. A slave caught its blood in a bowl. He then tore up a bunch of herbs, dipped it in the blood, and with this brush painted the tribal emblem on the necks and flanks of our riding-camels. This was to serve, as it were, as a guarantee of our peaceful intentions and as a safe conduct among the rest of the Beni Sakhr.

A small detachment of them were still pursuing Bedouins of the northwestern lava region, who had broken into the Wadi Sirhan and, the day before, had fallen on Beni Sakhr herders, grazing their camels. The raiders lost one dead—it was his corpse we had found—while the Beni Sakhr had two men wounded.

763 I visited these wounded men and found one of them, with two ghastly bullet wounds in his chest and abdomen, lying at the point of death. I did my best to save him—I had my case of surgical instruments, mor-

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Bedouin Raiders Riding out of Camp

Preparing for the Long Migration

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following page 48.

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The Great Nomad City of the Ruala. Seven Thousand Tents Assembled together with Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Camels

opposite page 49

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763 phine and bandages with me—but it was too late to hep. I could do no more than ease his last hours by alleviating his pain. He could not have been over forty. Friends carried him presently the short distance to Ibn Jeneb's
763 tent and laid him down there. Then a slave led up a
231 handsome riding-camel. It was touching to see how the intelligent animal seemed to sense that its master was dying. It caressed him repeatedly, and with large, anxious eyes circled round, touching the strange men with its slit lips and its soft silky nostrils.

The dying man was speaking to Ibn Jeneyb, his chieftain, when a severe hæmorrhage caused him to faint. When he came to again, he whispered some words to the slave; and before I could take in what was happening, the Negro, bending back the camel's head, killed it with a lightning plunge of his dagger into the jugular vein.

Other slaves immediately skinned the animal and spread out the hide, the bloody side up, before he tent. Then they undressed the dying man and laid him on it. His last wish had been to be buried in the skin of his cherished *dhalul*, and the thought that his wish was to be realized made him happy as he lay dying. But I was not the only one to regret the purposeless death of the splendid animal.

When, toward evening, the man had breathe his last, four or five of the watchers, his friends, got up one after another, and lightly touched his forehead with their finger-tips. Ibn Jeneyb, who knelt beside the dead man, put his hand under his left armpit; after while he called out: "In truth, he is cold!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 Getting up hastily, he folded the wet, bloody winding-
[764] sheet over the corpse and directed his slaves to dig a grave for him in the sand. Without ceremony or any show of emotion, it was borne away and given into the keeping of the earth.

619 After parting from the Beni Sakhr, we moved back by slow marches toward the hill lands of Bir Hausa, which abound in game.

At the wells we fell in with camel-riders watering a herd. They were Sharrarat, and friendly to the Ruala—luckily, as it turned out. They helped us to draw water from the holes fifty feet deep; and in the evening we withdrew with them into the protecting hills, camping in a rocky hollow, with sentries posted on the black pinnacles. The stars sparkled down on us as we ate sup-
[262] per. It consisted of the roasted flesh of a camel calf, very tender, crisp bread-cakes and fresh camel milk, followed by the customary "dessert" of dates mixed with sour sheep butter. It was after midnight before we rolled up in our cloaks, each man with his loaded carbine under his head. For we did not completely trust the Sharrarat, even though we had eaten and drunk together and they lived under Nuri Sha'lan's "heel." But the night passed peacefully, and on the morrow, after we had exchanged trifling presents, we bade good-bye to our hosts.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

VIII

Panther and Ostrich

SEVERAL DAYS WERE spent by us among the volcanic table-mountains of the Jabal Tubayk. Precipitous cliffs, riven and pinnacled rocks rise some six hundred feet from flower-sprinkled level pastures and valleys strewn with black lava boulders. It is a country of savage beauty, in which gazelles and game birds are numerous. There Faris and I, out after game, chanced to come on three tents tucked away in a hollow. They belonged to members of that curious folk, the Sulkan (singular: Slayk) nomadic hunters and handicraftsmen. In the popular sense they resemble the gypsies. Like them they doctor man and beast, love music, are fortune-tellers, and have a weakness for things occult and superstitious.

As hunters, trackers and scouts the Sulkan surpass the other Bedouins, and they know the desert better than any other nomads. Many a secluded water-hole is known only to them. Their origin is a mystery. They are few in number, but are held together by some sort of tribal organization, under a chief; and they pay tribute—"protection money"—to the Ruala and other Bedouin tribes. In return, each of these appoints from among its own tribesmen a "Brother" to the Sulkan, charged with looking after their interests.

The Chief of the Sulkan was then one Ralib welde Tulihan, and it was to this young man that the little camp we had discovered belonged. Ralib, accompanied

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

.622 563 by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

281 342 563 [291] One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

000 Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe, Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

224 We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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ig cat must therefore be close by, and we had need to e doubly cautious. We scattered in the *wadi* and advanced singly.

Presently I saw, not fifty paces off, beside an overhanging bank on which the sun shone, two panther cubs at play. Round them lay the remains of their last meal—splintered bones and ragged bits of gazelle skin. Then I became aware also of the mother panther, stretched out in the shade under cover, only a part of the back and the tail showing. I motioned to Faris and Mnahi, and for a while we just watched the rare spectacle. Ralib must be somewhere near, but our eyes searched for him in vain, and of course we could not call out.

Faris lifted his rifle and communicated to me in pantomime that he meant to aim at the big panther—perhaps [illegible] young might be taken alive. Suddenly, however, two shots came from the side, their echoes mingling in the *wadi*. The pretty game of the little robbers had come to an abrupt end; quivering and bleeding, the kittens lay on the hard gravel. Their mother, roused from her slumber, was up in a bound, flung herself over her young, snatched up one between her lips and was about to disappear from sight, when Mnahi, who until then had looked on quietly, fired. The big cat made one somersault and lay still. Sand and stones rolled down the bank. The animal did not stir; to all appearances it was dead. Now we called out and Ralib appeared with apologies; he had shot the cubs because from his position he could not see the mother.

The deadly bullet had lodged in the panther's throat. "Daughter of the Terrible One," Ralib called her. She

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 was indeed a formidable cat. Her paws, not big but very powerful, were armed with claws as long as a man's finger, which doubtless had ripped the jugular vein of many a gazelle and antelope and broken the back of many a goat.

Ralib plunged his long knife into the panther's body, then drew it across the throat and ankles, severed the head and paws and flung them at my feet as souvenirs. Then he ripped open the belly and chest and tore out [225] the heart. Like a savage-bred animal, he bit into the bloody tissue and sucked his mouth full of the panther's life-fluid. He believed that this potent draught would add to his own boldness and strength.

In the course of our progress Ralib discovered imprints of the big feet—the two pairs of toes—of an "Earless One," as the Bedouins call the ostrich. We followed the well-marked track until we could make out the bird with our field-glasses, far away. It was feeding. Cautiously we beat up, taking three hours to cover a couple of miles or so; then waited while the ostrich took a sandbath. Presently a second ostrich, not visible to us before, rose from the ground nearby and joined the bather—clear indication that they were brooding birds and that their nest must be quite close.

During the heat of noon the birds rested, then resumed feeding till evening. Several times they disappeared from sight, but Ralib was certain from experience that their nest was not far from the spot where the second ostrich had first shown itself; and, sure enough, before sunset the pair returned and bedded down near the place where we had first observed them.

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Panther and Ostrich

Warily Faris, Mnahi, and I approached, following the 224
minute instructions given us by Ralib, who remained behind with our horses. We crept up to within about fifty paces of the resting birds and took cover. With the glare gone, as the sun went down, I could easily distinguish the male from the female.

I betrayed myself by a slight movement and at once the two ostriches sprang up and ran about frantically with flapping wings. Then the hen took flight with seven bristly small chicks, the cock following protectively in the rear. The chicks, however, ran hither and thither, and Faris contrived to catch three of them and secure them by tying their legs with leather straps.

Ralib, who had come up with the mares, warned us against pursuing the ostriches. Once in full flight, they could not be overtaken by even the fleetest horse; but, if not harried, they would only run in circles and finally return to their young.

Nevertheless, Faris, caring only to bag the male, gave chase. The cock had maintained his place as rearguard, looking back frequently as he ran with paddling movements of his wings; but, when he saw the horsemen in pursuit, he abandoned his family and dashed off, now straight ahead, now zigzagging abruptly. Mnahi, Ralib, and I now joined in the chase, and in a quarter of an hour came close enough to turn the ostrich in Faris's direction. The youth threw himself from his galloping horse, which ran on a distance before it could stop. Kneeling, Faris took a hasty aim and fired twice. As the shots rang out, the bird took a tumble and remained lying on its side, fluttering. Faris leaped up, dropped

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 rifle and cloak, and ran up to the ostrich struggling in its death throes. He whipped his knife from his belt and plunged it into the bird's throat close to the breastbone. Then he bent back the heavy wings and plucked the white display feathers, a foot long.

Ralib regarded the prey appraisingly. With his dagger he then skinned the bird, opened it, and with an expert eye carved out the best breast-pieces. Roasted, the meat tasted like that of a fat bustard and was tender enough; but to my taste the liver and the heart—the latter small for so large a bird—were better.

While we were galloping after the ostrich cock, I noticed that the hen had returned in a wide curve to the nesting-place, and at her calls the chicks came out of hiding and let themselves be herded away by her. But three of the young, those which Faris had caught and bound, could not have got away. We vainly searched for them, however, and were on the point of giving up when we discovered them, half-hidden in the sand and still as mice.

231 When we resumed our forward march, Faris stowed the young ostriches in the saddlebag of his own camel. Throughout the long journey he fed them on fresh buds and shoots, but particularly on caterpillars. Wild and shy at first, hunger subdued them on the second day; and before a few weeks had passed, they would trustfully feed from our hands.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

IX

The Nufud

I HAD MY FIRST sight of the Nufud from the neighbourhood of the Shedad Umm-Kur. 133

And what a sight! The waves of the red desert, rising and falling evenly, seemed to extend to infinity. Crescent-shaped crests and twisted cones; a contrast of light and shade; dark red levels which rose to banks against flanks aflame with the sun. In gorges between the red walls, sixty to a hundred and sixty feet deep, a shimmer of silver and green; scattered low bushes and small trees with straight milk-white trunks and supple drooping branches bearing feathery twigs and greyish-green needles.

I held my breath, overwhelmed with amazement and admiration.

With soundless steps Maha made for the first tree, [131] stretched her slim shapely neck and nibbled with obvious delight the yellowish young shoots and the new green needles of the *ghada*—a species of tamarisk. As far as the sand dunes of the Nufud roll, the *ghada* also is found—a boon and a blessing to camel and to man. Its roots are anchored deep in the red waste of pure quartz-sand, and it disdains other desert soil.

Maha knew the Nufud. She followed the tortuous slopes which, as in a storm-tossed ocean, led from trough to crest and, past deep chasms, to the next slope. Impossible to steer a straight course, as in the Hamad or Harra.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 In endless spirals and twists we wound our way, uphil
and down dale. Now and then our way led across a smal
level plain, but this would invariably end in a swellin
dune, on the other side of which was always a bowl or
steep crater—a curious configuration, quite differen
from the sand dunes of the Northern Sahara with whic
I was familiar.

At times one would be tempted by a stretch of smoot
firm ground to take a low sandy bank at a run; bu
Maha knew better! She knew these treacherous dune
and would not be hurried. They were really dangerous
these undulations of sand with the yielding edge tha
looked so harmless; and commonly there would be
steep drop into an abyss on the farther side. Sometime
we took more than half an hour to get from one dune t
the next. Our small band of camel-riders had hard wor
to keep from being separated, but perhaps it was th
herd-instinct of the camels that kept us from losin
sight of each other. Faris entrusted me entirely to Maha
lead. She had spent several months each year in the Nu
fud and knew, it seemed to me, how to tell danger spot
in advance.

This ride in the Nufud remains with me as an imper
ishable memory—unforgettable, that afternoon when
first beheld its brow lifted menacingly from the plain.

The fascination of the first few days made me eage
to traverse the whole breadth of the red desert, thoug
I had to own that a crossing would be exceedingly try
ing. From our position on the Nufud's western margi
it was some three hundred miles to its eastern edge; an
if in these dunes our camels made three miles or so in a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

hour—but not half of that, as the crow flies—they were doing well. When I expressed my wish to cross it, Faris sensibly protested that we were in no way prepared for such an undertaking and I had to content myself with Faris's extension of our ride southeast on the Nufud's margin. The desert spreads out here, sending broad tongues into the West Arabian plain; and it was over these outcrops that we first travelled, now among high dunes, then, a whole day long, across an upland flat. We rode round weathered sandstone ridges and across low depressions with dried-out rain pools, until we struck the Nufud proper again. There we reached the southernmost point of our journey. According to Faris, another day would take us to Teyma; we were thus within fifty miles of that famous oasis. 133

Up and down, up and down, went our way, as if over the humps of a myriad crouching, giant camels. At times our beasts became nervous and had to be led; and we even had to slip off our sandals or shoes to make headway, and on oversteep slopes stamp down footholds or shovel out steps with our hands and feet. It was fortunate that we rode *dhaluls*, accustomed from early days to the Nufud. Camels from the flint desert or the lava regions will, indeed, steadfastly refuse to set foot on these unfamiliar sands. [492]

The cheeks of the dunes were saturated with sunshine, glowing a deeper red as the day declined. They gleamed as if they were covered with smooth crimson silk. Were these virgin dunes, never yet trodden by a human being, knowing only the innocent little feet of the dainty gazelles?

1: Rawan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 In spring the northwestern Nufud seems to abound in game. In its fastnesses breed ostriches, which later migrate with their young to the wide plains of the North, as well as gazelles and antelopes, the prey of the cruel panther. The ibex too and the eagle from the near-by Jabal Tawil, where these animals are still found, will extend their spring excursions into the red waste.

To return to our crawl over the dunes that afternoon. Something moving under some *ghadas*, far away, attracted my attention. I halted my camel and focussed my binoculars. A ravishing picture was revealed to me. A troop of snow-white Rim gazelles, with their dainty feet deep in the scarlet sand, were browsing the drooping branches in an atmosphere of silver and green. Looking more closely, I discovered other groups of gazelles near by. Some of the animals were dozing, others snuffling one another or butting each other with heads and horns. Mnali, who had followed my example, pulled his rifle from the saddlebag; but I begged him to forbear this once and spare these beautiful animals for my sake. Mnali saw reason. He motioned to Faris and the others, and they turned off between two dunes into a hollow, while I lingered to enjoy the sight of the charming creatures. They quench their thirst only with the dew that gathers in the morning on the leaves and flowers, say the Bedouins.

I was to have a still richer reward in that hour of silent watching. Some movements or suspicious noise must have roused the gazelles; for there they were all up on their feet, in several groups, very white on the red sand, with ears alert and all gazing toward the West. Suddenly

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

there came over a slope, with slow, long strides, a troop of eleven ostriches—three cocks and eight hens—magnificent birds. An inquisitive gazelle-buck stole after them, but the ostriches dropped into a long trot and disappeared in the labyrinth of sand dunes.

As I rode in the wake of my comrades, a fox crossed my path, and from some acacia bushes rose many ravens. The sun was already setting and the dry air was rapidly cooling. Ahead of me the sand-waves, their crests glowing golden red, cast deep shadows towards the East. The face of the wilderness was wrapped in a violet veil. A wondrous silence rose from the Nufud. Brief dusk—then night, and a voice faintly borne to me by the wind. It was Faris looking for me. I called back; and side by side we rode into a sheltered gully surrounded by high dunes, which made an excellent camel paddock and an ideal camp site.

"Let us break our fast," said Faris, as he pulled the heavy saddle and the water-skin from the back of his *dhalul*. A fire of *ghada* sticks was soon lighted. In a few seconds this became very warm and burned without smoke and with an almost colourless flame. The men fed it with roots and sticks as thick as a man's arm. Meanwhile the bread-dough was being kneaded. As soon as there was a good heap of glowing ashes, the iron baking-sheet was placed over the fire. Together with the warm bread-cakes, the dates, honey, and hard camel-cheese tasted delicious.

Faris posted sentinels on two commanding sand-hills. One watch I had to take myself.

A clear, still night enfolded the desert. The starlight

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

was reflected by the dunes. The air was violet, with a silvery sheen. It was entrancing.

But the greatest wonder of all was the absolute stillness which held me entranced after I had drunk in all the beauties of the glimmering landscape and the glory of the sky, magically reflected in this unique sand-mirror. For hours I sat alone, wrapped in its mystery.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

X

Sandstorm

WE HAD HARDLY left the Nufud, bound for the Jabal Tawil, about a hundred and fifty miles distant, when we rode into a gentle drizzle. A segment of a rainbow curved over the sand-dunes like a gleaming scimitar. Thunder rumbled from afar. 132

"O Thou, Almighty!" exclaimed Faris. "Blessed sound that promises us pasture!" The clouds came lower. Their grey tails swept the dune-tops. Forked lightning flashed and thunder rolled majestically, shaking the air. A fine hail rustled down. And then the clouds burst. The sand sang under the lash of the rain; the hair curled up on the drenched camels, and we riders dripped as though we had just been pulled out of water. But the deluge soon ended and a warm wind fanned us, drying man and beast. Soon the sun was out again—and by afternoon the deeper red of the dunes was the only sign that it had rained.

Two days afterwards we had descended into the stifling atmosphere of the lowlands, where the wind was driving dense dust-clouds before it.

We weathered the first day of it, though it blew with unremitting fierceness and perseverance. But on the next day it developed into a veritable sandstorm of such violence that one could barely keep one's seat in the saddle. I counselled beating back into the Nufud and there, in some low-lying depression, waiting for the storm to blow

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4.

132 [134] itself out. In the red sand one is quite safe. Its specific gravity is considerably greater than that of white or yellow sand, and after sufficient winter rain it is more or less covered with some vegetation.

My comrades, however, were of the opinion that the strength of the storm was already broken, that it could not possibly last longer than two days. We therefore continued our ride, hoping to see on the morrow the sun shining again on a tranquil land. But the third day was a repetition of the second, a howling gale, clouds, whirling sand, and no visibility beyond ten paces.

The heat would have been tolerable, but the air was so sultry that we dripped sweat from every pore. The perspiration could not evaporate in this muggy air, and to this discomfort was added the irritation from the driven dust. This was something new for me in Arabia. No matter how high the temperature, I had always found the air quite dry; even in winter, after rain or a thunderstorm, it will remain light and refreshing.

Half-suffocated by day, by night we were chilled to the bone by icy blasts that searched our moist bodies, and made them shake with ague.

Our hands and faces were chapped. Even our tongues ached, though we had plenty of water. The fine, white sand penetrated everywhere—under the clothes, into nose, ears, and eyes, and covering the hair. Our lips became parched; the eyes, the throat, the palate hot with inflammation and pain; the breath came in pants, the blood hammered heavily in the heart and in the temples.

Our camels dragged themselves along only with the utmost effort, groaning and complaining. In one of the

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saddlebags we carried one of our slaves, who had collapsed from exhaustion on the second day. 132

Faris had his fill of trouble with his young ostriches and their feeding. But in spite of the storm, he contrived to forage for them and always produced something—caterpillars, beetles, fresh grass and shoots, a lizard, bustard eggs. Several times a day he would direct a few spurts of milk from his *dhalul* (which had calved, as I mentioned) into the gaping mouths of the chicks. But for all his pains, the storm cost him the life of one of them. [231]

On the third day of the storm Faris fell ill. It was a sudden attack: first vomiting, followed by chills and fever. I kept constantly by his side, but he became alarmingly weak, until finally we had to arrange a saddlebag as a litter to carry him

At night the storm abated somewhat, but there was no sign of a star. It was very dark and cold, and fine sand continued to blow.

On the fourth day the storm took on fresh fury. The wind howled more fiercely than ever. Our lungs were choked with dust. Worn out by the constant buffeting and sleepless nights, with aching joints, dead-tired, at the end of our strength, we groped our way forward. Two camels dropped and had to be abandoned. Their riders and loads had to be distributed among the other exhausted animals.

The worst of it was that Faris had become delirious. In the saddlebag of another camel, Dhadan, the slave who had fallen sick two days before, lay in a stupor, looking more dead than alive.

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132 At last a vague something loomed through the driving sulphur-coloured sand-clouds; its outline grew less blurred and assumed a comforting solid shape. It was a rocky ridge, a harbour of refuge. Camels and horses crowded close against one another, while above us screamed the storm, driving before it the sand, across the top of the sheltering wall. Exhausted, men and beasts sank to the ground.

Faris, lying on rugs, had fallen into a deep coma-like slumber. I tried to cool his burning forehead and forced a little water between his parched lips. After a couple of hours or so he awoke, looking better, and gave some signs of returning strength. All the others lay on their sheepskins like men struck down, sleeping the sleep of the dead. At length I, too, propped against Maha, was overcome by sleep.

In the night I awoke, and my first thought was that I must be dreaming. A serene, starry sky looked down on a solitude sunk in deep calm. I threw off the warm fur coat which had been my coverlet and got up to look after my patient. As I bent over Faris, he opened his eyes and spoke to me. Thank Heaven, he was better and his brain was quite clear again. Hunger and thirst were his worst complaints now, and I had everything at hand to satisfy his needs. When I had also ministered to Dhadan, who had likewise improved and was able to take some stimulant, I rolled myself up once more in my fur, and instantly dropped back into deep sleep.

Daybreak found me half-awake and vaguely aware of it, through eyes still closed; but to my annoyance, Maha began to nuzzle me persistently. As I had not the least

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desire to get up, I pushed her head away; but she continued to prod me and to whimper softly but meaningly, until I had to open my eyes. They fell on a scene transformed. The camels were all ready and saddled; Faris—I could hardly believe my eyes—was feeding his ostrich chicks, Dhadan was watering the horses, and Mnahi was moving down the rows of camels, carrying his cloak formed into a sack and scattering from it fresh shoots he had gathered for the *dhaluls*. By the "coffee-fire" squatted Ralib, brewing the bitter essence, the enticing aroma of which scented the air.

And the sun, the wonderful sun, shone again on a world renewed; even the farthest distances were visible through the crystal-clear air, scoured by the four-days' storm.

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XI

Days of Ease

133 OUR NEXT OBJECTIVE lay before us—the dark sandstone walls of the Jabal Tawil—"the long-drawn-out Mountain." From its foot it is only an eight-hours' ride by camel to the oasis of Jauf at the southern end of the Wadi Sirhan. We shaped our course towards the middle of the slope, passing over steep spurs hemmed in by black rocks. Among the deep clefts of the ancient range Faris knew how to pick out the one that gives access to the Mustanda Pass, over which we could descend into the plain beyond. There we found a small Rwala camp, where we were received with open arms, and where we decided to linger for a whole week, to rest and pasture our *dhaluls*.

[437] It was in this week that Faris secured the silver anklerings that he had promised to his betrothed. He rode to Jauf and there bartered one of his young ostriches for the trinkets.

For me it was a memorable week of meditation and reflection, with no lack of new impressions. With Mnahi I roamed the fastnesses of the Tawil; I, just for the mere enjoyment of being there; he, on the lookout for game. He shot a number of ibex, among them some magnificent specimens. But despite the presence of these wild goats, the range is oppressively desolate, its predominant tint dark, even blackish, and the outcrop of red and

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slate-blue rocks seemed to deepen rather than to relieve its sombreness.

One morning I let Mnahi go on his shooting alone and instead attached myself to a herder.[1] The camels in his charge were grazing a good way off and he came to camp only once every three days.

It was a stony tract, and all day long the camels roamed to and fro in search of feed among the boulders, which were sometimes as high as one's head. About noon we collected the herd and led it into the shade of some loftier rocks. There the herder and I stretched ourselves full length on the ground, and in lazy contentment, half asleep, we passed the warmest hours. But when the sky was clouded over, we had to keep on the move to avoid getting chilly, halting only shortly before the sun went down to draw milk for our supper into a wooden bowl.

The plants among the rocks were in bloom, with fragrant white, violet, and red flowers. Some of them imparted to the milk of our camels a peculiar but very delightful flavour, reminiscent of sweet sage or camomile or some aromatic herb. It had not the bitter taste of the milk produced in some regions, nor the watery, salty "variety" of the Wadi Sirhan. Even the camel-thorn bursts into bloom here at the base of the Jabal Tawil, and the stunted acacias shed a sweet fragrance. At times our small herd was powdered all over with pollen of a blue and yellow tint.

My herder companion was a bright, merry lad. Instead of sitting on his camel in normal fashion, he had the knack of sprawling for hours on end behind its hump, hanging on like a leech. I tried to imitate him,

1-[In a Rwala camp near the Jabal Tawil.-Analyst

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233 but it took me more than two days to learn he knack of it—how to anchor your knees in the camel's hip-bones and then, by sprawling forward and using the woolly hump of the beast as a cushion for you stomach, to ride in amazing comfort. We guided the annals with our camel-sticks, tapping them lightly, nov on one shoulder, now on the other. Thus we drifed slowly along, side by side, the animals feeding as theywent and halting only occasionally; but we had to kee an ever-watchful eye on our troop of camels, whic were always up to some trick or other.

231 In those three days I learnt much. I learnto appreciate in all their significance the noises peuliar to a camel; to realise that in the loud diapason of is stomach rumblings and in the gurglings of its throat here lies a meaning too deep for words. Even its fu-throated belching is an expression of its lordly thoughs. I learnt how to deal with the sharp thorns that piere through leather footwear, and how to treat the stin of a bee which caused the camel's lip to swell to an enormous size. My companion also taught me how t plug the udder of a mother camel, to prevent drippig and the consequent loss of precious milk, and hov the baby camel could be prevented from "drinking ou of hours" from the mother's udder by means of a woden peg, fastened to its nose. I learnt to tell from th tracks on the hard gravel soil whether the camels whichhad passed were saddle or pack animals, and I was taunt the lore of age, sex, breed and many other mysteries.

231 751 I listened with bated breath as my companions explained to me that a blue bead tied to the hiry withers

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of a camel was a most effective charm against the evil eye. I was told of the great ticks, as large as stag beetles, found in the camel's pelt, and of the lovely blue-black crows which hop about undisturbed on its back, helping themselves with prying beaks to these ticks and other parasites, which lie snugly in the thick, matted hair.

The delight of watching the little baby camels made my three days of wandering worth while. What quaint, lovable creatures they are! How they enjoy licking and smelling each other! They sprawl awkwardly on their overlong legs in groups of five or six, and rub their long, slim necks against some strange mother, making her happy in the delusion that she has brought into the world such a large brood of dear, ridiculous creatures.

When the warm rain fell on the coats of the camels, large or small, they developed "marcel" waves, curls, and fringes, which would have delighted a fashionable ladies' *coiffeur*.

And when we sat down before a fire, with our backs to the rocks, and my companion chattered away, telling me story after story, it was amusing to see how the camels would press close up, and listen intently, as if they understood him. True, now and again, they would interrupt the story with a hearty belch and go on placidly chewing the cud of flowery herbage and thistle-fodder, to the accompaniment of a loud and discordant grinding of teeth. But that is the way of camels.

Every morning I awoke to see the sun rising or just risen through a perfect forest of legs, for all the world like stilts, or under an archway of long necks.

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XII

Camels, Women, Children— and Locusts

231 OH, THESE CAMELS! They stamp and trample; they buck, they quarrel, they weep and take fright—yes! And they laugh; they are helpless, but ever and anon rebellious. They will run like a machine for hours, [492] and all at once stop or refuse to budge. Only with a rider in the saddle are they erect, proud animals, self-assured, noble, moving with elastic strides. With a dull herdsman seated on its hump, a camel too becomes dull, lazy and—gluttonous.

The camel is not merely a creature to ride. The nomad [262] makes use of it in many other ways. He cooks its wiry sinews and leathery muscles and eats them, though, even after boiling, the flesh is so tough that one's teeth are either blunted or loosened in the effort to chew it. The Arab drinks the camel's milk, and often in times of stress he will drink the turbid, sour fluid secreted in the [515] creature's stomach. On cold mornings the people warm their hands in the camel's urine and even wash their hair with it. It works deadly destruction on the parasites! The wool of the camel is collected and woven into [237] material for herdsmen's coats and for the garments of the women and children. The poor animals are loaded with incredible burdens; their dung provides fuel for

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

fires and their hides are cut up for water-bags, belts, and sandals.

In the grey of one morning I noticed a woman moving amongst the resting animals. Whenever she saw a female camel get up, she would hurry and catch the urine, for which she was waiting, in a bowl she carried for the purpose. The camel's urine smells sweetly of herbs and aromatic plants, it must be remembered. Returning to her tent, one side of which was open, I saw her gather the loose tresses of her little daughter's hair in her hand and dip them into this much-prized hair-wash. She then combed, parted and braided the damp black hair into the usual lovelocks. Again I saw her return to the camels; but suddenly she sat down. A moment later she rose again, threw away her bowl, and hurried back toward her tent, but collapsed before she had gone far. I sprang up and ran to her.

She said never a word as I tried to help her to her feet; she only withdrew her arms from my hold and cowered on the ground. Then I noticed that she was in labour. As there was no adult within hearing, I called to the woman's little girls to bring bedding and sheepskins. With these I made a couch for her, right among the camels, sent the children back to the tent, and planted myself as a screen before the woman with a sheepskin held over her. Thus she gave birth to her first son.

Presently her husband arrived and two slaves of Faris's. The father picked up the newly born babe, and the three men ran to a camel, kicked it in the hip to make it rise, and with their right hands continued to massage the beast's right flank until it let down urine. With this

1 - [Of Camels -- Analysis]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

844 they bathed the squealing, downy infant all over, baptizing him with this herb-scented water of the beast of the desert into the sacred fellowship of the wilderness.

I was still thinking how unexpectedly this incident had come to pass, when I was startled by heavy pattering on the tent-roof and on the sand outside. Everywhere, on tents and on the backs of the camels, it was raining big, fat, reddish locusts!

The new baby boy's mother was just then squatting in her smoke-filled tent, engaged, with the assistance of her women friends, in swathing his little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags—a measure considered indispensable among the Bedouins for the protection of newly born children. But, all-important
136 as this ceremony was, all the women except the mother
222 rushed away pell-mell, to help their menfolk and children to harvest the locusts.

These kept coming up in swarms—nay, in cloud piled on cloud. While myriads whirred past and on with a loud noise, a host of them broke flight and settled. Wherever one looked, the ground was thick with them, covered, as it were, with a crawling red carpet. Grass, herbage, bushes melted away under the devouring mass of insects. And the whole camp was out gathering them.

252 Soon locusts were roasting at every fire, round which
262 men, women, and children squatted in a circle. They picked up the insects by their gauzy wings, plucked off the legs, dipped the roasted "husks" in salt, and ate them, skin and all.

Boiled, I did not like locusts; they had the taste of particularly insipid cabbage or some such vegetable.

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Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All round the camp and all day long smoke screens were kept going, into which women and children drove the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them —but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens, bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bedouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that at times their camels and horses too can have no other fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

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136 to fifty miles from our last camp by the Jabal Tawil—
731 we found all the pasture gone, consumed to the last blade by the locusts. It was only in the plain of Biyaz that we found a depression which was untouched and with plenty of forage. There we made camp under the shelter of a *wadi*.

342 The women and slaves unloaded the camels and at once proceeded to put up the tents. The tent-cloth is spread on the ground, looking like a long, black, hairy hide; the lines are drawn east and west, tent-pegs driven home with wooden mallets, and the long tent-poles, properly spaced, are inserted under the roof-strip. Then, by dint of lifting and pushing, up goes the structure; first one pole in place, then the next, and so on until the whole goat-hair "house" rests securely on its supports. Row after row of tents rose, casting long shadows as the last sun-rays gleamed on their peaked roofs.

264 I bought a weakly camel from my fellow-travellers, had it slaughtered and the meat distributed to all and sundry. The flesh-pots of Ishmael were soon steaming and the savour of them attracted a horde of hungry dogs. One of the tribesmen was to play host to myself, Faris, and a number of others. Out of the dark his troop of camels stole up silently, showing suddenly in the light of the fire as if they had come from nowhere, and lay down before his tent. It was comfortable and homely there by the fire, in the wide circle of men and beasts.

272 Our cook had transferred a turbid, muddy mess of old coffee grounds and water from a goatskin bag to a pot with a long spout, which he put on the hearth. Now the black, bitter brew foamed up again, and after it had

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been properly skimmed, the cook poured a part into the smallest jug available and from this served his coffee a few drops at a time, a single stoneware cup making the round of the company. The mound of camel dung heaped by the women was glowing red, and everyone was on the tiptoe of expectation when Faris rose and went over to the women's side of the tent. A cheerful bustling sounded from it—supper ought to be about ready; and sure enough, there appeared a woman and a slave, carrying between them a huge platter piled high with meat, which they set down on the threshold. Faris shouted into the night, to call all stragglers who might be in the vicinity.

We grouped ourselves round this mountain of flesh. I saw in the flickering light wild-looking, hungry men squatting opposite me, with black plaits of hair showing under their white-and-red head-cloths, the tips of which were flung over the shoulders. They fell to with their fingers, tore the meat from the bones and devoured it in great gulps. Our host flung titbits to me across the platter. It was embellished with the camel's head split open, but without the brains. Only the women will eat them, for they are supposed to make men faint-hearted. The hearts of bustard and other fowl are also disdained by these gallant lords of the desert.

We lingered four days in this depression, as we had enough food and fuel. The camels scattered to graze in the surrounding country. The women, too, were busily employed in hoeing up the roots of the small shrubs and gathering their twigs, which they carried to camp on their backs in large bundles. Many of the women had

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Many of the women had
142 splendid figures, and they walked straight, with swaying
291 hips, even under the heavy loads they carried. The long trains of their blue gowns trailed behind them on the sand, but the front was gathered high enough—but only just high enough—about a hand's breadth—to give them freedom in walking.

000 Eleven days of leisurely travelling brought us next to al-Khor, low-lying country pitted with rain pools, south of the Jabal Enaza. There Faris and I parted from our fellow travellers and rode westward to the boundary of the Hamad (gravel steppe) and the Harra (flint desert), making for a *wadi* in the neighbourhood of the Jabal Umm Wual. Darkness fell upon us in the lowlands, but on the higher levels of the Harra enough daylight lingered for us to see ahead. I pulled up Maha, for a fairy scene was spread out before me—the encampment of the Ruala at evening.

After seeing nothing but the empty wilderness, day after day and weeks on end—nothing but the sky and solitude—there suddenly appeared to us a city of tents! Smoke rose from thousands of black dwellings, and in between, large camel-herds, hundreds of them, were wending their way home.

At last we were at home again. Seven hundred and fifty miles in the saddle lay behind us, through the virgin desert of the Hamad and the Nufud; and I had brought back a priceless store of unforgettable memories.

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XIII

Tuēma

IT WAS THE day after our return. Faris and I were lying on a hillock, idly watching his father's roaming herds. He spoke of his sweetheart with emotion and somewhat quaintly: "She who approaches in the camel-litter"—"she who is hidden behind the veils of the riding-tent"—"the guarded one"—"the strong *dhalul* shall carry her through the deep shadowy valley until the rising sun reddens her cheeks with its radiance——" 584

Faris was a poet, and in love.

A Bedouin maiden came riding by on a camel, driving another camel with its calf before her.

"Mawia!" cried Faris. It was a friend of Tuēma. She slid from her *dhalul* and spoke to the animals, which obediently stopped and waited.

"Where is my sister?" Faris asked.

She smiled and answered: "Tuēma hath awaited thy home-coming day by day."

Faris stood up and went close to the girl. "When thou meetest her," said he, "bid her remember those nights when she and I met in secret. Tell my beloved that I long to walk with her in the sand dunes. The trail of her gown will obliterate our footsteps, and none shall know where we abide."

"Faris!" the girl protested.

"Tell her the blade of my dagger reminds me that I

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shall never be at peace until the slender blossom bends before the storm of my love," he said.

A few hours later Tuĕma came. Her friend had given her the good news of her lover's return.

She appeared over the brow of a hill. Then she drew rein and leapt from her sorrel, drawing the halter between its forelegs and tying it over the left hock; thus the mare was free to graze, but could not run away.

Tuĕma walked toward us with the grace of a fawn and we went to meet her. She put her arms around Faris's neck and said tenderly: "O thou, my life." And he replied: "O thou, my faith." Then we sat down together on the hill-top.

Tuĕma cast her eyes about and asked with a mischievous laugh: "Where is my bunch of wild flowers? My big beautiful bouquet?"

"Thy bunch of flowers?"

"Yes, and the silver anklets?"

Faris put on an air of importance and jingled the trinkets which he had in his pocket. Tuĕma then gave him a look of surprise and, jumping up, reached for the hand which he had thrust into his pocket; but with the other he held her arm fast and said: "Thou must shut thy eyes and not open them until I have kissed them."

She did as he bade her. Then he drew from his pocket the silver bangles which he had procured in Jauf and slipped them on Tuĕma's ankles. She begged and begged to be allowed at least one look at the gift. "Not yet," cried Faris; "first I must deck thee with the flowers of the desert, the imperishable ones."

One by one the enamoured youth unloosed the ends

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Front and Profile Views of Pere
Ibn Naif, Shammar Chief

following page 80

lt Reeves T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Raiders Resting on the Edge of the Nafud Desert

Raiders Assembling to Go on a Raid

opposite page 81

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 of the girl's glossy, black braids and twined into them
431 fourteen magnificent white ostrich plumes, each a foot long. When he had done this, he drew the long tresses forward over her shoulders and gathered them into one hand, so that the shivering plumes formed a bouquet, and kissed her eyelashes. "Here, my sister," he said, "is the bouquet I promised thee, of everlasting flowers."

She opened her eyes and gazed with wonder on her lover's gift. Then she buried her face in the plumes and twined her arm about him.

584 Faris leaned his head on her shoulder, and placing his
834 hand over her heart, said: "It jumps like a wild rabbit."

"It will become quite tame in thy hand," she murmured.

"Hast thou never before permitted a young man to put his hand on thy heart?" he asked.

Tuēma flushed. "No, never; only thee."

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XIV

The Hunger March

AMIR FUAZ, who had gone to Damascus some time before, was to rejoin his migrating tribe when it had reached the *Wadian* district of Rueyshdat. That would be before the end of the week. I took advantage of the brief interval to make an excursion into the Harra with Faris and a few of his followers. I liked it no better than did our camels, though they were fresh saddle-animals.

The Harra is a long stony desert running southeast from the Jabal Druz (or Hauran) and borders on the great Arabian desert-plateau. Volcanic mountains overlook it on the northwest. It is intersected with a network of ancient camel trails, for in the Harra the routes of both the western and eastern Bedouin tribes cross. The region, up to the Jabal Enaza, has the reputation of being the coldest in North Arabia. It has a mean elevation of about three thousand feet, and for months in the year is exposed to chill northeast gales and cold snaps, when the thermometer will drop to six degrees below zero, Celsius (10.8 below freezing-point, Fahrenheit).

This year, indeed, the spring was a mild one throughout the region. But the monotonous, undulating, stony surface showed a touch of meagre vegetation only near rain pools in low-lying places. Elsewhere it was all gleaming flat flints, polished pebbles and porous pumice. Rust-coloured, bluish-grey, blackish and speckled splinters covered the floor of the Harra as with a coat of scales,

li Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

one or two layers deep. If you raked them away, you found underneath yellowish and reddish sand intermingled with flints. Under the glare of the sun, the ground glittered unbearably, so that one could not look at it long without causing the eyes to smart. There was a steady crunching and clattering as we rode over the stony field, which made very difficult going for our camels. The leathery hoof-pads slipped on the polished stones and they often lost their footing. This unfriendly desert did not please me at all. I must admit, however, that the air was pure and bracing. 133

When we reached Rueyshdat on the day agreed, Fuaz was already there, back from Damascus; and there also was gathered most of his tribe, for the region of Rueyshdat seemed to be the only one in Northern Arabia where enough rain-water could be found this spring. 221[x] [312]

Here the Ruala were watering their camels, probably for the last time before they reached the wells of Abu Rijmeyn, two hundred and sixty miles away. A forced march—a gamble with life and death as the stakes—confronted the whole of the Ruala tribe. They could not go back, neither into the Wadi Sirhan nor into the Jauf Basin. They must go forward, right through enemy territory, under the threat of skirmishes, perhaps real war, with hostile Bedouin tribes. But far more dangerous appeared to the Ruala the contest with Nature. Scanty pasture still clothed the stony uplands and hills; the stems of the tiny plants still held a sprinkling of sap, so that the camels could still find a little nourishment and moisture. Perhaps also God the Merciful would show indulgence to the Ruala and on their march into the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-3) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

221[x] North send them the longed-for rains. There had been no rain for weeks, except only in the region of Rueysh-dat, where it had rained almost in torrents. The broad depressions were still full of water and smaller pools and puddles were dotted all over the district.

At last came the time for the start. The whole desert basin was alive and thronging with herds moving in one great heaving mass. There arose the confused din of more than three hundred thousand animals, which for miles round spread a penetrating musk-like smell.

492 493 221[x] Apart, on the flanks of the main mass, were the pack-camels, laden with tents, equipment, provisions, and so forth, under the guard of their drivers. Hundreds of lofty travelling-litters loomed up among them—the *ketbahs* of the *shiyukh* and wealthy tribesmen, tall "riding-tents" with widly curved horns, balanced on the backs of the long-legged beasts. Their interiors are adorned with costly silk and cashmere stuffs; the seats and backs are lined with rugs and padded with soft cushions. Like the wings of giant butterflies, the spreading sides of these tall and airy structures dipped above the tossing sea of animals.

221[x] Unceasingly, the stream of camels welled up from the basin to unite in an immense tidal wave more than five miles wide. The great columns of the camel trains began to take shape. With tireless energy, in all this heat, dust and noise, riders on sweating horses galloped from side to side, directing the herders where to fall in with their charges, mother camels and baby camels. The air resounded with the roaring, braying and squealing of the camels, the neighings of horses, the calls and curses of

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

the herders, the shrieking of women and the whining of children. Scattered here and there among the ever-widening lines of advancing camels rode armed men, convoying their families. Thus out of apparent chaos arose the disciplined order of a general tribal migration, pushing forward into the uncertain wilderness.

As Amir Fuaz rode forward with me, past the marching columns, we were greeted from all sides. Tribesmen trotted across to cry hail and good fortune to their war lord. Slaves dismounted and kissed his feet or pressed their faces against them with a blessing. Women and girls shouted shrilly their "Zaraghrit!" or cried ecstatically: "Allah strengthen thee! Go thou before the countenance of our Lord! Ya el-'Adi—O dispenser of bounty. Long life to thee, our Prince! God grant thy wishes!"

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XV

Famine and War

587 628 TARFA, SISTER OF Amir Fuaz, who had married Mijhem ibn Meheyd, the Chief of the Fid'an, died suddenly. Thereupon, what must the fifty-five-year-old widower do but forthwith sue for the hand of another sister of the Ruala Prince, Fuwasa, who was seventeen. Fuaz refused, and declared publicly, before the men in assembly, that he considered Ibn Meheyd too old for his young sister. Thereupon the vain Fid'an chief flew into a towering rage and swore that he would take vengeance, not only on his brother-in-law, Amir Fuaz, but also on the whole Ruala tribe, and the Sha'lan family in particular. All this ultimately came to pass.

628 721 731x During the last few months, Ibn Meheyd had matured his plans for revenge. He had stirred up the neighbouring tribes of the Fid'an into joining him in war on the Ruala. It seemed as if the famine, threatened by the failure of rain in the Hamad and other grazing regions, would now become an additional formidable ally of Amir Fuaz's foes. Thirty-five thousand Ruala, with seven thousand tents and about three hundred and fifty thousand camels would be forced to invade the grazing territory of enemies, unless sufficient rain fell in the Hamad within the next few days.

000 As yet, life ran its familiar round. But over all hovered the spectres of thirst, hunger, and death.

The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong

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The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong 703
and undefeated for one hundred and thirty-seven years?
As yet, they had no suspicion of Ibn Meheyd's activities,
but he had, to all intents and purposes, united eight
other tribes with his Fid'an. They only lacked a suitable
pretext. Nature, however, helped them meanwhile by
wearing out the powerful and high-spirited Ruala.

Hot winds swept over the Hamad and the Syrian 731*
steppe—but never a drop of rain. Unusual heat brooded 221*
over North Arabia, so that everything withered. The
Ruala pushed onwards faster and faster and lengthened
the day's marches. From one horizon to the other the
vast herds covered the wilderness. It was almost as if the
herders had lost all control over the starving and thirsty
animals. Every morning, like clouds of locusts, the cam-
els overflowed the desert on a front of fifteen to over
twenty miles. Small, shrivelled herbs were their only
nourishment and the small amount of moisture in the
plants was all that saved them from dying of thirst.

There was something gigantic and exalting in this un-
exampled struggle of man and beast for very existence
against the pitiless forces of Nature. Those who were
unequal to the struggle quietly succumbed. The count-
less herds moved slowly over the boundless plains, which
here and there still showed faint touches of forage, more
grey than green. To my amazement, I discovered that [136
the fat, brick-red hairy caterpillars which, in spite of the 231]
drought, were to be found on every stalk and flower, not
only helped to nourish hundreds of thousands of desert
fowl, bustards, and gazelles, but also our camels and
horses. Troops of gazelles were in flight from death in
the wilderness, striving with a last effort to reach the dis-

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731x 221x 574 261

tant Euphrates. It was as if a tremendous fire were sweeping up from the heart of Arabia, and man and beast were in headlong flight to escape from its consuming breath.

731x 221x 574 261

The eternal law of Nature was being fulfilled: death to the weak, the maimed, and the forsaken. The strong trampled over the weak, gaining from their victims fresh strength and endurance to push on. Though famine ravaged the land, the slaves in the camp of the nomad chieftain saw to it that the guests of their master lacked nothing. Every day for breakfast I was served a dish very like our scrambled eggs, made of several tiny eggs of the sand grouse. It had a particular gamy tang, and so has a similar dish made of the much larger bustard eggs. Fresh truffles were roasted in the embers of weeds and camel dung, their rinds splitting in the heat. Every morning I found beside my bowl of milk a basin of wild honey, with thick dabs of sheep's-milk butter floating in it. As I was eating, I watched the slave baking bread. He poured a porridge-like mixture of wheat flour, crushed seeds and herbs on to a hot, convex iron plate, resting on three stones over the fire. The batter first spread out on this grid, and then wrinkled up under the heat and formed large griddle cakes, brown and thick, which, one by one, the Negro peeled off and threw into our laps. We tore off strips from these wafer-like, charcoal flakes, crisp at the edges, rolled them around our fingers, and with these morsels fished the butter out of the honey. We strangers and guests certainly did not suffer want. Most of the Rualas, on the contrary, and even the chieftains, actually went hungry.

262 252

731x 574 261

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Famine and War

It was touching to see a tribesman, himself hlf- 731*
starved, bring to his *sheykh's* tent a hare or a gazelle or 574
other game, as an offering for the sustenance of his 261
chieftain's guests. Even children and women came by
every day, and from a clothes-bundle laid down a had-
ful of truffles or a wild pigeon. Once a boy brought me a [262]
large, fat lizard which he had killed with a stone, nd
later a rock-badger and a yellow-headed vulture. The
boy asked if, in such time of famine, he might presume
to offer me such animals for food.

". . . and so it was when Israel had sown, that the
Midianites came up, and the Amalekites and the chilcen
of the East, even they came up against them, and they
encamped against them and destroyed the increase of the
earth . . . *for they came up with their cattle and their
tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for
both they and their camels were without numbers. . .*"
(Judges vi, 3–5.)

With gnawing stomachs and with drooping spirits, 731 K
the Ruala followed their dying herds. Ever farther 221 x
northwards they pressed on, close to the enemies' terri-
tory. Every day hundreds of camels and also many peo-
ple fell by the wayside, while the survivors strained all
the more desperately to reach the hills of Abu Rijmeyn.
The weaker remained where they fell. The moment a
camel, at the end of its strength, commenced to stager
and threatened to fall, riders in the neighbourhood lapt
from their mounts and, dashing up to the poor creature,
put it out of its misery. Meanwhile the others marched

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731 on unconcerned, without a check. The man remaining
22/ behind would cut up the camel in a few minutes, then hurry on to catch up with the tribe, leaving only the entrails, the head and legs, on the trampled ground.

The losses in the camel herds increased day by day. From some hundreds a day they had risen to sinister figures. According to Fuaz, two thousand camels died or had to be killed daily.

[721] Onward, ever onward; though hostile tribes made some attempt to stem this tide of hungry men and beasts, and the Saba and the Fid'an drove off a few of the smaller herds, the main body of the Ruala was as yet safe from attack. But isolated skirmishes and small raids grew in number the farther the Ruala drew away from the independent domain of Ibn Sa'ûd, and passing through Transjordania, penetrated into Syria. There indeed the situation threatened to become serious. French aeroplanes droned over the restless sea of men and beasts, but so far only scouting planes were out, seeking to ascertain the strength of the invading Ruala host.

734 The "Fransawi" could not, without some protest, per-
48 mit a whole nation of warlike Bedouins to roam so far
721 beyond its own ground and invade Syria. The settlers in the French mandated territory were already shaking for fear of war among the Bedouin tribes, and were making preparations for the defence of their villages and fields. The Druses, on the contrary, warlike people of the Hauran Mountains, were perhaps rejoicing in anticipation of a new turmoil in Syria, from which they might hope to gain more than they had from the last. In that quarrel the Ruala, hereditary enemies of the Druses, did

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not take sides against the French. The French authorities immediately realized the danger, and promptly gave orders that the ancient caravan route from Damascus to Tudmur (Palmyra) and Deyr-ez-Zor (which passes south of the hills of the Abu Rijmeyn and branches off near Tudmur towards Baghdad) was to form the most northerly boundary beyond which the Ruala might not seek pasture. None must cross this line if armed or mounted.

Now the foes of the Ruala could triumph!

The Saba, the Muwali, Hadediyyin and all the others had the law of the land and the power of the French Government on their side—and they were confederates of Ibn Meheyd! What did they care for the misery of the Ruala? They only saw at hand a long-desired opportunity to fall upon and destroy this hated Ruala nation and take possession of their vast herds.

It was a day in April, when our distress seemed to have reached the last extremity beyond which endurance could not go—when death stared every man and animal in the face—that I entered the tent of Faris, which was pitched on a hillock a little apart. The tent was empty. The mother and sister of the young man were probably searching for truffles, roots and dry herbs for fuel. As I flung myself down by the glowing ashes inside the tent, I heard the voice of Faris ibn Naif behind the tent. It was loud and excited, which was an unusual thing for him, for the calm and self-control of my friend had always been exemplary. He was neither a Philistine nor a bigot, but a man of a moral purity such as I never found surpassed, even among the Bedouins. I

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157 731x wondered, therefore, that I should now hear Faris so excitedly wrangling with someone. But when I stepped round the tent and saw him, I was undeceived. He stood with clenched fists, his face raised to the sky, in an attitude of supplication. He obviously believed himself secure from human observation, and it was obvious also that he conversed with no human being.

731x 782 771 He spoke to God, and his prayer was an expression of the anguish of his soul.

"Thou art merciful," I heard him cry. "Thou seest that our suffering and our dying have become cruel. We are starving to death. The helpless have no hope except in Thee. . . ."

Faris was a Muslim in name only. He cried out like a child to his Father. He implored—and raged in turn. He stamped his feet and clenched his fists in impotent fury. He bowed his head in humility—he raised his eyes in anger, but he also wept bitterly. He stretched out his empty hands, crying: "O Lord, the people perish, men and beasts starve, give pasture—give water—give bread —give peace. . . ."

731x Without letting him see me, I slipped back to his tent. I sat down by the hearth and poked with the fire-irons in the glowing dung, and held out my hands over it. Involuntarily I folded them and thought of the childlike faith of Faris, and I too begged God for aid. "Thou must help—the need is great; the herds are starving and the nation is dying."

When I raised my eyes, Faris stood before me. "Thou art sad, my Brother?" he asked affectionately.

I rose and grasped his proffered hand. "No," I said.

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"No longer sad, for Allah will no longer shut us out from the blessings of His heaven." 731x

At this moment we saw Amir Fuaz with his mounted bodyguard ride past. They saw us also and came over and sat down in the tent.

In the course of the conversation, Faris said to the young Amir: "Let Aziz and me travel to thy enemies and treat with them. If they give in and share their pastureland with us, the French will then make no objections." [648]

With some anger the young Amir fixed his eyes on Faris and cried: "We shall act, but no longer treat with them. We shall take what we want of our enemy's pasturage. Without forage there can be no camels, and without camels no life for us. Hast thou not perceived that?" [233]

"I understand," said Faris, in his gentle way. "Is it then no longer a custom with us that one may beg his life, even of the enemy when compelled by need? Truly the path of peace is shorter than the long road on which lurks destruction." [577]

Fuaz did not answer—and all the others in the tent held their peace. Suddenly, however, the young Prince got up, strode over to the slave who was watering his mare from a goatskin, mounted and rode away.

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XVI

A New Lease of Life

648 A NEW DEVELOPMENT BROUGHT a glint of hope that extreme measures might be avoided. A message arrived from the Commandant at Rutbah, in British territory, Muhammed Yassin Bey, inviting Amir Fuaz to a conference in that town; he, Yassin Bey, was ready to treat with the Head of the Ruala concerning their admission to pastures and wells in Iraq.

Fuaz decided to accept the invitation. If he could reach an agreement with Yassin Bey, and this was approved by the British authorities—who otherwise must disavow their own official—it would mean that the whole tribe could pass the summer securely near the Euphrates. So he would go to Rutbah. It would be a last attempt to save his people from their desperate plight by peaceable means.

Further news, however, clouded this prospect. An emissary, actually a spy, of the Ruala returned to our camp with the intelligence that Yassin Bey meant treachery, that his invitation was a trap; once in Rutbah Amir Fuaz would be taken prisoner or quietly assassinated. This account was confirmed by a letter from a devoted confidant of the Ruala in Rutbah, who was a soldier in the Camel Corps there. He claimed to possess knowledge of secret instructions issued by the Commandant, and his statements generally squared with the spy's. I could not, however, quite believe it. That Yassin Bey, con-

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sidering his position, should contemplate such action seemed to me on the face of it unlikely, and the show of evidence was not good enough; it was too much like rumour.

The matter was discussed at length in council. The Amir's half-brother, Mijhem, expressed his conviction that there was grave danger of a trap, and urged the utmost wariness. His plan was that Fuaz should set out with a single chosen attendant skilled in spying, and stop a safe distance this side of Rutbah. There Fuaz should keep in hiding while his companion made his way unobtrusively into the fortress in order to ascertain the truth of the situation. My advice was different. I suggested to Fuaz that he should leave Rutbah severely alone and go right on to Baghdad, to negotiate with the British high authorities directly. Mijhem spoke against my counsel, and Amir Fuaz rejected it.

The upshot of it all was the adoption of Mijhem's plan. Fuaz started by motor-car for Rutbah immediately after the council, taking with him Mijhem himself. For the time of his absence, the Amir transferred the command of the tribe to his uncle, Tra'd ibn Sattam. The same day word came from our rear that the tail of the Ruala had also crossed the border, so that the whole nomad nation was now in Syria.

Every day the whole tribe must shift camp. When I got up at the first rays of the sun, this was already in progress. The camel-herd was gone from my tent row. The spacious abodes of our temporary leader, Tra'd ibn Sattam, and his three sons had been taken down, slaves

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were rolling up the tenting and covering the remains of the fire with sand. Milk-white camels were brought up for the women and girls of the *Sheykh's* household and made to kneel, so that they could mount to the travelling-litters on their backs.

In litters and saddlebags were carried the young of all species. From the lofty "riding-tent" of a *sheykh* looked out a smiling woman with a child at her breast. A camel calf, too unsteady as yet to travel on its feet, hung in a hamper suspended from its mother's hump; on her other side the wistful faces of two little girls peeped from the saddlebag. A troop of baby camels a few days old crowded up curiously and their mothers came and nuzzled them and tried to push them away.

Carried on camels in special saddle-frames, or hanging limply in the arms of their riders, were young foals, exhausted and starved, because the mother mares had been dry for days. Only the dogs were fat. They could glut themselves on the droves of fallen animals.

The multitude of the assembled tribe, with its chattels and herds, had swelled to gigantic proportions. Nothing like it had happened for generations. The whole nation was in movement. This was not one of the ordinary migrations that take place in the spring or autumn; rather was it one of the historic tribal exoduses that occur once in a generation—or century.

In their hundreds of thousands, grunting camels swarmed over the face of the wilderness. Their long necks rose and fell rhythmically. They undulated and flowed on as if they were carried forward by some invisible movement of the ground. Like locusts, they

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Raswan in Desert Robes

following page 96

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Bedouin Boy with "Horn" Headdress

Note the Heavy Robes of the Women and Children

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Mawia Climbing into Camel-Litter

opposite page 97

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looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours.

At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the centre of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab*, the "Ship", also called *Abu-Dubur*, "Father of the Ages"—the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,—the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

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XVII

The War Goddess

778 188 726 TRA'D IBN SATTAM hurried with me to the sacred Standard, which rose high above the travelling-litters. We made our way through an agitated throng. The buzz of women's and children's voices intermingled with the grunting and complaining of laden camels. On nearer approach I noticed a group of women afoot, threading their way to the Standard; they waved their head-cloths and kept up a high-pitched chant. They were escorting a young woman, walking sedately in their midst. It was Tuëma. Her beautiful serene face was radiant and aglow with health. Her eyes under their long lashes were grave and devout, but she had a bright glance for Tra'd ibn Sattam, who had chosen her out of all the Ruala maidens for the signal honour of riding in the *Markab*, and on recognizing me her cheeks dimpled with a smile.

When Tuëma and her train of women had come up with the camel which bore the tribal symbol, a tall powerful animal led by a slave, she ran by its side for a space. The trilling and waving of the women rose to a joyous frenzy. Suddenly Tuëma broke away from her retinue, and with a running start grasped the camel's shoulder-girth and climbed nimbly on to its back and into the Palladium. In the left fore-corner of the sacred structure was a seat with a footrest, and on this she composed herself, enthroned on high like a desert queen above her

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people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuëma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuëma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuëma,

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guardian of my soul!" he cried. Then he wheeled his horse and raced off with his riders.

Tra'd ibn Sattam took the leading rope of Tuëma's camel from the slave and led her past the marching tribe. For all the dire distress, a festive spirit animated the whole people. It was a festal day, for the Ruala had a queen again—a virgin in the sacred Ark; and under her symbolic leadership they pressed forward to their destiny.

Evening came and the whole tribe made camp. But in the grey of the next dawn they were on the march again.

Armed motor-cars circled about the widespread herds and guarded the flanks of the great migration. Despite the fact that we marched in close formation, it was inevitable under the conditions that single families or even groups of them, with their camels, should lag behind or struggle in detachments; these would be an easy prey for the enemy, of whose presence we were fully aware from the surprise attacks made each day by strong mounted bands and the appearance of numerous hostile fighting-motors.

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XVIII

The Land of Promise

EVERY EVENING THE Ruala occupied new pastures— such as they were—farther north. The drought in each camp was terrible. Long since I had given up the luxury of wiping my face in the morning with a moistened face-rag. In the Amir's household Mnahi was charged with rationing the water supply. He knew nothing of liquid measures, but he soon devised one for his purpose. He put a pebble, which he always kept handy, into a small wooden bowl and, for each of us tent-mates, poured over it just enough water to cover it. It was precious little.

As with the water, so with the milk. Camels which, on good pasture, used to give between four and five quarts of milk a day, now gave less than one. To save this little for themselves and their horses, the Ruala had to kill the new-born camel calves. The herds were a sorry sight—emaciated, jaded, covered with dust.

I was talking with the *shiyukhs* about certain grazing lands northeast of us when Faris, who had overheard our conversation, said to me: "Let us go and explore Abu Rijmeyn and the farther hills and take a look at the pasture, so as to reassure our people." We decided then and there to journey into that promising, but forbidden, land.

This reconnaissance, which we made by motor—Faris,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 I, and two slaves—had consequences which we did not then anticipate.

[487] We held a straight northerly course until we crossed
[648] the old Tudmur-Baghdad caravan route—"The Road of Death", as the Ruala had come to call it since the French Administration had forbidden them to cross it. Their camps were already within thirty-odd miles of it.

The scenery changed after we had passed beyond this "boundary." With a hardly perceptible gradient, the wide plain rose toward distant hills. White clouds sailed in the blue sky—a long-missed and promising sight, for it was the first sign of rain we had seen for weeks. Herbage was visibly thriving here, thicker and much taller, and there were flowers. The farther we advanced into the North and the uplands, the richer became the vegetation; and many wild fowl and also some gazelles started up at our approach.

We pushed on through th[illegible]rgin grasslands without stopping at a speed of twenty-five to forty miles an hour, in spite of mounds and hills rising in close succession, until we had travelled perhaps a hundred and twenty-five miles from our base—not, however, in a straight line, for I (who had the wheel) had made many a wide detour to avoid the enemy's tents. Now and then we had sighted enemy bands, sometimes appearing with startling suddenness, and had been fired at. But we were always out of range, and without being harmed or having to answer the fire, we reached, in the afternoon, the pastures of Nethel in the upland steppe among the northern hills of the Abu Rijmeyn.

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The Land of Promise

We stepped from the car into a green sea of waving grass and flowers. The wind blew to our nostrils the sweet smell of this lush land. Deeply we inhaled the sweet air and with longing eyes gazed at the distant cause of all this fertility—heavy rain-clouds which had risen on the horizon. Faris spread out his arms as if to embrace it all.

The tall green blades of delicate grasses swept about our shepherd's cloaks. Above us a lark soared rapturously over a flowery hillside, while at our feet chirped the crickets. How good the mint and sage smelt! In silent gratitude we stood knee-deep in this paradise.

Faris walked away, slipping his *aba* from his shoulders. Then he stopped and contemplated this awe-inspiring steppe, the meadows over which brooded the arcadian peace of Arabia. There he stood alone and apart, like a Prince of Kedhar, whose tents and camel herds cover the hills of Midian and Ephra.

His gaze swept this abundance—the promised land—which in imagination he saw peopled by his *Bedu* and their herds. And then his head drooped. How can I express what passed through my mind as I looked on the bowed figure amidst the verdure? "Let Ishmael live before thee," I cried involuntarily. Faris was grieving for his people, amongst whom he was only a stranger, his head bowed down with the awful tragedy of the dying grasslands down yonder on the parched plain, where our famished tribe was wandering. A slight shudder ran through his body; he dropped to his knees, put his face into the grass and stroked caressingly the beloved earth. Yearningly he cried: "*Ya ummi*—my mother!"

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000 The wilderness was his motherland, rich, beautiful, most dear, for he had never known cities.

781[x] 221[x] 203 Before we started homeward, Faris tore up bunches of grass by the roots; each one of us had to take back an armful to testify to the fertility of the land we had explored.

When we reached camp we found hundreds of men seated before the threshold of Tra'd ibn Sattam's tent, waiting for our tidings about the land in the North. Slaves brought up dry brushwood and herbage and piled it on the slumbering fire. Soon the flames were crackling, leaping as high as the roof, and the inside of the black tent was one red glow.

We spread out our silent witnesses—the bunches of grass, herbage and flowers, which were no less precious for being withered. All night long the people came, even from the most distant camping-places, to see and touch them. They fingered the long grasses with exclamations of joy and praise to God. Now and then Tra'd ibn Sattam handed out a blade, which passed from hand to hand, and some would lift it to their lips with a murmur of "*Ya hayat*—O Life!" And each time Ibn Sattam proffered one of these precious specimens from the grazing grounds of the enemy, he would say: "Here are the proofs of Life. Tell your children that we shall go on." And the tribesmen vaulted on to their horses and galloped into the night, to show the emblems of hope to their women and children and neighbours, and to tell them of the wonders of the highland pasture.

781[x] 221[x] The evening of the following day I sat talking with some Rwala by the fire in the principal tent, with others

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coming and going, when a well-known voice called for coffee. Unnoticed by any of us, Amir Fuaz had entered and sat down. "Thank Heaven you are back," I exclaimed. "I'll gladly surrender my position to you"; and I offered him the place of honour.

Fuaz had returned from Rutbah empty-handed. The suspicion of treachery on the part of Yassin Bey had indeed proved groundless; but the French insisted on their previous decision and the English expressed lack of interest. Nothing had been gained.

At this juncture I proposed to Fuaz to let me try to bring about an understanding with his Bedouin enemies, but it was only with much difficulty that he could be moved to give his assent—not that he had anything against my personal interference in the affairs of his tribe, but because he feared that such a step towards conciliation would be interpreted by the enemy as a sign of weakness. It was only after I had talked to him for a long time, trying to ease his mind, that he said quite suddenly: "Well then, in the name of God, go to Ibn Meheyd. Was not my brother-in-law always thy friend?" He sent for Mijhem (his half-brother) and Faris, and instructed them to accompany me on my mission. For our bodyguards he detailed Mnahi and a friend of Faris, one Abd el-Karim, a Wuld'Ali chieftain from Syria, and the latter's slave, Sleyman.

We used Nuri Sha'lan's open car for our trip, and we avoided all camel-riders, especially when they had horses with them.

Early in the afternoon we sought out a secluded wind-

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sheltered position at the foot of a rugged hill, and gathered roots and dry weeds to make a fire by which to roast the bustards shot on the way by our slaves. The roughly plucked birds were cut into pieces, which were thrown on the hot ashes. The crops and intestines still full of partly digested herbs and red-haired caterpillars were also roasted in this way, and eaten with relish as a delicacy.

It was our intention to rest here awhile. From a point above our camp we surveyed the surrounding country from time to time for wandering herds, mounted Bedouins or automobiles, but as far as we could see there was nothing living within view; the wilderness stretched away to the horizon undisturbed.

As we chaffed and laughed over our meal, six savage figures stood suddenly before us, as if they had risen out of the ground. They could not have ridden upon us, for Mijhem and Sleyman had, but a moment previously, scanned the whole neighbourhood with field-glasses. The six fellows must, therefore, have crept up on hands and knees from some spot close by, where they had been lying in hiding. They had no rifles, but nevertheless, they had us covered with pistols which they held under their cloaks.

At first they did not speak, and not one of us dared to move. Two of the strangers then commenced to argue with each other, eyeing us the while in a most unfriendly manner.

Unmounted wayfarers met in the desert in this way are usually common robbers and murderers, who will stop at nothing to attain their purpose. They have

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nothing in common with those worthy camel and sheep raiders who ride *dhalúls* and mares, and whose exploits are somewhat in the nature of knightly enterprises.

Faris and I exchanged glances and stealthily groped under our cloaks on the ground for our rifles.

Now I could take my courage in my hands and speak to our uninvited visitors.

"What do you want of us?"

"God knows."

"And how did you get here?"

"From over there."

"And where are you going?"

"Over there."

"What tribe do you belong to?"

"The Beni Adam" (Children of Adam).

The replies sounded impudent and dangerous; but we were used to desert ways. By their ambiguous replies, the strangers stamped themselves as ordinary robbers. Had they responded to my questions more openly, they would have made themselves and their tribe responsible for our safety (or our death). We could then either have removed our headgear or in some way have touched one of them, and thereupon claimed their protection. Even to spit on a man (a truly singular way of "touching") and thus call on his protection is permissible and efficacious enough to save one's life, if not at the same time one's property.

These fellows had no use for the honoured customs of the Arabs. They were responsible to no one and would kill us in cold blood. Why they held back was incomprehensible.

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579 As a last resort, and in order to get some idea of the strangers' intentions, Mijhem offered them cigarettes. They shook their heads in refusal, but their attention was momentarily distracted from us. Like lightning Faris seized the opportunity to raise his rifle and fire over their heads. Mijhem and I, who had awaited a cue, fired from under our herder's coats.

The surprised thieves fell back in fright. Two immediately threw themselves on the ground, while a third let off his pistol at us. The bullet lightly grazed Sleyman's left forearm, and he promptly pulled the trigger of his rifle and shot the robber in the thigh.

Mijhem and Faris ordered the bandits on whom we had so turned the tables to throw off their cloaks and face the other way. They obeyed without a word, and as the *abas* fell from their shoulders, we saw that each man's belt carried a small arsenal of daggers and pistols. They were ordered to place back in their holsters the pistols with which they had threatened us and to throw their belts to us.

These six worthies belonged by origin to the tribe of the Duleym. Faris got this out of them by a searching cross-examination; also, that, as the Duleym were confederates of the Fid'an, they were on the way to these allies to procure camels and horses. Lazy footpads like these carry no rifles; they find small firearms suit their purpose better.

They now revealed quite frankly that they had taken our automobile for that of the Sheykh of the Amarat. That a fighting-car of the Ruala might be in enemy ter-

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ritory had not entered their minds. Only our black or brown herder's coats betrayed us on closer view as possible foes. 579 [291]

We thanked our lucky stars for this error which had saved our lives and sent the robbers on their way unmolested, but without arms and ammunition. The wounded man we carried with us to the camp of Ibn Meheyd.

Before they left us, these fellows had the impudence to ask us to make a detour and take them into the neighbourhood of a Saba camp which they intended to raid. Incorrigible rogues!

"But the Saba are your allies!" I cried out, astonished.

"What of that?" answered the leader. "Thou are *gûm* (enemy) of the Saba."

"Magnanimous Duleym!" said Mijhem ironically, "thou art in error; we are on a peace mission."

"Allah! How fastidious art thou!" responded the man, with equal irony, and turned his back on us.

Our head-cloths fluttered in the wind as we raced on again over the undulating plain. Small groups of riders on camels and on horses appeared from time to time. They stood still as we passed, observing us from a distance. 791x 221x

We had also noticed three automobiles which held a course parallel to ours for some distance, but disappeared now and again behind a hill or in some depression. After one such disappearance, they reappeared much nearer to us. We halted and signalled to the motorists. They 721

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721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

619 [361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

769 [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiywkhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

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visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab. 769

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyye was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala. 619 721

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black. [302]

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates. [164]

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my 619 721 576

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619 721 576 friends on no account to step within the circle of the *shiyukhs* without me.

No word of greeting or otherwise had come from these. Some turned away with ostentatious disdain. Ibn Meheyd, with his back to us, was excitedly whispering into the ear of his black body-servant, who was listening with bent head. The men of the bodyguard stood with eyes fixed on those two, their hands round the butts of the pistols in their belts, ready to draw.

Meanwhile, more by instinct than design, I seated myself close to Ibn Meheyd and motioned Faris and Mijhem to sit down too. (Abd el-Karim and the two slaves were waiting in our motor-car.) Furious ejaculations burst from every mouth at the liberties I was taking. At the sound, Ibn Meheyd turned in surprise; silently he regarded Faris and Mijhem with lowered brows and sinister eyes. I divined, nay, I could feel the murder in his mind. One sign from him, and there was an end of my friends; perhaps of me too.

There was not the fraction of a second to lose. Hailing the despised "coffee-cook" by the hearth, I called out to him: "O boy—strength to thee!" The old Negro looked up, startled, but did not dare to answer me; he only rolled his eyes timidly back and forth between me and his master. Suddenly Ibn Meheyd made a sign and his guardsmen drew their pistols. The last fragments of my courage and self-possession dropped from me and my knees trembled. But—the pistols were not levelled. Faris and Mijhem had been quicker than the guard. With great presence of mind they had whipped out their revolvers and had Ibn Meheyd covered before the black-

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amoors could take aim. And this they dared not do now.

This coolness helped to restore my own composure and I cried to the cook reproachfully:

"Is it forbidden in the house of Ibn Meheyd to present the cup of peace to the guest who has alighted at his sanctuary?" The old Negro dithered, as he reluctantly reached for the small china cup that was placed upside down on the handle of a big coffeepot to dry; he turned his face anxiously towards his chieftain. Unwilling to wait any longer, I jumped up and went quickly to the hearth, helped myself to the cup, took the pot from the bed of glowing embers—it burned my fingers cruelly, but I bit down the pain—and poured out the customary measure. Then I went up to Ibn Meheyd and presented the cup to him with the salutation of peace. He looked at me with bowed head from under lowered lids.

He must obey the Law of the Desert; he must take the proffered cup. Nor could he play with the lives of my friends without forfeiting his own. At the first aggressive move, he would be riddled with bullets, for Faris and Mijhem still had their pistols trained on him. He turned from me, but I put my hand on his shoulder: "Peace!" I said. He turned round again, a fanatic light in his eyes; but, despite the angry face, he now opened his lips to bid me peace and asked me to sit in his own seat.

Then, and not till then, Faris and Mijhem dared to put up their weapons; the word "peace" had been formally pronounced by the host. Slaves heaped cushions for us against the camel-saddle.

Ibn Meheyd himself then took the coffee-cup from

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619 721 576 the slave's hand and presented it to me with, "Welcome! May it please thee!" Twice he repeated these words, which are a guarantee of peace and safety. Then Faris and Mijhem also drank with him.

000 To us, used to the ways of Western civilization, such a train of events and their result must seem incomprehensible. But after one has lived a length of time with the Bedouins, one learns to understand that the unwritten laws of the Bedouin social code are closely adapted to the conditions of life in the desert and have sufficed, from time immemorial, to meet its manifold circumstances. Without these rules of the game, indeed, all human life in nomad Arabia would have become extinct long since.

619 728 After I had asked, and Ibn Meheyd had granted me, leave to speak, I set forth the object of my mission and exhorted the assembled *shiyukhs*, with what persuasive eloquence I could muster, to make peace with the Ruala, and, as in former years, share the grazing-grounds like [186] brothers. I dwelt on the advantages of unity and the evils of dissension, and drove home my argument by pointing out that by their present policy they were only playing into the hands of foreign powers, who, after all the Bedouin tribes had been weakened individually, would encompass the complete destruction of them all.

My exhortations and arguments were received in cold silence. Most of the chiefs sat with bent heads and tapped the ground with their camel-sticks in apparent boredom. I felt pretty sure, however, that their indifference was assumed, and I would not let myself be dis-

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couraged. Once more I returned to my task and, mustering all powers of persuasion, I redoubled my effort to bring the benefits of good will and a just peace before their eyes. At length I succeeded in persuading them to abandon their hostile silence and to enter into a sort of discussion with me. But anyone who believes that Bedouins can be persuaded at short order is mistaken. Hours passed. It was close on midnight, when Faris begged to be allowed to speak in the name of Amir Fuaz. Ibn Meheyd nodded. "Peace!" said Faris. "Truly, the Enemy of Life is pressing back the living. The milk from the breast of the desert has turned into dust. Like bitter myrrh does it taste to them that thirst. Our wells are dried up, our pastures are scorched by the sun, our camels are perishing in the land of hunger and thirst, thousands are dying on the paths of the earth. Praise unto God that he still keeps his hand open above your heads, but to the Ruala he has closed his heaven. Far be it from us to come as enemies. We would enter your grassland as your guests."

The words made a deep impression. Faris had spoken as a Bedouin. He had spoken a language they had all understood.

The *shiyukhs* withdrew. For perhaps a half-hour they stood under the stars, among camels, horses and sheep, debating and gesticulating. Then they returned and in silence seated themselves in a circle by the camp-fire. Only Rakan, the Chieftain of the Saba, was missing—an indication that he must have fallen out with Ibn Meheyd and the others with regard to the peace conditions. We knew him to be the wiliest of our enemies

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623 and the idea came to me at once that he would try to
728 ambush us on our return journey.
619 After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn-Milhem (Chief of the Wuld'Ali) and our *shiyukhs*. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the chieftains."

Thereupon Ibn Meheyd offered me his hand. I grasped it and thanked him and the others in the conclave for their willingness to share their grazing-grounds during the coming summer with the Ruala and Wuld'Ali and for allowing the peoples to live side by side in neighbourly amity. I also expressed my hope that the belligerent chieftains would also soon conclude peace among themselves.

It would have been useless to waste more words on the healing of the breach between the *shiyukhs*. If Ibn Meheyd fulfilled their promise of peace between the tribes, I could be more than content with the result of my journey. It would be no less than a miracle.

619 It was still dark when I was roused from sleep by the
728 clatter of cooking utensils. The cook was just putting
577 his water-pots on the glowing fire. Enveloped in its acrid smoke, by the threshold, stood the old mare that had carried me to this tent after the conference. I stepped into the open. It was still night, but the stars were paling and in the east the greenish-grey of dawn mantled the

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desert as with a fine veil. Between the tent-ropes lay our host's camels, chewing the cud. Beyond them spread the softly undulating steppe, and a wonderful fragrance exhaled from it. Everywhere was a stillness and a peace which filled me with awe.

But where were the tents and the herds that at midnight had covered the whole neighbourhood?

I ran into the open a little way and looked about. Far and wide no other tent. Our black shelter lay like a derelict ship on the ocean.

A curious feeling of loneliness came on me for the first time in my life among the Arabs. I had been left with a few companions only, where the evening before thousands had camped round us. Silently the Bedouins had broken camp and they—their women, their children, and their animals—had melted away like a mirage; I could not understand it all.

"Faris! Mijhem!" I called and went to wake the sleepers. Sheykh Nauaf-es-Saleh, in whose tent we had slept, also appeared. I took his hand and asked:

"What does this mean?"

"What doth it mean, thou askest?" he replied. "Ibn Meheyd never breaks his word. The promise he made thee last night he fulfils even this morning."

Ibn Meheyd had evacuated his grazing-grounds to make room for the Ruala!

Nauaf pointed to a group of persons some distance away, now visible in the stronger light. They seemed to be resting, just about where Ibn Meheyd's tent had stood the previous evening.

We rode over and found Ibn Meheyd himself, with

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six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

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He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

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XIX

The Ambush

ON OUR HOMEWARD drive to the Ruala camp, only an hour or so after we had parted from Ibn Meheyd, we were attacked by Bedouins from ambush in a *wadi*. The ensuing action was brief, but it cost the life of Abd el-Karim, who was particularly dear to Faris, while our assailants left three dead behind. They proved to be Saba of the House of Rakan. 000

Abd el-Karim's end was most harrowing. Sitting directly behind me in our open car, he was fatally wounded by a bullet which tore his abdomen to pieces. Realizing the inevitableness of the end, he calmly ordered his slave to shoot him through the head, before our very eyes. We scraped a shallow grave for him in the sand, and we were still occupied with the other dead when Sleyman, who had been posted on guard, reported that he had sighted three motor-cars through his binoculars. They were trying to cross the *wadi*, a considerable distance off, and come up on our side.

We pushed our car to a covered position in the *wadi* and made ready for action. The Saba were coming towards us cautiously. The visibility was bad in the dazzling glare, but at last we scored some hits, and the enemy fell back beyond reach of our long-range rifles.

While Faris and Sleyman kept watch on our opponents' movements, we others set to work to change the tyres riddled in the earlier fight and to solder the dam-

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aged radiator. This of course we could do only very patchily; but luckily we managed to drive the heavy car out of the riverbed and make for the enemy.

The Saba divided on our approach, obviously for the purpose of attacking us on two sides. Mijhem steered for the car on our right, which had wheeled suddenly and stopped broadside on. Its occupants raked us with a hail of bullets, but although a number of these hit our car, we managed to dash in closer. Our carbines answered shot for shot. Steel rang on iron, the wind blew out our cloaks, bullets whistled past, sand and pebbles spattered my face, and wild shouts came from my companions; but I thought there must be some wounded, for our fire lessened. (Faris, Mnahi, and Sleyman had in fact been wounded more or less seriously, but carried on as well as they could.)

With a fresh volley of steel-cased bullets, we finally put this carload of our opponents out of action. If they were not all dead, we could feel sure that none were left fit to fight. Indeed, we drove up to within a hundred yards without drawing a shot. But now it was high time for us to turn against the other two cars, which appeared on our left, already dangerously near.

We headed for them, but we had gone little more than a mile when our damaged engine stopped abruptly.

There was no time, of course, to attempt repairs. We could no longer manœuvre the car, let alone take to flight. "Get out," said Mijhem. There was nothing for it but to stand our ground, with the car for cover. It was then I found out how badly Faris and Mnahi were injured. Faris could not move his right leg, and I had to

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half lift him out of the car. It was a mercy that the two enemy cars did not attack at that critical moment. They must have suffered losses in the first attack more serious than ours, for they had retreated beyond our range, and were marking time, merely watching us.

I took advantage of this respite to get out my surgical kit and dress the wounded. My dear friend Faris was not so badly wounded as I had at first thought. The deep groove made by a bullet in the upper part of his right thigh bled profusely, but it was only a flesh wound. I cleaned it and closed it with half a dozen clamps. The bullet that had wounded Mnahi had gone clean through his shoulder and lodged in the muscles of his neck, and I easily succeeded in extracting it. Sleyman showed nothing worse than some harmless grazes on the wrist. I was bandaging these when Mijhem shouted to me to hurry. A fresh attack was coming.

I picked up my rifle and cartridge-belt and cowered down under the rear end of the car. I felt sick to the point of vomiting, and very weak; I could scarcely raise enough energy to throw open the chamber of my carbine and slide in a fresh cartridge clip. My nausea was perhaps due to the ether I had involuntarily inhaled when attending to our wounded. I felt better, however, after I had been lying for a while under the car with my carbine under my arm.

Meanwhile, the two hostile cars were drawing nearer. They drove one behind the other, so that only the leading car offered a good target. We pumped lead into its iron body, but unfortunately not with steel bullets; for Mijhem had brought along only a few clips of this am-

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munition and wanted to save it for the decisive moment —an ill-advised economy that was to cost us dear.

Presently the foremost car skidded, then reduced speed, and finally stopped six or seven hundred yards away. The car behind it, however, rushed on us at terrific speed, swerved sharply only about ten car-lengths from us, and was gone as quickly as it had come. The whole thing could have taken no more than thirty seconds.

In these few moments a terrible tragedy befell us, the details of which I fear I am quite unable to give with any degree of accuracy. I recall that at the critical moment I was chiefly conscious of the fact that only two or three shots were fired on our side. We had made the mistake of emptying our carbines almost simultaneously on the leading car. We all had to reload, and that allowed the other car those fatal few seconds in which to make its rush unchecked.

When the first car had stopped (really put out of action by our fire), I had not a cartridge left in my magazine.

As I started to load a fresh clip, I heard a dull thud behind me, and a heavy body tumbled over me. I jerked my shoulder to let it slide off, and it collapsed limply on the ground. It was Sleyman. His wide-open eyes stared into emptiness. A bullet had pierced his right temple and come out under his left jaw. At the same moment I became conscious again of the oncoming car not one hundred yards off, and heard a voice cry, half in terror, half in warning: "Merciful One! O God of Grace!"

It was Faris who had cried out. Only then did I notice

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that he was no longer beside me. He had crept out from cover, to get a clearer sight, and was lying wholly exposed on the sand.

As the death-car thundered past, bullets clashed into the chassis of our vehicle, but in spite of the feverish excitement and the clanging and clatter about me, my ears picked out repeatedly in the fury of noise those dull, hollow thuds known only to those who have taken part in pitched battles—the sound of bullets striking into living flesh. Then I also heard moaning and groans. I straightened up a little to take a hasty look—and my blood ran cold. Faris lay writhing on the ground ahead of me.

My last shots spat venomously after the swiftly retreating car. Then I raised myself and, leaning on my carbine, staggered like a drunken man to my friend's side. He now lay quite still, with his face in the sand. I turned him over. His eyes were glassy, but he was still alive. Blood trickled from the corners of his mouth, staining his handsome face and his dress. Near him lay the slave of Abd el-Karim, riddled with bullets, a ghastly sight.

I fetched one of our water-bags in which we kept sulphur-charged water from Tudmur and with it washed Faris's face. He was quite unconscious; this made it easier for me to examine his injuries. Apart from the relatively unimportant thigh wound which he had received in the first attack, he had two terrible wounds in the right breast. To me it seemed a miracle that he was still alive. Both bullets had lodged deep down; to extract them with the means at hand was out of the question. I

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could do nothing but bandage the wounds with Mijhem's assistance.

Mnahi had broken down from sheer weakness and was huddled on the footboard.

Everything seemed unreal.

Together with Mijhem I started to collect the scattered rifles. We ejected the spent cartridges and reloaded and stacked the arms beside Mnahi.

As we carried our two dead to the car, Mijhem was also overcome by faintness. He dropped suddenly as if he had had a stroke, and remained full length on the ground. With my last remaining strength I got Sleyman's body into the back seat. Then I sat down on the running-board beside Mnahi.

I covered Faris with my cloak, for it was getting cool. I now felt thirsty and took the leather bag with the sulphur-water with which I had washed the faces of Faris and the dead men, and drank eagerly. That revived me. I picked up my Zeiss, for it seemed to me as if there were something stirring in the apparently disabled car of the enemy. I had not been deceived. The crew were obviously engaged in repairing their engine; I could clearly see three figures moving about. I handed the glass to Mnahi, asking him to keep watch on the enemy while I tried to restore Mijhem. He soon got up and tried to shake off his faintness. He drank some water and so did Mnahi.

There were two carbines for each of us. Four of these six we had loaded with steel-jacketed ammunition, and these we meant to use first. Mijhem had now recovered enough to stand by me. For Mnahi we made a seat so

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that, leaning against the car, he could take part in our defence. 000

The sun was nearing the horizon when the enemy car at last got under way. At first they moved away from us, but that was only to find smoother ground for their charge. We had agreed that Mijhem should open fire alone; Mnahi and I would hold our ammunition for the close fighting.

Mijhem shot steadily and accurately, but quite fast enough. I had handed him another carbine with steel bullets when, after his eighth shot, the advancing car stuck side-on, two hundred yards or so away. It must have run wild for the last thirty yards. In its front seat we saw distinctly the huddled figure of the slave. Of the rest of the crew there was no sign. All life seemed to have been extinguished.

Without a word, Mijhem, with rifle at the ready, started for the car at a run. I called to him to come back, but in vain; so I jumped up and ran to overtake him. After I had repeatedly shouted to him, he stopped at last to let me come up; and we advanced side by side, ready to fire at the slightest sign of life. The last fifty yards seemed to me endless, as step by step, every nerve taut, we approached the enemy car.

Nothing stirred.

The car was a ghastly sight. The three slaves huddled in it were terribly wounded and on the point of death; only the one at the wheel was still conscious. Mijhem drew his Mauser pistol, and, reaching behind the man, put a bullet through his brain. He then as quickly put the other two out of their misery, while I gathered up

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 the men's rifles, revolvers, and ammunition. They all had been slaves of Rakan.

Meanwhile, it had become nearly dark. My eyes strayed to the tragic vehicle loaded with our dead and with Faris, as I thought, lying beside it, perhaps dying. Still and ghostlike it loomed in the gloaming. But, was I dreaming? Faris, whom we had left lying on the ground unconscious, was sitting in the front of our car!

He raised his hand and waved it at us! It was no hallucination! I left Mijhem standing there and ran to Faris.

When I sat down beside him, he slowly extended his right arm and laid it over my shoulder. So he leaned on me; and we rested awhile, side by side. I had switched on the lights on our instrument-board, and a faint glow fell on his pallid face. A sickly, sweet odour came from his blood-soaked garments. He tried to speak, but he was in much pain and could barely draw his bloodless lips away from his teeth.

When Mijhem had come back, we made ready to get under way. With some trouble we got our engine going. One of our head-lamps still worked and could be lighted; the other one had been shot to pieces.

763 I wanted to drive Faris straight to Damascus, where there was a number of French surgeons, one of whom I knew. But he only shook his head and begged us to carry him to his family and Tuēma. He was convinced he had only a short time to live and that no physician could help him.

I, too, had little hope of his recovery and ceased to persuade, feeling loath to assume the responsibility for

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

his death far from his kin and without having seen his beloved one again. 76-3

"If we go now," said Faris, with pleading voice, "God will extend my time so that I may see Tuēma, and take her as my wife. And so I shall raise a 'name' to honour my father's house, even if it please God to take me away."

Faris—the true Ishmaelite!

Bedouins (and for that matter the Wahabees also) do not honour the tombs of their dead, but they revere the wombs of the living as blessed.

So we resolved to do the will of Faris. But, before setting our faces homeward, we drove to the Saba car and its three dead. We removed a good tyre and some parts, which Mijhem thriftily thought could be put to use, and also poured most of its petrol into our tank. What remained Mijhem splashed over the car and then set fire to it. As we drove away into the night, this funeral pyre lit up the dark desert and its unseen horrors.

We drove slowly and carefully,—it was morning when we came in sight of the Ruala camp.

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XX

"The Cloud in My Eyes"

763 THE SUN HAD just risen when, from a ridge, we saw the black tents in the valleys between gently undulating hills. Some camel herds were already stringing out to pasture. I stopped the car and we looked at the peaceful scene spread out before us. The world could not be more beautiful than it was that morning.

On Faris's face lay the same still light that glorified the land. His eyes shone as with the gleam of a new light; and I was happy to bring him home.

To-day he looked on everything with the eyes of one about to say farewell. What at other times he hardly noticed, to-day he regarded with wonder, as if he saw it for the first time.

He asked me if I thought that the "other" life would be like this earthly one.

"Yes!" I replied. "But it is a life of peace and not of strife."

He looked at his bloodless hands. "Once upon a time they were strong," he said, "but now no strength is left in them. They are yellow like ripe seed. They will be laid in the earth." He looked into my face and said earnestly in a low voice: "Let us go to Tuēma."

As we made our way through the camp of the tribal division to which Faris belonged, a grave-faced throng pressed round our car and in silence accompanied it to his father's dwelling. Supported only by me and holding

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Raswan and Prince Faut with the Great Horsemen of the Rwala

[727]

Return from the Raid

following p. 128 (c)

lr Rasswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Amir Faez ibn Nuwaf Ar-Nuri, Mounted on His War-Mare, Shiba

Following p. 128(b.)

- at Haswan T-3 (1913-33) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Author with Hunting Falcon

Following page 128 (c)

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Camel Troop of the Rwala Returning from a Raid

Bedouins of Arabia on the War Path

opposite p. 129

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 his head high, Faris dragged himself from the car to the tent. He would show no weakness. But the deathly pallor of his face betrayed his sad condition. There were also Mnahi's wound-dressings and the shot-riddled car to tell their tale. But though hundreds crowded close, grown-ups and children, and looked at us with anxious and inquiring eyes, not a mouth was opened to put a question. The very dogs, usually so joyful and vociferous on the return of a party, were silent; they only snuffed the blood-stained car, laid back their ears, and slunk off as if they had received a beating.

Faris's father, informed of the disaster by the word that had flown from tent-row to tent-row, came in gravely and sat down beside his stricken son. It cost him a terrible effort to preserve the appearance of composure prescribed by the Bedouin code. He made no inquiry as to his son's condition until after coffee had been handed round, and even then he could only ask, according to established usage: "God willing, Faris, mayst thou stay with us?"

"I am alive, Father, God be praised! And there is peace."

"Peace?" asked Naif and some others in obvious surprise.

"Ibn Meheyd proclaimed peace in the council of his *shiyukhs*. Yesterday he had already removed his herds to the northern grazing-grounds."

"Peace—peace!" The cry of "Peace" ran through the tent and swelled outside into a chorus—"There is peace—we may move on!"

Behind Faris knelt his little sister and the small sons

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 of Tra'd ibn Sattam. Tears ran down the children's faces, but they bit their lips. Now our adventures were related, to the accompaniment of the free comments of the company. With incredible self-mastery, Faris, marked by death, sought to hide his sufferings and take part in the general conversation, which ran on and on. Every little detail of the fighting was threshed out in cold blood, and Faris's inevitable fate was discussed with (to anyone of the Western world) cruel disregard of his feelings.

This discussion lasted two hours. When the company finally rose, Faris also tried to get up; but a severe hæmorrhage threw him back on his couch, and he 763 fainted. His mother was sent for. When he came to, she 593 was kneeling at his side, with his hands in hers; and one could see she was hungering for a look from him. "My son!" she whispered, and kissed him, her face streaming with tears.

When Faris's still-wandering eyes saw her so convulsed with grief, his face quivered. "Who is this woman?" he said, propping himself on his elbow. "Take her away! I don't know her."

The slaves looked at one another uncertainly.

"Take her outside!" Faris called to them again. Then I took the poor woman by the arm and, with some words of consolation, led her from the tent. But at the entrance of the tent she wrenched herself from me, ran [782] back and threw herself at Faris's feet. With both hands she gathered dust from the ground and poured it on her head and cried to God to preserve her son.

Faris touched her bent head and said:

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"Go, Mother! God will give thee strength. I would have only happy faces about me. Nay, have I lived in order to be afraid of death?" 763 593

He motioned to me to lead his mother away.

When I came out of the woman's tent, a rider on a sorrel horse came galloping from another camp at the lower end of the valley and I waited. It was Tuĕma, as I had thought. 763

Her whole body trembled and her voice was choked with tears. I tried to calm her and told her of what had passed between Faris and his mother. At this she pulled herself together and kissed my hands and pressed them to her wet eyes.

"What shall I do, Aziz?" she asked.

"Make his last hours cheerful, Tuĕma. Show him that you are happy. That is all."

"Go thou before me," she begged, and tried to smile; but the tears rolled down her cheeks.

"Go before me," she repeated. "I want first to dispel the cloud from my eyes."

It had been decided that the marriage of Faris and Tuĕma should take place that very evening. He had been inquiring after her with growing impatience. When I told him the glad news that Tuĕma had come and would be with him at any moment, he begged first to see his mother again.

I went myself to the women's quarters to bring her. Her grief had made her a frail wraithlike creature: she walked with uncertain steps, but was more composed. She knelt down by Faris's couch. He put his arms round his beloved mother, and hugged her to his breast. Tears

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763 came into his eyes and they seemed to soothe the mother's pain.

She sat bolt upright by her son's side, arranged his clothes and cushions and replaited his long, thick tresses, which some words of jest about him and his beloved Tuëma. When she had finished, she left again, leaning on my arm, and from the threshold called out to her son that she would now send in Tuëma.

We had arranged a broad comfortable couch for Faris and partitioned it off with curtains; but one of them, according to the direction of the wind, was always drawn back, so that Faris, resting with the upper part of his body propped up, could look out.

A smile of happiness mingled with surprise suddenly lit up his face. Tuëma had come in. She had paused at the threshold with a smothered cry and a look of horror in her face at her lover's helpless plight. But so quickly had she mastered herself that I hardly noticed her emotion, and Faris saw only a smiling face as she moved to his bedside. Her silver bangles tinkled faintly. "Faris! Faris! My Life!" she exclaimed, dropping on her knees; and, twining her arms about his neck, she stroked and caressed his face and body.

When she kissed him, I noticed that her mouth was stained with his blood; but she kept her lips firmly pressed to his, so that he should not see that blood was trickling from his mouth on to her neck.

585 Shortly before sundown the tent began to fill with relatives and friends, who had been invited as witnesses to the wedding.

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Tuēma had meanwhile returned to her own dwelling at the lower end of the valley. Her girl friends had been busy selecting the handsomest camel-litter and decorating it for the occasion. With its ornate marriage canopy it was mounted on a fine, gorgeously caparisoned camel, which slaves then led to Tuēma's tent. There the bride mounted to her lofty seat between the slender horns of the camel-litter and, with songs and shouts and waving of scarves, her girl friends escorted her to the tent of the bridegroom.

Before the women's quarters, but so arranged that Faris on his couch could see everything, Tuēma made her camel kneel down. Faris's mother and sisters, attended by numerous men and women slaves, greeted and received the bride ceremoniously.

Close by, Mnahi held an old white battle-mare by the halter. Auda, "the helper", she was called, and also the "Virginal Kuhaylat-Ajuz", for she had never been mated. The Ruala all but worshipped her as sacred. As a three-year-old she had been presented to Misha'il as a gift, on the birth of her son, Amir Fuaz. The mare was thus twenty-seven years old and her body bore the scars of many a raid. Over her back was spread a white lamb's-skin rug, the "Virgin Fleece" which, according to immemorial custom, the Bedouin bride brings to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Tuēma had disappeared into the harem to be attired in her wedding dress by Faris's mother and sisters. When she came out again, she was resplendent in a rich cashmere gown woven in red and green (it had been worn by Faris's mother at her own bridal ceremony) and a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

585 gold-laced shepherd's cloak floating from her shoulders.
292 She took her position beside the white mare; and an aged
585 Bedouin, with a little lamb, only a week old, in his arms,
[782] stepped before her, laid the lamb at her feet and slit its throat as a sacrificial offering. Auda snorted and backed away from the blood, but the old man grabbed the halter and, dipping his fingers in the lamb's blood, painted the *Wasm* (tribal mark) of the Ruala on the mare's neck. Then he calmly passed his gory fingers through his white beard. The slaughtered lamb was given, in accordance with the custom of the Bedouins, to an orphan—a little girl selected by a *sheykh*.

Without accepting a helping hand from Mnahi, which he offered because of her trailing garments, Tuëma lightly swung herself on to the back of the white mare and at a walking-pace rode through the camp. The huge Negro strode beside her, holding over her head the great sword of Janda and Jidua and exclaiming, herald-fashion:

> "See ye the bride of Faris! See ye the virgin!
> O for Tuëma's eyes and Alya's grazing herds!
> O for the dark hero and his bride!"

Thus the procession made the round of the camp, all the inhabitants of which were lined up in front of their black tents and, as the bride rode past on her white mare, it was with a joyful "*Zaraghrit*" they greeted her, even though their hearts were heavy within them.

Returning to Faris's tent, Tuëma dismounted, took the white lamb's-skin rug from her mare's back and spread it on the nuptial couch. Then she disappeared

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into the harem, to wait there until her bridegroom should call her. 585

Therewith the simple wedding ceremony was ended. We, who had been with Faris to witness the arrival of the bride, now rose to go.

The first stars were glittering over the hills when I stepped outside. The black tents in the valley melted into the deepening darkness of the evening.

The herds were wending their way homeward, their silhouettes now showing as they cross high ground, now sinking out of sight in the hollows. . . .

As my friends departed from the tent, each called out to Faris, according to Bedouin custom: "Vigour! And God be with thee!" [576]

Behind the partition that closed off the women's apartment Tuëma was waiting for our going. When the last farewell was uttered, she pulled the middle tent-pole from its position and laid it on the ground. The roof bulged and drooped low in the middle, almost touching Faris's couch, but the lateral supports and the taut stays kept the rest of the tent fixed at about a man's height. It was the sign to any passer-by that a bride was with her bridegroom.

That night Faris died. When we came to his tent next morning, Tuëma was lying unconscious beside her dead lover. 764

A stone's-throw from the tent a few slaves were busy digging his grave.

As we committed our dear brother, lying on the white

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

764 fleece, into the keeping of the desert, the women looked on from a distance and bewailed the dead. Their hair was dishevelled and with smoke-black from their hearths they had painted signs of mourning on their faces.

Tuëma stood silent among them. The red cloak of camel-hair flowed from her shoulders. Her head was held high, but in her eyes were tears and a look of ineffable pain.

Once more the sun rose and beamed over the land.

The tent-poles dropped and the Ruala marched on. . . .

765 The living strode over the dead, marching on into the young morning to new pastures and to new life. . . .

Once more I rode on Sadha to the mound where we had buried Faris. It had already become a solitary thing —insignificant in the vast wilderness. A dog which lay on the grave slunk away at my approach. A bunch of white ostrich feathers was stuck between three fire-blackened stones which, the evening before, had formed Tuëma's hearth. This was her farewell to her lover. A gust of wind broke off one "flower" from this unfading wreath and blew it over the ground. I got off my mare to pick up this broken white feather and to keep it in memory of my dear friend.

I remounted and rode on, but presently pulled rein again and looked back. The lonely dog had returned to the grave: he turned round and round and finally lay down, curled up as if in sleep. He was mourning his dead master. Nobody minded him, nobody looked for

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

him; but where should he be but here, with his dead friend?

I was on the point of guiding Sadha away when I noticed a rider coming in my direction—a Bedouin on a white-stockinged sorrel mare, who had just detached himself from a moving group of *kethabs* (riding-litters) and pack camels and was coming along at a tearing gallop.

It was Tuëma.

A short distance from where I was waiting for her she pulled up. Her horse snorted impatiently.

"Peace!" she called to me, lifting her hand.

"Peace, Tuëma," I called back. The tears came into my eyes.

"Shushan!" she called. The dog on the grave got up and walked slowly and reluctantly toward her, then stopped and turned his head.

"Shushan," she called again, and as she rode away, the dog followed her.

The Ruala were on the march and the land was covered with their camels.

Within a few days Tudmur was engulfed in the maelstrom. Day after day, with never a pause, fresh swarms of camels came out of the arid waste to stop at the foot of the hills and drink their fill. The sulphurous but wholesome water here issues from the hills in a clear stream, which branches out into a hundred rivulets in the plain and the small gardens surrounding the ancient city.

In the midst of the marching Ruala I rode again with

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731K 221L Amir Fuaz beside the *Abu Duhur*, the hallowed tribal emblem. But it all seemed so different now: no martial bodyguard; only the litters containing some chieftain's wives and children. Now there was no Faris among the young men galloping with them on their mares, with the baying greyhounds about him. In vain also did I look for the young war goddess.

The melodies of ancient herding-songs came floating back to us as we penetrated deeper into the beautiful pastures, which, with every step we took, became more luxuriant.

Never shall I forget that happy picture of the joyful people and its contented herds browsing, as they wandered onward, the juicy herbage and luxuriant plants.

Nor shall I easily forget the stragglers that vainly strove to reach Ishmael's promised Canaan. There were thousands of camels dragging themselves along with the futile exertion of the last remnants of their strength. They were still perishing by the wayside, while the more fortunate ones were already walking in the rich meadows that had saved them from death.

. . . . . .

000 Nearly two years passed, and the hardships of that spring were forgotten. Twice since then had I been with the Ruala, but only on my third visit did I fall in with [221] the camp of the Shammar family of Faris ibn Naif; for in the rainy season the sub-tribes divide and wander sometimes hundreds of miles apart, and it is not so simple a matter to find someone you are looking for. On my arrival I was greeted by the sons of Tra'd ibn Sattam, whose tents adjoined the Shammar household, and after

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

a while Faris's father came home, and we celebrated our reunion.

In a corner of the women's section of the tent there presently appeared a small, chubby Bedouin boy, who gazed at us newcomers with inquisitive and bashful eyes. He was still a toddler, and had to hold on to the end of the frayed tent-curtain.

"Menwer!" a woman's voice called from within.

The voice was Tuĕma's; and this was Faris's son!

She came out and laughingly took the boy by the hand to lead him back, when I called out her name. She turned round in amazement and raised her hand to me in the salutation of peace. Then she bent down and whispered into her child's ear. The little fellow pointed to me and looked into his mother's face. She nodded encouragingly, and he wobbled toward me with outstretched arms. As I picked him up and hugged him to me, I laughed, but there were tears in my eyes.

Tuĕma, who was speechless with amazement at seeing me again, at last joyfully exclaimed: "Aziz!"

At a gesture from her father-in-law she sat down on a camel-saddle beside us. She touched me with shy fingertips in greeting and in her dark eyes was the sadness of memory. Since Faris's death she belonged altogether to Ibn Naif's family. She had been taken into it as a daughter and sister.

She drew the boy to her breast, and the two fondled each other, a picture of maternal happiness.

"In the evening the Beloved one went from me," said Tuĕma. "In the morning he came back to me."

"Sabah—the morning," I whispered to myself.

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000 "Sabah" was the word Faris had said to her in farewell—"Sabah—thou untouched morning, thou virgin bride."

Early the following day, I rode with Abu-Faris (the "Father of Faris") to some rising ground. My eyes travelled over the Hamad, where the Ruala with their tents and camels were migrating southward. I felt as if invisible hands were carrying off my friends into the wilderness. . . .

"Is not the life of man like a tent and its dwellers?" said the old Shammar Chief. "The day comes when they go, and the site is forsaken. As Imrul-Kais says: 'Pause, wanderer. Let us weep for the beloved one in his resting-place in the shifting sand between el-Dujayl and el-Hamal. He was like the evening star set in the midst of the firmament!' "

This spring had brought back poignantly to my memory that other spring, when Faris and Tuëma had been together. It seemed to me now like a dream.

There arose in me (as it had in another great friend of the Bedouins) the burning hope that always would there be room enough on the earth for my Bedouins.

And as my eyes took in the earth and the sky, the gentle hills and the far, far distances, the boundless expanse of the wilderness became peopled with recollections which, in spite of all that was sad, I count among the most beautiful of my life.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXI

The "Ark of Ishmael"

TO THE BEDOUINS of Arabia, the *Markab* has a significance such as the Palladium had to the Trojans. They all hold the belief that the possession of this symbol, much like the Israelitish "Ark of the Covenant", means safety and power to the tribe holding it, while its loss spells disaster to the tribe and its subsequent dispersion. The Ruala have held it uninterruptedly for nearly a century and a half, but even to-day the sight of "Ishmael's camel-throne", with the chosen maiden sitting on it in times of war, will inspire them to greater heroism. The warriors composing its guard of honour are the picked troops of the tribe. They vouch for its safety with life and limb; they are, above all others, the heroes of Arabia.

Before coming into the keeping of the Ruala, the *Markab* was held by the Amarat. More precisely, it was in possession of the Ibn Hadhdhal family of that tribe until 1793. In that year the Wuld'Ali, a tribe in alliance with the Ruala, made war on the Amarat. Jidua ibn Mubadir, a Rueyli then visiting the Wuld'Ali, took part in the campaign. At the height of the decisive battle, so the tale is told, this Rueyli, with permission from the Wuld'Ali chieftain, flung himself on the horsemen guarding the *Markab* (with the Amarat maiden enthroned in it), cut his way through single-handed, and with one blow of the sword cut off one of the legs of the camel bear-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

ing the emblem of the tribe, and brought it to the ground. With the sudden overthrow of the Holy Standard, the resistance of the Amarat also broke down and, terror-stricken, they suffered a crushing defeat.

On the battlefield the victors found Jidua, killed from ambush by a foot-soldier, and the Amarat maiden of the camel throne—Jamila—who had stabbed herself to death so as not to survive the shame of her people's defeat. The Wuld'Ali, indeed, claim to this day that Jidua had been Jamila's lover; for, they say, the lifeless bodies of those two were found side by side beneath the collapsed *Markab,* and one of Jamila's hands was still clenched round the hilt of her dagger while her other hand clasped the hand of Jidua.

After the defeat of the Amarat, the *sheykh* of the Wuld'Ali presented the *Markab* and with it Jidua's sword, now famous, to the Ruala, since it was a Rueyli who had overthrown the *Markab* and thus brought about the victory to the Wuld'Ali. Since then this sacred emblem has been in the hands of the Sha'lan family and has accompanied the Ruala in all their victorious wars, a symbol of their dominant position among all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia.

Of Jidua's sword—Thu'l-Hayyatu—"the-one-endowed-with-life"—there is also an older legend, which the aged Prince Nuri Sha'lan thus related to me:

In the fifth century of the Hegira (the twelfth by our reckoning) when the 'Anaza Bedouins were still grazing their camels south of Teyma at the Jabal Bird, it happened on the sacred pilgrim's road to Mecca from Damascus. Janda ibn Mubadir, an ancestor of Jidua, was

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travelling with his clan toward Khaybar, seeking the *Dira* (pasture grounds) by the Jabal Abyadh and in the Wadi Rama. One still dark night, when the red campfires flickered in the tents, the air was suddenly filled with a terrific roaring. A mighty thunder-clap rent the sky, the ground trembled and swayed, and the whole world seemed to be tumbling. Every living thing leapt up in mortal terror and ran hither and thither. From the midst of the dark heavens above there broke forth a light that shone over the quaking earth with swiftly growing brilliance, until in a moment it had equalled the luminous power of the noonday sun and surpassed its heat. It blinded men and beasts and struck them down. The earth split; a sound of hissing, tearing, and crashing beyond the power of description filled the air, and a sulphurous smoke hung over the scarred earth.

When morning dawned it was found that many persons had been struck dead; their mutilated bodies were lying about. A crater-like scar marked the place where an unusually large meteorite had buried itself. In addition, a number of men and camels had disappeared without trace into the bowels of the earth, buried forever under sand and stones.

Janda ibn Mubadir and his war-mare, as well as two of his camels, lay dead before the wreck of his torn and partly burned tent. From opposite ends of the desert, from Haleb (Aleppo) in the north and el-Tayef (near Mecca) in the south, came reports that this exceptionally brilliant meteor, with its eerie sound, like "ker-ker-ker", had been observed, and that even the noise of its striking had been heard.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

778 Some years afterwards some bolder spirits among the
773 Bedouins nerved themselves to examine the hole torn in
321 the earth. To their joy, these Bedouins discovered that the rift, widened and cleared by them, began to fill with water. Bir er-Ra'ad (the Thunder Fountain) they named the well. During the excavation, they found small fragments of the splintered "messenger-from-the-sky." A son of Ibn Mubadir took one such fragment from the meteor and fashioned from it a sword two and a half feet long. It gleams to-day as it did then, as if it were brand-new. It is of a bluish tint without one rust stain, and fine silvery wavy marks run down the precious blade, which is as light as a feather. A silversmith of Damascus made a handsome hilt and an equally handsome scabbard for it, and another artist engraved the blade with Arabic runes in gold.

"The Sword-of-Janda-and-Jidua" is thus, in the truest sense, a gift of heaven, and that is why it is called also the "Sword of God" and "The Life-endowed One."

000 When, at the end of that time of grievous famine, the Ruala had entered the life-giving pastures of the Fid'an and Saba, Amir Nuri Sha'lan presented me with this sword, to keep in remembrance of this adventure and my share in it.

I need not say how much I treasure it.

2: Rawwas T-3 (1923-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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The Mejlis, Council of Men, Here, as Always,
the Free-Present Black Coffee is Served

following page 444(a)

231

Mother Cloud
Clouds in Arabic Are Feminine and Class Common

Following page 144 (b)

1: Reeves T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Baby Camel
Note the Large Eyes and Long Lashes

following page 144 (c).

1: Raewan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Superb Specimen of Hunting Falcon

Falcon Perched on Protective Glove

Falcon with Trainer

following page 144(d)

Pages 145 and 146 contain no textual material

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Bedouins MD4

XXII

Ali, the "Protector"

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R
619

AND NOW THOSE wonderful days with the Ruala had come to an end. I had to say good-bye for a time, because I meant to visit the Fid'an and other Bedouin tribes then roaming the deserts of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. Several of their chiefs were inveterate enemies of Amir Fuaz, and at odd moments they also fought among themselves. But I knew some of them from earlier days and for the rest I pinned my faith on the inviolable rules of Bedouin hospitality. On the Euphrates I also hoped to find a suitable *rafiq* (courier) who would be qualified by his knowledge of the country and his friendliness with the tribes to act as both guide and guard to me. To assist me, Amir Fuaz gave me a personal letter to Hajem Pasha, who was then in command of the major part of the Fid'an in the Jesirah between the Tigris and Euphrates, while Ibn Meheyd contented himself with the lordship of the minority west of the Euphrates in Syria. Fuaz was closely related to Hajem Pasha, though these ties did not prevent the two chiefs from indulging in mutual pillage and warfare as opportunity offered.

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OOD

Amir Fuaz advised me to go first to Aleppo and there get in touch with Hajem Pasha's *wakil* (representative), who would see to the transmission of his letter and secure a trustworthy travelling companion for me; and I acted on his advice. I had not been in Aleppo since 1916.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

At that time I had vainly tried to find the sons of a *sheykh* called Achmed Hafiz, whose name will be known to readers of Homer Davenport's book, "My Quest of the Arab Horse" (New York, 1908). It was from this Achmed Hafiz that Davenport (with whose sister I became well acquainted in California) bought twenty-seven Arab horses in 1906.

On my arrival in Aleppo, my first task was to find the *wukil*. The directions led me to a mediæval building near the citadel. The entrance was barred by an enormous iron-studded timber gate. From the courtyard behind it I could hear the well-known guttural accents of Bedouins. I knocked repeatedly without response. Suddenly, however, with creaking hinges, the huge gate flew wide open, and out galloped four horsemen, almost running me down. Squeezed flat against a stone pillar, I looked in amazement after the small cavalcade that disappeared in a cloud of dust round the beetling ramparts of the old Crusader's castle.

When I turned my eyes to the entrance again, I saw standing before me in the doorway a Bedouin unusually big for his race, a good six feet high, who scrutinized me critically without "batting an eyelid" and without responding to my greeting. At length he coolly laid an arm round my shoulders and, in no very amiable manner, pulled me within, while with his other arm he gave a tug at a long rusty chain, which effectively closed the gate.

My eyes fell on a caravanserai that made me fancy myself back in the days of the Caliphs. The yard was not exactly tidy, but it looked better than many a khan

T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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I had seen in Istambul and Baghdad. Scattered about higgeldy-piggeldy, in peaceful contentment, was a mingled assortment of camels, horses, asses, goats, and sheep. Lazily the lean, shaggy beasts munched the chaff spread for them on worn-out bast mats and hides. Camel-drovers, muffled in their frayed cloaks, were squatting about. Dirty children tumbled boisterously over the humps of the camels and darted in and out between their legs, while the animals, with blinking eyes and drooping ears, patiently put up with the sport. Pigeons continually fluttered between the court and the old bastions and turrets, and, sailing low over the battlemented walls, small vultures circled on motionless wings, croaking hungrily, with baleful eyes ever on the watch for a meal.

"Whence cometh thou?" the big fellow questioned without any form of introduction and with scant courtesy. I reached into my breast pocket and drew from it the letter of recommendation, much crumpled and stained, and with it, inadvertently, a photographic reproduction of Homer Davenport's well-known drawing, "Haleb's Farewell to the Desert." The picture shows Sheykh Achmed Hafiz and his Bedouin friends witnessing the departure of that celebrated Arab stallion, Haleb, which the Turkish governor of Syria had given Davenport as a present. My tall friend grabbed both letter and picture from my hand and fingered them clumsily. Suddenly he discovered on the photograph familiar faces and figures. A thunderbolt could not have produced greater consternation in the tranquil courtyard than did the giant's frantic exclamations at this sudden recognition. His surprise was comical. Stuttering

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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609 with emotion, he tried to communicate not only to me, but to all and sundry, the startling fact that he had discovered his father in the picture. He behaved like a lunatic. He flung his arms about and danced round like a howling dervish. He laughed and cried in one breath and the echoes of his bellowing voice reverberated through the walls till everything seemed to shake; he *could not* calm down. His excitement communicated itself to the animals, and the whole company joined in the uproar. When peace was at last restored, I found myself in the arms of my new friend. Like the protecting wings of the Cherubim, the loose sleeves of his herder's cloak flapped round me, as he hugged me to his chest and kissed me on both cheeks.

"Thou art Davenport's son?" he cried, but it was more a statement than a question. I tried to explain, but in vain! He insisted that I must be Davenport's son, and would hear nothing to the contrary.

Gradually the man grew calmer and mutual understanding became possible. Ali was his name—Ali ibn Achmed Hafiz! And he was the eldest son of the *sheykh* in search of whose family I had come to Aleppo in 1916. What a stroke of luck, that fate should now present to me in the person of the *wukil* of Hajem Pasha the very man I had tried to track down from the time of the World War!

Reminded of my letter, he produced it from the capacious pocket, into which he had crammed it in his excitement, together with a lot of other papers, stuffed these back, assumed an air of importance, and said: "I am Ali, the *wukil* of Hajem Pasha, and Mijhem ibn

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala Bedouins MJ4

Meheyd, above all men." He cleared his throat and spat, as if all mankind were dirt. Then he continued: "And thou art in need of a *rafiq?*" 609

"That is so," I replied; "and this letter, which thou holdest in thy hands, thou wilt transmit immediately to thy *sheykh,* for it contains a personal message from Amir Fuaz."

Before I could prevent it, Ali tore open the letter and began to read aloud:

"Al-illah, by the Adored One! Peace be with thee, dispenser of protection! By the Dispensation of Allah, let this stranger live under thy countenance like a son of thy father. Befriend him as if he were my own eyes. Guard and preserve my brother when he lodges with thee or when thou settest him on his way. I would trust him to none but thee alone, who walkest with a clear conscience in the sight of Allah. May the Lord lengthen thy days, O thou rich in life, and let us evermore dwell side by side in friendship."

At this point, Ali interrupted his reading with copious supplications for heaven's blessings and rewards on Amir Fuaz. He had never suspected that the young Rueyli chief could be capable of such gentle virtues and tender emotions. He was visibly overwhelmed. He raised his voice and resumed: 578 609

"Praise thou the Lord! For He is so magnanimous and bountiful that He has bestowed upon me, His humble slave, so rich a gift. He, the Gracious and Merciful, granted me the wonderful opportunity of relieving thy ally and our brother, Barjas ibn Hedeyb, of seventy mares."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

609 578 Ali jumped as if stung by a tarantula. In place of the previous outpouring of blessings there now issued from his lips a flood of wild imprecations and sulphurous curses on the head of the Amir. Again he raged like a madman. His outbreak was ably seconded by the other Bedouins, and once more bedlam broke loose in the courtyard, men and animals creating pandemonium. In their insensate fury, the men began to belabour the excited and frightened sheep, asses, and goats with their flexible camel-sticks, as if they had the hated Rueyli chief himself under their hands. Even I, the innocent cause of this outburst of frenzy, became the target of Ali's choicest vituperation. How could I associate myself with such a notorious cutthroat and common bandit? It took a considerable space of time for Ali to calm down again—and with him the whole audience—and, in a voice still agitated, he read out the remainder of the letter:

"May the Lord take pity on thy saddened thoughts and may cheerful reflection on the Inevitable console thee and tranquilize thy soul." (I couldn't help laughing out loud at this; whereupon Ali scowled at me most ungraciously. "All is fleeting, but all is also preordained by Allah. May the corpse of him who casts doubt on the bravery of my horsemen be flung aside without burial. God's infallible acts are manifest, and in the light of these events, which were inevitable, thou shouldst acknowledge the truth of my words." ("Aha!" I said to myself. "What a brilliant idea! To hold Allah responsible for the theft of seventy mares!") "Allah bless my beautiful and virtuous kinswoman who is in the keeping of thy brother." (Tarfa, a sister of Amir Fuzz.) "May

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD:
Bedouins M34

the position of the heavenly bodies be of better augury for thee! God is omnipotent!" 609 578

Ali, sunk in meditation, seemed disturbed by a thousand conflicting thoughts. At length, however, he dutifully kissed the face and back of this typical example of Bedouin diplomacy. Secretly, I had to admire the respect [577] accorded in Arabia even to one's deadly enemy.

Ali grasped my hand. Anger still lingered in his eyes, but his voice sounded pleasant enough as he said to me: "This letter, my friend, is just about as good as a recommendation from Iblis" (the devil), and with a grimace of contempt he tossed it on the fire. I was only just in time to snatch the already singed sheet of paper from the flames; but, as a matter of fact, neither Ali nor I ever had the courage to present the letter to either of the Fid'an chiefs.

To my great delight, Ali offered himself as my *rafiq* for the journey to the Jesirah (Mesopotamia). Within two days he had ferreted out a second-hand Ford car to carry us to the Euphrates.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXIII

Adventures with the "Tin Lizzie"

ooo ON THE DAY of our start, Ali tiptoed to my bedroom at three o'clock in the morning, and whispered to me to get up, as all was ready. No sooner had I followed him outside than he forgot his consideration for the sleeping caravanserai and bellowed like a foghorn across the silent square: "O Ibrahim, get a move on!"

From the other side of the square came a sound of spitting, hissing, puffing, and rattling. Our Ford had awakened to life at Ali's shout and on wobbling wheels was moving drunkenly over the rough pavement. We could see nothing of it in the dark, but after a while a dull yellow light became visible, which momentarily flickered into greater brightness as it bumped over the larger cobbles. Then, after a prolonged squeak, our "desert-coach" drew up before us. The "chauffeur," barefooted but with muffled head and neck, alighted, in spite of a pronounced limp, with a brave attempt at dignity, but unfortunately he slammed the door behind him too hard and it came off its hinges!

"Ibrahim," said Ali. With this one word he introduced our driver to me. Ibrahim unwound three yards of thick woollen shawl from his head and beamed on me with the one eye he had left. A splendid match they made—that

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

old Ford car and he; small, lame, one-eyed, and the face heavily pockmarked!

I forced a smile, but inwardly I had a vision of the skeletons of Ali, Ibrahim, and myself bleaching under the wreckage of our car somewhere in the desert.

At half-past three we bumped our way into the wilderness.

On dry ground we covered about two hundred miles a day. We followed neither caravan route nor camel trails, but drove according to the directions of chance-met Arabs, some of whom would temporarily attach themselves to us as guides. Ali's knowledge of the country had given out after we had passed the market-place of Aleppo. But if I ventured to reproach him, he warded it off with an ingenuous smile and the declaration that he had taken me to his heart, and that he really could not let me travel alone.

He had indeed taken me to his heart, but at the same time he was quite ready for a joy-ride. It was his regard for me that was responsible for Ibrahim and the Ford. Goodness knows what profit he made on them!

We passed many nights in the open, but sometimes found shelter in some Bedouin camp. Near the Khabur River we found Hajem Pasha's camp. The old chieftain was very ill with severe pneumonia, contracted in the marshes of the Euphrates plain. I could only stay a few hours with him, and then we drove on towards Deyr-ez-Zor. From the first French military post I sent a doctor, who had Hajem Pasha transferred to Aleppo; but he died there a fortnight later.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

006 In this wild region there was only one bridge by which one could cross to the northeast side of the river. After eight days we found ourselves in the farthest corner of Mesopotamia, not far from the Turkish frontier, and here we "cruised" about for days amongst minor Bedouin tribes. We passed dirty scattered villages with the sugar-loaf mud huts of Fellaheen, mostly Circassians and Kurds.

Their over-zealous headsmen and officials always tried to stop our progress. They seized our passports and kept us waiting while they telephoned or telegraphed to Aleppo, Raqqa, or some such distant centre, for information about us. Sometimes it was days before we could move on.

Taught by experience, we steered clear of the settlements, and this caused unusual excitement amongst the mounted constabulary. Once, near Hessedyi, we had a whole squadron after us. But even the best of their horses could not overtake our old Ford. They shot after us, but with no more effect than that the body of our car carried a few bullet holes as souvenirs.

When we had almost reached the main objective of our journey, the Tai' Bedouins, a stroke of bad luck befell us. A French machine-gun automobile held us up and took us to the newly built fort opposite the fortified Turkish town of Nisibin. The French commandant summarily stated that on account of an armed rising, the territory of the Tai' Bedouins was unsafe and his government could not be responsible for the security of foreigners in it, and that we must return to the Khabur Bridge—about one hundred and fifty miles as the crow

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

flies. In addition, he ordered us to take as escort two Syrian soldiers into our already badly overcrowded car. The interview was short and sweet, and there was nothing for it but to submit.

In our tumble-down car there were now no less than seven men: Ibrahim, Ali, two Bedouin rafiqs, two soldiers, and myself; also a gazelle, a greyhound, and two hens.

We were packed like sardines: we had to hold on to anything that we could and change grips when the hand threatened to go to sleep. But with thirteen arms interlaced (Ibrahim's free arm controlled the steering-wheel) we prevented the car from falling apart, nor could any passenger fall out without the knowledge of the others.

All at once the car came to a stop. When Ali loosed his "frozen" grip, we all automatically detached ourselves from the collective embrace and tumbled out (literally), bag and baggage. After collecting the scattered bags, boxes, tin cans, guns, baskets, and pets, we turned our attention to the car.

Ali tore out the seats and everything beneath them that was not bolted and riveted. The two Bedouins unscrewed and tested the spark-plugs, and pulled out wires, for all the world like ribbons from a Chinese conjuror's blouse.

Only Ibrahim maintained a semblance of calm. He leaned with crossed legs against the front of the car and meditatively stroked a string of blue beads, which hung over the radiator cap.

"What is the object of those glass beads?" I asked.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

"They bring good luck," he replied dreamily.

He then transferred his caresses to a bedraggled ostrich plume, stuck in the radiator cap.

"And this feather duster, what is that for?" I asked.

"This feather stands for strength, speed and endurance such as Allah has given to the male ostrich," Ibrahim replied impressively.

Now I knew!

Ibrahim twinkled at me with his one eye and with an air of superiority took the trouble in hand. Coolly he announced that the springs of the car had given away, and, still worse, that the front axle was broken.

"Then the 'wild ostrich' cannot run any more," I said sarcastically.

Ibrahim now lost his lamblike patience. He darted a look of scorn at me and angrily chased the volunteer experts away from his car with some highly original curses. The sleeping volcano had suddenly burst into activity. He replaced every screw, nut, spark-plug and wire which his "assistants" had pulled out. Then, with the boards of a box and strips of a gasoline can, he made a "splint" for the broken axle. For this job he needed also wire or rope, of which unfortunately we had only a few odd bits. Ali's shirt and my two (the only shirts amongst the seven travellers) had to serve as bandages for the broken limb of the "wild ostrich." As substitutes for the springs, Ibrahim cleverly fitted several padded boards over the rear axle. The result looked marvellous—but would it hold out?

We discarded all superfluous luggage, and even ate the two chickens.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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After a short rest in the shade of the car, we proceeded cautiously and slowly, with many "Allahs", "Ahs", and "Ohs" over the fine, hard gravel.

By a miracle we actually reached the Kharbur about midnight. I embraced Ibrahim and took back everything I had said about his "wild ostrich."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MSH

XXIV

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

101 361 233 LUCK FAVOURED US in eluding the vigilance of the French on our second attempt to reach the grazing grounds of the Tai' Bedouins under their *sheykh*, Muhamed Abd-er-Rachman at-Tai'.

His great camp spread out in a verdant valley, threaded by a long chain of rain pools. The snow-covered mountain ranges of Kurdistan, stretching beyond the Turkish frontier, formed a picturesque background. Camels and great flocks of sheep grazed over the desert, which recent rains had turned into rich pasture. Dotted about in groups were the black tents of the Bedouins. A horseman came to meet us. A foal, so it seemed in the distance, pranced round its mother, but as the rider drew nearer, we saw that the playful creature was a tame gazelle. The Bedouin rode a magnificent mare, that pranced on her feet like a dancer.

574 609 "Where is the abode of our host who will receive us?" I enquired. He pointed to the black outline of the largest tent, which showed from behind a ridge some distance away.

"Ha-wallah—by God—there dwells the Generous One!" He looked us over for a moment, then greeting us curtly, turned his horse and galloped away, the gazelle after him.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

As we neared the large tent, the merry "ringing" of the coffee mortar bade us welcome. Malla Sulumeh, scribe to Sheykh Tai', conducted us within.

A considerable number of tribesmen were gathered in the roomy tent. As usual, the favourite falcon of the *sheykh* stood perched on a camel-saddle.

A slave removed the bird and placed cushions on the saddle for us. The coffee-cook poked apart the pieces of glowing desert roots on the hearth and poured between them dried camel dung from a fold of his cloak. He blew energetically on the hard nuggets, the size of walnuts, until small bright flames commenced to dance all over them. Then a large, beaked can was placed on the glow and it was not long before the coffee-water boiled and bubbled over. "Revive thy spirit!" said the ever-ready cup-bearer as he offered me the aromatic cup.

Previously he had, in accordance with Bedouin practice, conscientiously wiped out every cup with the sleeve of his old shirt. Adroitly he held in his other hand four small china cups without handles, like so many eggs in a nest, and jingled them lightly one against the other.

The coffee made the round. The favoured guests, whom the Negro served first (unhappily I belonged to them) were the victims of especial politeness; before pouring the coffee, he spat first into the cup and wiped it dry with his shirt sleeve. Three times had I to endure this rite at the hands of the punctilious coffee-priest, who waited on us with the utmost solemnity on each occasion. Only then might I waggle the cup between my finger-tips in token of thanks and satisfaction and hand it back to him.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

224 A tribesman entered the tent with the information that the chief's[1] hunting-party was returning.

It was a wonderful sight as the horsemen drew up. There were about seventy of them, with hares, gazelles, and bustards hung over the withers and cruppers of their mares. A pack of greyhounds had been unleashed and they immediately sought the shade of the tent, where they stretched themselves out with heaving flanks and hanging tongues. Several slaves got up and brought them water, which they lapped up thirstily. Meanwhile, the riders had dismounted, and unloosing the casting-leads of the hooded falcons, set each bird on a padded perch before the rug of the *sheykh*.

622 576 Tai', on alighting from his horse, passed into the women's apartment. After a while he appeared before us. In honour of his guest, he had girded on an old sabre.

We all stood up and greeted him. Ali came forward and kissed the *sheykh's* hand, and pressing it to his forehead, said in his extravagant manner:

"Ya Muhafut—O Protector! God grant thee long life, most magnanimous of all Arabs!"

Then Ali presented me to the *sheykh*, who embraced me. With simple and grave courtesy he said:

"Peace be with thee."

With a polite movement of his hand, he indicated to me my seat and I sat down.

[576] After we had settled in our places, Sheykh Tai' rolled a cigarette and lighted it between his own lips before he handed it to me.

622 Our host was a man nearly as tall as Ali, but very slender and small-boned. Rarely have I seen such refined

1 [Sheykh Tai' of the Tai Bedouins -- Analyst]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
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hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting.

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard.

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands.

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard.

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala Bedouins M 54

called a meeting of his sub-chiefs, and made known to them that he desired a great wolf drive organized for two days hence. Every tribesman with a horse was to join in the hunt, so as to provide a chain of beaters. Sheykh Tai' himself, his lieutenants, and I, armed only with lances, were to ride down the wolves and spear them. This was not the usual method of hunting wolves, but is certainly more romantic and exciting than shooting them with long-range rifles from automobiles.

When Sheykh Tai' asked me if I knew how to handle a *rumh* (the Bedouin lance) I had to own my ignorance; but it was not long before I learnt how to handle it under the tuition of my good friend.

These spears are from fifteen to eighteen feet long. They are of light bamboo, which the Bedouins cut in the swamps of the lower Euphrates. Below the triangular steel head they are decorated with tufts of the black and grey down-feathers of the ostrich, a few fluttering red ribbons, and tinkling coils of very thin silver chains. The butt is sheathed in a painted iron ferrule.

When at the appointed hour beaters and followers had lined up at the *sheykh's* tent, and all was ready, Sheykh Tai' rammed the butt of his lance into the ground and, using it as a vaulting-pole, leaped on his horse's back.

Besides Sheykh Tai' and myself, only the sub-chiefs carried lances. The rest of the men took their rifles with them, but merely to start the game and for defense in case of unexpected meeting with enemies.

Sheykh Tai's nine-year old son, Farhan, with a heavy Mauser pistol in his belt, accompanied us. His short, bare legs clung to the sides of an unsaddled mare, which he

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MS Rwala
Bedouins M 54

cleverly guided with his thighs and hands, and by his voice making her walk or gallop. 224 857

An hour before sunrise we rode into the steppe, waking to a glorious morning. I was mounted on a spirited mare, very fast and of great endurance. Over three hundred armed beaters from the widely scattered tents of the Tai' Bedouins had ridden out the previous day to the foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, there to cut off the retreat of the wolves into the northern mountains. Bands of gazelles and many bustards and other fowl fled before us. But we left them untouched, as we were after other game. 224 [36]

Only when the left wing of our riders roused two wolves did we give chase.

Wolves do not break cover and "go away" as foxes do, but there were other things to which one had to give attention in this hunt. Moles and burrowing mice had undermined the ground and more than half of our horses "took a toss" as they stepped into the hidden holes.

We galloped about twelve miles, and four or five wolves had been put up by the beaters. Our horsemen followed them tirelessly. I came so close to one animal that I could almost have touched his fur with my outstretched lance. My horse followed the runaway with the ardour of a bloodhound. I had therefore to give my undivided attention to the dangerous ground and repeatedly turned the mare aside, sometimes in the very nick of time, to prevent her floundering into one of the sandy burrows.

The slender lance rested perfectly balanced in my hand. My wolf slackened speed somewhat and my mare

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 34

224 gained on him. In a few moments we were on top of the shaggy brute. He loped along with his head on one side, watching me out of the corner of his eye. He was cunning enough to keep always the same distance from my mare's forefeet and just clear of the point of my lance. If I urged the mare to a spurt, the wary old robber increased his pace just sufficiently—imperceptibly, but enough—to keep out of reach. At last, however, I thought my opportunity had come. With a vigorous thrust and a twist of the wrist, I aimed my spear at the wolf's shoulder. I put the whole weight of my body into it, so certain was I that I should spear him.

The tip of my lance actually grazed his pelt, but again the cunning old devil had the best of me, and slipped away from danger, and loped off. The lance drove full force into the ground and jerked me, as on a vaulting pole, high into the air. The shaft split into four parts, and I landed head over heels on the hard gravel beside my mare, which had come down on to her knees. Fortunately, the damage to both of us was trifling; a little skin grazed off, but that was all. I therefore mounted my good mare again.

Sheykh Tai', who had already speared one wolf, now joined the scattered group of riders to which I belonged. He threw aside his lance and, taking an automatic rifle from one of the beaters, galloped in pursuit of my wolf to prevent it getting clean away. With a long shot, he smashed one of its hind legs. The wolf tumbled over several times and rolled on the ground, snapping at the broken leg, until a second bullet ended its life.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

Sheykh Tai' threw several handfuls of sand over the spilled blood[1]—for so desert custom demands. Blood is *haram*, that is, "forbidden." Opening the jaws of the dead animal and pointing to the wicked fangs, he said: "Thou and I are kinsmen for the traces which thou leavest behind are the same as mine." (We are both robbers, he meant—like all despised Bedouins.) 224 826 [784]

Later in the day, as we galloped on, we sighted in the distance what at first we took for some of our mounted hunters driving wolves towards us. But they did not move. 224

I thought I could recognize riderless horses, watching us with raised heads. But Sheyk Tai' laughed and cried out to me that they were neither horses nor horsemen, but wild asses. I would not believe him at first, for the animals seemed too high in the leg. [136]

Sheykh Tai' pointed out to me that the troop had a leader and this became apparent when the shy creatures ran off. We did not follow, and they disappeared into the clear distance of the Sinjar Mountains.

Fleeting shadows cast from above now hurried across the plain before our horses. I knew them of old from raids in the inner part of Arabia. They were the "Sharers of the Prey."

Shading my eyes with my hand, I looked up to the sky, where on motionless pinions the great vultures were sailing. They knew well the purpose of our ride; and they were sure of their feast of dead wolves. A widespread cloud of dust rose on the horizon and moved towards us. These were the beaters, whose semicircle stead-

1 - [of a wolf killed in a hunt--Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary 628 enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bed- 431 ouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

which their chieftain had offered me as a souvenir, for we had to travel by automobile. But I accepted two rarer gifts, and these heirlooms to boot. They were an ancient wood-carved coffee mortar, which had been in the possession of Sheykh Tai's family for generations. This pledge of his affection and friendship (as he called it) he had wrapped in an equally precious gift—three pieces of black cloth, artistically embroidered in gilt-silver thread, with verses from the Koran in Arabic calligraphy. They were choice pieces of the Ka'aba, which Sheykh Tai's great-grandfathers had brought many years ago from Mecca.

Loath as I was to accept such precious gifts, I was constrained to do so.

"We are brothers," said Sheykh Tai'. "Like the wolves. God be with thee. May He direct thy footsteps some future day into my dominions, so that I may meet thee again."

After bidding farewell to this wild, romantic and noble man, we cruised about in our old motor-car for five days along the southern foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, visiting the camps of various lesser tribes. Motor fuel we obtained from their *sbéyukha*.

Nowadays, nearly all of them own motor-cars, and on their migrations they carry a fairly large stock of gasoline with them on their camels.

At last we reached the wide plain through which runs the old historic caravan route from Deyr ez-Zor to Mosul and Baghdad. There we found the first outposts of the Shammar, and there also we parted from the faithful Ibrahim. I paid him handsomely and sent the

[See pp. 163-167 and 116 for explanation of this statement—Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Beduinus M54

000 man back to Aleppo, with his "wild ostrich", happy and contented.

Here, too, rain had fallen and transfigured the arid,
157 yellow wastes into lush green meadows. From the small band of Shammar, our guide borrowed riding-camels for our further journey, and we reached the camp of Mishal ibn Faris on the following day. Of Mishal the Arabs say that "no cloud can be compared with him for generosity." I, too, must say that I have seldom met so unselfish and kind-hearted a man.

Outside his large tent we drew up and dismounted. How many guest fires must have been lighted under this smoke-blackened roof, which had sheltered three generations!

574 The elderly *sheykh* stood on the threshold and bade
609 me welcome with the sacred formula of the wilderness,
[574] the assurance of peace, "Salam Alayk."

I responded in the manner of the desert: "God keep thee well." Then, Mishal ibn Faris took with his own hand the headstall from my mare and hung it on the main post of his tent. He had wanted to know me, he said, as soon as he had heard that a stranger, who loved Arab horses, was visiting the Tai'.

I thanked him for his pleasant and friendly invitation. In his way of addressing me there was more than ordinary politeness. From now on, whether with them in person, or far away, I had the freedom of his tribe.

157 Mishal ibn Faris, the great Shammar *sheykh*, esteemed
554 from one end of the desert to the other for his staunch righteousness, had a peaceful and moderating influence on Bedouin politics, both in Mesopotamia and Syria. "A

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

man without a single enemy", Arabs have called him 157 334
to me.

I was Mishal's guest for several weeks. In the company 231
of his son Naif, I was able to look over a large number 435
of Arab horses amongst the different Shammar clans. One two-year-old Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion of purest blood pleased me exceedingly. One day I enquired of the *sheykh's* secretary if he thought it possible that Mishal would sell this stallion. It had indeed come to my ears that Mishal had refused an offer of eight hundred gold pounds from the French Remount Service. From my experience, I knew that really thoroughbred Arab horses were quite rare and therefore exceedingly expensive. Considering the stallion's breeding, the French offer certainly did not appear too high, when one remembers that foreign military commissions and breeders have paid in the desert anything up to three thousand pounds gold for blue-blooded stallions.

I asked the scribe to submit my offer to his *sheykh* up to one thousand pounds gold. I also declared myself [431]
ready to make the customary presents to the *katib* (secretary) and to the slave who had looked after the stallion from birth.

That same day I sat with Mishal and his son Naif and 574
their friends until late into the night. By the light of 231
the campfire I showed them photographs of Arab horses, 572
among them the stallions and mares which I had bought from the stud of Lady Anne Blunt's daughter in England, for the ranch in California.

"Is it known to thee," asked Mishal, "that Lord Blunt and my father Faris formed a blood brotherhood fifty

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

574 231 572 years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring runners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah bestowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

574 431 The day of my departure came. The patriarchal *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple [131] words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very [423] rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

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Bedouins MJH

One of the documents the *sheykh* handed to me was a deed of gift and a token of his friendship; the other set forth the pedigree of the colt. Mishal rose to his feet. He took me by the hand to set me on my way, and together we walked far out into the desert. He spoke no word and I made no attempt to break the silence. My eyes were held by the picture of the powerful young stallion which was being led ahead of us by Naif and a slave. Full of fire and grace, with prancing steps, he looked the living epitome of this wild and romantic land.

When some tribesmen rode by on their mares, the young stallion stopped still, his whole body tense, neck arched, and small head held high. His chest quivered as he neighed in long-drawn silvery notes. His uplifted tail flowed out from his croup like a cascade of water. He was surely as magnificent as any of those aboriginal wild horses, which, according to Bedouin lore, Ishmael caught in the Nufud desert. "Black-skinned antelopes (*kubsylan*) they were called of old, by reason of the black rims around the eyes, which make them look as if they had been painted with *kuhl* (pure antimony)."

The *sheykh* at last called to my companions, who had gone ahead, to halt. Looking back, Mishal and I saw the great camp a long way off. The old chief laid his hands in blessing on the forehead of the young stallion, and said to me: "'Amud,' I have named thy stallion. It is a name of my people. The peace of God be with thee forever."

Then he kissed both my cheeks and the hoof of the horse, and strode back to his tents.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

431 The French commandant at Deyr-ez-Zor had the two
231 documents translated for me under his official seal.

One document, bearing the seal of Mishal, mentions Sir Wilfrid S. Blunt as the friend of Faris Pasha al-Jarba, and myself as Mishal's own particular friend, and certified that he had presented to me the Saqlawi-Shaifi stallion for love of me. The second document, setting forth the pedigree of the stallion, began and ended with excerpts from the Koran, the Hadith, and the Arabian poet Imrul-Quais.

It bore the seals of three Shammar *shiyukhs*—Mishal ibn Faris, Hassan al-Amud, and Jajan ibn Massiul, who testified regarding the horse as follows: "It is a Saqlawi, and we bear witness before Allah that the young stallion is a Shaifi, bred of a Saqlawi-Shaifi of the same pedigree; that the Grand-sire was a Saqlawi as was his dam a Saqlawiyah-Shaifiyah, whose noble race has remained pure and famous amongst us Arab people."

It Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

XXV

Honour among Thieves

AT DEYR-EZ-ZOR I was eventually able to arrange for the transfer of the young stallion to Egypt by way of Aleppo and Beyruth. It was a tremendous journey, as it had to be done on its own feet; but by slow stages the Arab, who accompanied the horse, succeeded in delivering him in good condition to my friends in Egypt.

Meanwhile Ali and I roamed further afield and rode to the pasture-grounds of the Fid'an, then camped at the northern foot of the Bishri Mountains, west of the Euphrates. There, also, the tent of Mijhem ibn Meheyd was pitched, and he received us hospitably. We spent several pleasant days with him.

He then led his tribe southwards into the Wudian area, east of the Hamad. We accompanied them through the Jabal Bishri and camped with them south of these hills. There I decided to say farewell to Ibn Meheyd, and bade Ali buy three especially strong *dhaluls* (racing-camels) and two mares. With Ali alone, and these animals, I struck through the Hamad desert, to make my way to the Ruala and to Damascus. On the first day we fell in with a small caravan of four men with twenty-odd camels and six stallions.

From this combination alone (for Bedouins never ride stallions on a raid) it was clear they were peaceful travellers. In fact, they were *Akhwal* or camel-traders from Inner Arabia, who had purchased camels and young

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala Bedouins MJ4

443 stallions from various Bedouin tribes in the Euphrates.

Their kind is found everywhere in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Almost invariably the *Akhayl* hail from Anayza and Buraida, two large oasis-towns of Kasim in the heart of Arabia.

[437] During spring they[1] travel among the nomad Arabs and barter rice, coffee, sugar, arms, munitions, and gold [493 for camels and colts. Bedouins have only begun to sell 177] mares since the arrival of the automobile, which has displaced the horse for raiding purposes.

These traders travel unmolested throughout Arabia and they pay the *sheykh* of the tribe from which they purchase animals a small sum for the privilege of pursuing their business. Each trader has his own special tribe which he visits every year.

721 On the second day, when we came on some rain water left in the rocky hollows of a *wadi*, we decided to rest awhile and let our mares drink their fill. We had hardly dismounted when two strange Bedouins on horseback suddenly appeared. Ali jumped on his mare's back at once, and deserting me and our animals, galloped away in the opposite direction from which the Bedouins had come, obviously seeking cover.

"A *ghazu!*" he yelled, as he rode away.

The two strange Bedouins were armed. They were obviously not traders, as Ali had immediately perceived. More horsemen appeared and they began to fire at Ali and myself. My "Powerful" protector, ducking low over [291] his horse's neck, made a comical picture. The hostile Bedouins were Fid'an, as I knew from their striped shepherd's cloaks. To defend ourselves was useless, as we

1-[The Akhayl or camel and horse traders--Finalyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJH

were surrounded. I threw my rifle on the ground and, 721
dropping my arms with the palms turned outwards, I gave the Ghazu horsemen to understand that we meant to offer no resistance. When they came within hearing I shouted to them:

"We are *dakhil* (inviolable). We ride under the countenance of thy *sheykh* and our brother Mijhem ibn Meheyd."

But neither the leader nor his men took notice, but seized Ali (whom they had easily caught) and myself, and struck us for not taking off our clothing quickly enough. As Ali was being stripped, he cried to their leader:

"Hast thou no pity, plundering the friends of thy *sheykh* like this?" The man only laughed and said mockingly:

"I know not of whom thou speakest. We know nobody, and pity we have left to God alone."

"Thou wilt be answerable for this act," Ali shouted. "Hasten thou to return our property, our horses and camels, and take thy hands from off my friend, the guest of thy master."

In answer, the leader flung away the garment, the pockets of which he was rifling, seized his rifle and with its butt hit Ali such a blow on the back of his head that he fell as dead, and remained inert on the ground. The Fid'an's savage temper was aroused, and he continued to belabour the prostrate body with blows and kicks.

I sprang at the brute and tried to pull him away. One of his comrades, however, thrust his rifle into my back. I staggered, and before I could regain my balance, a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MSH

721 hefty blow nearly broke my arm. The same blow caught me a glancing stroke on the head, hard enough to knock me out. I must have remained unconscious for hours. When I came to, the evening was already fading into twilight, and I found myself lying stark naked on the sand. Happily, it had not been a hot day, for the sky was clouded. Nevertheless, I felt wretched enough, and my head and arm ached. The blow had merely grazed the muscles of my arm, but I had a nasty wound over my temple.

Not far from me Ali was lying on his back. To my horror, he looked quite dead.

Still numb, I tottered over to him. Thank heaven, he was very much alive and able to talk. The Fid'an had handled him worse than me, but his unfailing good humour was already returning. "They have taken everything from me," he said, "except their cursed lice"; and he commenced to scratch himself all over his naked body, protesting the while that he had left Aleppo quite clean.

"The sunburns are itching," I said, with a laugh; "it cannot be the vermin of our friends."

In the deepening dark, I noticed that a fire was burning behind a rise in the ground several hundred yards away, and I concluded that the Fid'an were camping there.

577 Ali was still feeling too weak to walk with me, and I made my way alone to the fire. As I came near, I recognized the Fid'an sitting round the coffee-hearth.

"Dakhil! Protection!" I cried out.

One of the Bedouins sprang up, rifle in hand. He made

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins 434

ready to fire, throwing the clip of cartridges into the breach and slamming the lever down. Involuntarily I shut my eyes and staggered, when I heard the voice of the *Akid* (leader) call out to the man not to shoot. The shock had been so great, however, that my knees gave way, and I toppled over. The *Akid*, who had saved my life, came to me. He had a small goat-skin bag filled with liquid butter in his hand, and made me take a few sips, and immediately I felt better. 577

He then led me to the fire and offered me coffee; and I knew by that token that my life was now under his protection.

I asked him for our clothing. He wanted to return it to me, but the other men grumbled and protested, and I had to be content with two old ragged herders' cloaks. I threw one over my shoulders and with the other and a skin of butter, went back to Ali, and after he had gulped down some of the butter, I supported him to the camp fire.

The Fid'an permitted us to seat ourselves among them, and Ali, too, was given coffee. It now turned out that our assailants were quite good fellows. Had we not started arguing when they fell upon us, we should have come off better. Now we were as safe among them as in Abraham's bosom.

In the course of our conversation that evening, I remembered the letter from Amir Fuaz to Hajem Pasha, the missive that had created such a lively disturbance in Aleppo.

"Dost thou read Arabic?" I asked the *Akid*; and when, as I expected, he replied, "No," I continued: 212

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

212 "Then dost thou at least know the signature of thy *sheykh* and the seal of Amir Fuaz?"

Before his men, the Fid'an dared not admit that this too was beyond him, so I asked for the pouch Ali used to carry on his body, containing the letter along with other treasures.

Everybody listened respectfully to Ali's reading of the letter. He read judiciously—only what was pleasant and polite; all the rest he left out. The rascals hung on Ali's lips and drank in every word that came from them. When he had finished reading and had kissed the signature and the seal, the men pressed round him and inspected with awe the astounding document; and ignorant as they were of writing, they looked at it upside down!

685 626 The *Akid* was visibly uneasy, and for a while he and the others put their heads together and, after much gesticulation and muttering, he turned to Ali and me and fired a cross-examination of silly questions at us. At last he seemed convinced that we had been wrongly treated, and he ordered his men to return our belongings to us. This naturally caused a small revolution, but the *Akid* knew how to make his influence felt, and after each of the men had in turn exhausted his protests against such a breach of the honour and the good customs of noble raiders, all our property was actually returned to us, with the exception only of my wrist watch, which still remained on the arm of the leader. Ali noticed it and, greatly daring, cried out: "Through thee the faith of thy *sheykh* is blackened! Divest thyself of our property, if thou art our friend." The *Akid*

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

meekly handed over the watch, which Ali put on his own wrist. "Let me take care of it for thee," he said to me, in his protective manner. He is actually "taking care" of my watch to this very day!

Our Fid'an hosts numbered seventeen horsemen and eight camel-riders, who had come on the scene after the attack on us. A gang of typical desert outlaws.

At the evening meal they spread a large leather camel-saddle cover for a tablecloth. Previously the dough for our bread had been kneaded on it. At other times it served as manger and watering-trough for the horses and camels, for it could be suspended by leather loops, one at each of the four corners.

The *Akid* poured sour camels' milk from a goat skin into a wooden basin and handed it round. The few *dhaluls* were lying close to us. The red campfire threw a glow of light over them and their long shadows melted into the blackness of the night. For a moment I imagined myself surrounded by strange monsters.

When I closed my eyes and heard only the belching and grunting of my table-companions, I could scarcely distinguish them from the camels chewing the cud. And Ali was the noisiest feeder of them all!

Next morning the Fid'ans proposed that they should join us with the idea of entering Ruala territory and lifting some camels. Nothing remained for Ali and myself but to make the best of these unwelcome proposals. We had to endure their company in the pious hope that somewhere we should fall in with the Ruala Bedouins.

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MJ4

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,
B 312 415 where our camels and horses were watered. One of the Fid'ans scraped a shallow hole in the soil and spread the saddle leather from one of the camels over it. Into this simple but practical trough we poured the stale water from the well.

R 721 After we had watered our animals, we travelled onward in the dry bed of the Al-Hajal *wadi*. We were crossing a flat between two branches of it when suddenly shots rang out and bullets whistled over our heads.

The Fid'an wheeled instantly to gallop out of range, but they did not get far. Our assailants, imperfectly visible but obviously numerous, followed up their warning volley with a raking fire that in as many seconds unhorsed four of the fugitives. Seeing that to escape was impossible, and to fight hopeless, they all stopped and signalled their surrender to the advancing force of camel-riders. More than a hundred of these had grown out of the ground, as it were, before my astonished eyes. The Fid'an had walked into a trap. They had been too R reckless even to send scouts ahead.

[492] I knew instantly that the newcomers were Ruala. The Saba have as intimate a knowledge of that region, but only the Ruala take the field with so many fine racing-camels; the Saba, like the Fid'an, favour horses.

"The Lord be with us!" exclaimed Matan, the leader R of the Fid'an freebooters, now thoroughly frightened. [627] He clearly thought himself lost; and he had every reason to believe that I should use the opportunity of paying him back in kind. But I reassured him. "We have made peace with thee," I said, "and I shall tell the leader of

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

these Ruala that thou hast actually accorded us thy protection that we might safely reach the grazing grounds of our friends. I shall ask him to permit thee and thy men this evening to camp in peace with the Ruala." 721

"Truly, thou lightest up my countenance," the Fid'an replied, overjoyed, "and I swear that I have now restored everything." To my amazement, I saw in his extended hand my costly compass, which I had supposed lost.

The Ruala, swaying on the backs of lean *dhaluls*, were drawing nearer. Well ahead of them galloped a horseman on a "red" (bay) mare, obviously their leader, and I cantered to meet him. He had his *kaffiyah* drawn over his face, so that when we met I could see only his eyes, and his voice came muffled: "Who art thou, rider on the 'blue' (grey) mare?" 609

For answer, I uncovered my face and said: "I yield myself to thee. And all these men"—pointing to Ali and the Fid'an—"I put under thy protection, O *Akid*, in the name of my brother and thy Amir, Fuaz."

The Rueyli drove his heels into his mare so that she plunged wildly and he had great difficulty in controlling her. He pulled down his *kaffiyah* and I was greatly astonished to see that it was Fuaz himself, but beside himself with rage. "Ride away, my brother," he said, "lest thy blood be answerable for my deeds. Like the panther, I winded these dogs of Fid'an that dare to yelp in the grazing grounds of the Ruala." 152 609

He was berserk, mad with the fighting frenzy of the Sha'lan. He tossed off his cloak, which caught on his mare's croup; he bared his arms and chest; he shifted his carbine from hand to hand, while his horse curvetted

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

152 609 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to [577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place [576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

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manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey. 609

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhalul*s. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty. 627 577

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory. 609 [486]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

721 Amir Fuaz had not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dis-
[435] patched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only al-
[425] ternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did
[517] not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

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This disposition gave Fuaz twofold satisfaction. It would facilitate the execution of his plan to recover his mare by stratagem and confirmed his assumption that the Saba did not reckon with the possibility of a Ruala raid so soon, as very little rain had fallen in that region and travel therefore was still very difficult. They probably thought that the Ruala would not venture so far into the inner Hamad until much later, when water and pasture would be plentiful. It was clear at all events that, for the time being, Falha's keepers felt themselves quite secure. Furthermore, if a skirmish proved unavoidable, the fighting would be away from the Saba tents, for Bedouins of noble lineage consider it barbarous to engage the enemy near their own camp. They believe that only the Turks, the "Franks" (Europeans) and the rulers of agricultural Arabia wage war in such a way as to endanger the women and children.

Luck favoured Fuaz's designs from beginning to end. We broke camp early in the morning and a few hours later circled round the pasture where the Saba horses were. Then we wheeled and got between them and the camp. The whole movement was made smoothly and without contact with our opponents. But now their outposts sighted our troop and sought to evade us and carry word to the camp. Our camel-riders easily caught the fugitives, who stopped when a few shots were fired over their heads and let themselves be taken without attempting any defence. They were mere boys, fourteen to sixteen years of age. In rough jest, their captors cut off some of their long plaits and with these bound them

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 522 hand and foot. This was a terrible indignity to such proud lads, who set great store by their six or eight "horns", as the Arabs call these tresses.

721 233 It was nearly midday when we reached the depression in which the horses were grazing. It was a lovely scene, the sky was blue, the brilliant spring sun warm and pleasant, and the air was filled with the sweet smell of the fresh herbage. The horses and camels ranged about, browsing quietly. The sleepy herders were totally unaware of our presence until our camel-riders suddenly appeared over the lip of the depression. Then they awoke to a realization of what was happening. I was rather loath to disturb their *dolce far niente;* above all was I sorry for the Saba horses, which were to be so suddenly driven from their delectable pasture.

The mares raised their heads inquisitively as the herders, rudely awakened from their siesta, sprang to their feet and yelled warnings one to the other. A few of them were successful in loosening the woollen shackles of their horses, and, leaping on their backs, made their escape. They were but a handful, however, and of these two or three were eventually captured.

The horses of the Saba became restive as the Ruala horsemen galloped about them, but, shackled by the forelegs, they could only hobble round helplessly.

721 [231] At last our people cut out some twenty horses, including Falha, the brown mare of our search. Falha was shackled with iron links instead of the usual woollen ropes. Amir Fuaz had brought with him a couple of files in anticipation of such an eventuality. His delight on seeing Falha again was obvious; she was worth more

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to him and to the Ruala than all the rest of the horses put together. We now began in turns, two men at a time, to file through the iron shackles. When we had finished that task, Amir Fuaz kissed his mare's hoofs with joy. 721

Falha, feeling her freedom, commenced to prance and neigh while I held her by the halter. I begged Amir Fuaz to tie her to the saddle of my camel, so that I might lead her home. "Ride her!" he replied, and explained that we must mount the captured horses in order to get as far away from the enemy as possible in the shortest space of time. So I jumped on Falha's back and galloped off with my friends to where the camel-riders with the prisoners were awaiting us.

In all, the Ruala had seized twenty-three mares. As we bade farewell to the Saba herders, one of them, a young lad, stepped up to Amir Fuaz and cried: 721 577

"*Ayb*"—"Shame on thee!"

"Who art thou?" asked the young Prince.

"Jaza ibn Ajlan."

"And what is thy desire?"

"Behold—only with tears can I water Freyha (the Joybringer) when thou takest her away, and she will not again have the milk of her Naga (Milch-camel), and Simiha (the Soft-one) and Nauma (the Sleepy-one) and her daughters will also mourn for her."

Amir Fuaz appreciated the lad's grief for his lost mares and asked him further:

"And how old are Simiha and Nauma?"

"Simiha is one summer old and Nauma two. But see, Freyha is again in foal!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721
577 "And therefore thou would'st have back the mother of thy foals?"

"Not because of that, but because it is a shame that thou shouldst steal the *wool*-shackled mares from our pastures."

"Did I not honourably warn you?"

"We trusted thy word, which only referred to Falha, and therefore we shackled her with *steel;* all the other mares had only *woollen* shackles."

Amir Fuaz looked thoughtfully into the distance and, as was his habit, toyed with his hair-plaits. Then, twisting one of the locks round his index finger, he stared the young Saba straight in the eyes.

"Thou art daring. But thou speakest the truth and I am not offended. Now I understand why Falha alone wore iron shackles. Therefore I will reward thy trust. Falha is our booty; take back what belongs to thee."

The Prince ordered his men to dismount from the captured mares and return them to the Saba. He also commanded Mnahi to take the plaits cut from the heads of the young Saba from his saddlebag, into which he had stuffed them as souvenirs, and throw them away.

522 As Fuaz noticed me sitting peacefully and satisfied on Falha, he burst out laughing and cried:

"Allah Karim!—God is benevolent! Look at Aziz. First he comes on a raid against us, then we capture him, and now he rides home on our best mare."

Ali, my gallant protector, who stood near, took up the joke:

"Amir Fuaz will permit me to say that one must

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watch Aziz carefully, or he may flee to your enemies with Falha." 522

"Allah give him strength," said Fuaz. "He rides with the panthers and the falcons!"

"With the lions!" was Afi's improvement.

Despite their show of cheerfulness, I could see that it went hard with the Ruala tribesmen to watch the Saba ride off with the captured mares. But no one uttered a word of complaint against the magnanimous gesture of the chief, for generosity is held to be the highest virtue amongst the Bedouins. 577 152

So we started on our long ride to the home camp, and eleven days later rested again under the hospitable roof of Nuri Sha'lan's dwelling. 000

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XXVII

Anaga—the Falcon

223
539

THE FALCONER'S SONG

Arise, my brother!
Let us away to hunt with the hungry *silek*;[1]
Set the daring falcon upon my gauntleted fist,
Bring the leashed hounds,
And saddle my finely built *dhalul*.
Tie my speediest horse to her girth—
The mare of noble birth.
Let us ride once more
With the daughters of our blood,
With the wandering herds and our tribe
And the leader of our people.
Beloved friends!
To-day we ride with jubilant song,
Into the welcoming wilderness,
The hounds accompanying us in joyous voice,
And the mare with whinnying calls;
Never shall I tire of watching
The wonderful flight of the proud falcon
As he breasts the wind,
And how his golden eyes hold
The prey which his strong talons shall seize.

[221]
223

The advance guard of the migrating Ruala had already reached the neighbourhood of the rain pools of Khabra Mirfiah, whence every day messengers brought word of new thunderstorms. In that region we could

[1] Singular. *Slukí*. Greyhound.

l: Raawan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

therefore expect to find game in great numbers, and 223
Amir Fuaz had immediate preparations made for a great hunt with his falcons and greyhounds.

For two days prior to the hunt, falcons and Sulkan were given nothing to eat. The slender hounds, lying about half-starved between the legs of the camels, seemed skinnier than usual, and the hungry falcons complained, crooning loudly and anxiously when anyone passed near them. The slaves had hooded them now, with small helmets of red, blue, black or green. These pretty leather hoods were ornamented with gold and silver thread.

On the appointed morning, when the hunt had assembled, Amir Fuaz mounted his war-mare. Dugan, one of his slaves, unhooded his pet falcon. Fuaz, about sixty paces away, gave the falconer's cry, and the bird straightened, recognizing its master's voice. Dugan let go the jess which he had held in his gauntleted hand, and instantly the bird rose, and, flying like an arrow to the Prince, settled on his raised right arm. Fuaz drew a hood over the falcon's eyes again.

"This is Anaga, the 'Meteor'," he said to me. "He drops from the upper sky and slays his opponent in the plunge. He can sail the higher heavens as safely as he can skim over the surface of the earth. To-day thou wilt see what Anaga can do."

At a sign from Amid Fuaz, we set out. The "whips" called their slim greyhounds by name: Shillah, Satha, Tarfa, and so forth.

They were unleashed only when the last tents were left behind and there was no more danger of the large

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 wolflike watchdogs and herd-dogs attacking the more delicate hounds and tearing them to pieces.

Twelve of the Amir's slaves carried hunting-hawks, each bird hooded and in full attire. Relatives of the Prince and other Ruala nobles also carried falcons on their mares, some of the birds borne on the riders' gauntleted wrists, others, in fact the majority, on the sheep skin which is spread over the horse's croup, when the Bedouin goes hunting.

The "*Sala*" or beater corps, comprising more than three hundred camel-riders and about two hundred horsemen, began to spread out right and left, to round up and drive the game towards the centre of our line. Ringed by the greyhounds, our wild troop galloped over the wide plain in the fresh morning air. Our hearts beat [787] with excitement. It was to be an auspicious and lucky day, according to every soothsayer whom Fuaz had consulted during the past days.

[531] The young Prince galloped at my side. On his raised fist sat Anaga, in its red leather hood embroidered with gold thread, on the top of which was sewn a beautiful pearl; and instead of eyes there blazed on its sides two precious emeralds.

"Aziz," cried Fuaz to me, "I love the wine of war—but, oh! I also like to drink the milk of the chase. Is not hunting the sister of war and the quarry a warrior struck to earth?"

He reined in, and I also pulled up my mare, to let the train of hunting comrades ride past. They were a splendid knightly troop, on beautiful mares and camels. The falcons balanced with outstretched wings on the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

wrists of riders and the croups of the galloping horses. 223
Cloaks, manes, and tails, plaits and head-cloths, saddle trappings, fringes, and tassels flapped in the wind. The shout of men mingled with the thunder of hoofs, the neighing of the mares, the screams of the hawks and the baying of the hounds.

Knee to knee, I galloped on with Amir Fuaz. Sharp [136]
eyes descried a heron rising higher and higher into the blue, although herons are rarely seen in this part of Arabia. Probably this one was on its way to the marshlands of Southern Mesopotamia. The young Amir was all excitement; he uttered piercing yells and cried rapturously:

"O my eye, my snatcher, there is thy prey!" and with trembling fingers, still galloping, he attempted to remove the hood and leg-strap of the falcon.

"O thou flash of lightning! O thou sword of the sky!"

The Prince was particularly devoted to this falcon. It [431]
was a tercel through its fifth moult, and a present from Ibn Khalifa, the Sheykh of Bahrein, who had procured it from the Bedouins of Jabal Shammar in exchange for a valuable mare. Having taken off hood and leg-strap, Fuaz swung Anaga up and down on his fist and then sideways.

"Open thy swift wings!" he cried.

With easy beat of wings and whining cries, the splendid bird rose into the air. Instinctively we drew rein to watch the spectacle. At first the falcon beat upward, but after a while he stooped and sailed in long flight close above the ground, without seeming to pay any attention to the heron.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 One could only suppose that the bird took pleasure in the sweep of its flight and its skimming and turning close to the ground. Then, with a bold, effortless swing, Anaga rose in wide spirals higher and higher into the sky.

With short, vigorous wing-beats he flew above and beyond the heron. Suddenly Anaga turned, and with folded wings swooped upon the larger bird, but with a swift swerve the falcon shot past and utilised the speed of his downward plunge for another upward curve, which brought him into the eye of the wind and to a higher and more advantageous position. There he circled, watching for a while; then hovered in one spot motionless, like a star in the heavens.

Fuaz, watching his pet, called out joyfully:

"Now shalt thou see the heron falling into his claws as a fish into the fisherman's net!"

Still Anaga hung on motionless wings. Was he choosing the best course for his fateful plunge? Suddenly he gave one beat of the wings and stooped, wings folded, legs pressed close to the body, hurtling down like a projectile. Yet the big heron saw the lunge in time to measure its pace and escape on rapidly beating wings. Instantly the hawk checked his plunge; with an almost imperceptible movement of the wings, he changed direction, and at once was in full cry after the heron.

Now he lowered the path of his flight somewhat, closer to the heron; and now he swooped right over him, only his breast feathers touching, but the terrible gripping talon shot out and held the great bird by the neck. Tumbling over and over, the locked combatants

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223

came dashing earthwards. Torn feathers were scattered in the air. In the headlong tumble the falcon managed always to keep on top, and finally to release himself from the dangerous wings of the heron and give him the death-stroke with his knifelike claws. Only an experienced falcon can so release itself at the right moment.

The clever falcon was already soaring again when the body of his victim hit the ground with a dull thud. Anaga whirled aloft as straight as a fountain, only to return to us in an elegant curve. The wind whistled through its feathers as it swooped past our heads. In rapture, Amir Fuaz cried to his hawk:

"Anaga, O thou Meteor, O snatcher, O my eye!"

The blood-splashed, broad-shouldered falcon cooed happily, as if he understood the compliment, and with outstretched talons and widespread pinions, alighted gently on the raised fist of his master, who tenderly stroked the dishevelled feathers. As if drunk with blood, the bird began to shake himself, fluffed his plumage and smoothed it again, and blinked his gold-rimmed black eyes with their grey lids. Anaga was a diabolical creature, truly a bandit, but without doubt the crown of falconry amongst the Ruala was his by right.

For his magnificent aerial combat the slaves rewarded Anaga with a live pintail grouse which someone had caught. The falcon killed it by ripping its throat, tore out one wing, which he devoured, in order to reach lungs and heart. Then he tore and ate the strongest muscles of the breast. All else he left untouched.

A horseman galloped towards two greyhounds dragging up the dead heron, and took the bird from them.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 The handsome crown feathers he plucked and presented to Amir Fuaz.

Our beaters meanwhile had been starting hares and other small game. The falcons used for such small fry were not of the same noble class as Anaga. The seemingly helpless hares had a means of defence, dangerous to their attackers, in the earth, which they can hug so closely and on which they can twist and double so quickly. One of the falcons injured its wings so badly that it could no longer fly. But in spite of all, most of the hawks were clever enough to make their kills by driving their talons between the hares' ribs into their lungs. After a kill, the huntsmen had to hurry and throw a cloak over the falcon to prevent its feeding on its quarry before the hare's throat was slit. This prescribed method of slaughtering is not peculiar to the Jews only, but to the Ishmaelites also, for meat from which the blood has not been drained is forbidden as human food.

[253 262]

The greyhounds were also set on the hares, but always in pairs. One dog gave chase, while the other cut off the hares' flight in another direction. But to catch the hare was no easy task, and many a greyhound took a somersault when a hare doubled suddenly.

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XXVIII

The Young Gazelle Buck

A FALCON SUDDENLY LEFT his riding-perch amidst the 223
advancing hunt and flew back. The huntsmen called to him threateningly, but in vain. Like an arrow he darted so close past the neck of my horse that automatically I leaned out of the saddle to avoid being struck. He turned in a flash and landed not far from me. I reined in and watched. With his out-spread tail propped on the ground, the falcon was grappling a snake in his talons, and with his beak striking at its elusive head. The snake writhed and coiled round the bird spasmodically, but could get no purchase on the plumage. At last, the falcon seized the viper's head and with a few circular movements twisted it off. A number of other huntsmen had stopped to watch the snake-killer at work, but when the struggle was over, and the bird started to eat its kill, one of them cried commandingly:

"Suhayl!"

Obediently the hawk left his quarry, and flew toward the upheld fist of the falconer, but just as he seemed about to settle on it, he suddenly veered, shot upward, and swept away like a stone hurled from a catapult. For a moment he hovered, high in the sky, then passed from our sight forever.

"The devil!" cried someone, and laughed.

"He is truly a devil!" remarked Amir Fuaz. "Few

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 falcons have such sight and still fewer such spirit. It is well that he seeks a mate. God grant that one day we may find his brood."

The call of the wild had lured Suhayl away, and he had obeyed the impulse of his blood.

224 With loud cries the Bedouins urged their mares forward, again racing each other. For today, however, though it was still early, the chase was over; for the [231] heat of the sun is considered harmful to both greyhounds and falcons.

Amir Fuaz gave the order to rally, and we all proceeded to the previously appointed camping-place, where shortly after the pack-camels arrived with water-skins. In a straight line we were, at the most, seven miles from the main Ruala camp, but in our criss-cross riding we had covered nearly thrice that distance.

When fuel had been collected, coffee was made and hares and bustards roasted. From all quarters riders came in on breathless horses. Groups of men clustered round the small fires. The camel-riders of our beater-corps trickled in, bringing an abundance of game—pintail grouse, bustards, hares, foxes, badgers, gazelles. All the carcasses were ranged on the ground near Amir Fuaz and the other *shiyukhs*.

The thirsty mares were watered only after they had rested awhile, but the panting and tired greyhounds had [223] water splashed into their mouths immediately. The falconers placed their hawks in cooking-vessels, partly filled with water, wherein the dusty birds fluffed and preened their feathers.

Huntsmen lay at ease, sipping coffee and talking.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Near me a fine, full-grown, reddish-brown falcon sat 223
captive on a horizontal perch. It fluttered its wings and tried to fly away, but a strong leather strap held it fast. It had been captured only two days before, and its eyelids were still sewn together, as is the Bedouin practice with newly caught hawks. Dugan, the hawking-slave, had brought this wild bird along to accustom it to the riding.

Towards evening, Fuaz sent some horsemen to the 224
tribal encampment (the Ruala were in migration), to ascertain where his tent was pitched, and after supper, under the shining moon, we all set out for it.

That moonlight ride through the tranquil night was a wonderful experience. Widely spread out, in smaller or larger groups, we rode along at a walk. Mnahi, chief [533]
of the Amir's bodyguard, beat time to the Bedouin songs, which from a distance sounded like a faint, "Yo-ho-loo-oo, Yo-ho-loo-oo."

Riding up a rise, I could fancy that the earth ended beyond it; I always expected to find a dark abyss with an illuminated ocean, opal light and stars rising from its depths.

Lights did in fact appear as we topped one ridge—red campfires. They covered the plain below far and wide. It was a great Ruala encampment that lay before us in the shimmering moonlight—a magic picture, a fairy-tale of the desert. Distant murmurs fell on our ears, bringing a touch of reality to the unreal.

We rode down, a wave of singing horsemen, that melted away into the shadows of the black tents. Here we dismounted, tied our horses to the tent ropes, and

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

entered the goat-hair roofs to sit round the camel-dung fires.

After midnight the parties broke up and we returned to our own camping-place. The Bedouins love these nocturnal palavers and, when not wandering, rest during the day in preparation for the long evening sittings.

We rolled up in our sheep skins for some hours, close to the fire, for the night had turned bitterly cold. Scarcely had we fallen asleep when it seemed to be time to get up again. It was still dark. Muffled figures rose and moved to the glowing embers, warmed their hands over them and thrust twigs into them to light their cigarettes.

"Get up, children!" was the cry.

The slaves went down the lines of camels, took off their woollen knee-hobbles and kicked or slapped them on the flanks. One by one the *dhaluls*, shadowy in the dark, rose and were saddled. The mares were as yet spared; they were to be ridden only in the chase. We led them with us, as usual, tied to our camels.

Dawn passed into a glowing, golden morning. Far out over the plain everything appeared pure and transparent, even in the farthest distance. Our spirits were refreshed, our senses awakened. The hunters changed from camel to horseback when we neared the ponds of Khabra Mirfiah, toward which ran many gazelle tracks.

Our beaters swarmed out and quickly put up a troop of gazelles, which they drove toward us.

The wild hunt was up. Halloo! How our mares stretched out! How the hoofs flew, as hunters and

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hunted spread out over the plain and the drivers put up ever new herds before them! 224

A group of riders, of which I was one, came almost within striking distance of one band, but the fleet gazelles always managed to elude us. The headlong ride had already lasted more than an hour, and our horses trembled and panted from exhaustion. Some gazelles had succeeded in breaking through the scattered line of hunters.

Amir Fuaz and his men now unhooded and released their falcons. The liberated birds shot away. With incredible speed they overtook the gazelles and chose their victims. At first they flew above them close to the ground, then swept forward and obtained a hold between their horns or on their necks. With desperate plunges and side springs the terrified gazelles endeavoured to free themselves from their murderous assailants, but without avail. With their talons hooked in the scalp or the eye-sockets of the gazelles, the falcons struck wildly with their wings and beaks at their eyes to impede their progress. [223]

Horrified, I reined in my mare. A blinded gazelle dashed past me, but she was no longer able to escape the pack of greyhounds which, overtaking her, seized her hocks which they did not release even when they tumbled over and over. From the swirling cloud of dust came the bleating, bellowing, and groaning of the stricken gazelle, which ceased only when the huntsmen, racing up, put an end to the animal's suffering.

The falcons soared above the heads of men and beasts, all wild with the excitement and the lust of killing. The

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 beautiful defenceless gazelles lay quivering on the sand.

Five gazelles fell victims to the falcons and greyhounds at the first charge, and thirty-one more before the huntsmen decided they had had enough and turned homeward.

The gamest fight I have ever seen was put up by a young gazelle buck. He had succeeded in shaking off two falcons and goring a greyhound, and had reached temporary safety. We could still see him quite clearly, but a long way off, standing on the watch, waiting. Our extended line of mounted beaters converged to hem him in, and the hunt of the poor buck started afresh. In my heart, I prayed that the gallant fellow might escape for good, but it looked as if he were spent. Our horsemen drew nearer and nearer and, when the ring had reached striking distance, three strong hawks flew at the buck. In no time they were upon him; and once more we beheld a desperate contest.

The Ruala had agreed that this fight was to be fought out by the falcons alone, without help from the greyhounds.

Our troop of horsemen galloped, shouting, after the fleeing buck. He was not a hundred horse-lengths ahead, so that we could clearly follow his contest with the three falcons, and we came steadily nearer. Suddenly he would swerve away, throw himself on the ground, turn somersaults and speed on again, doubling right and left. It was no easy task for the falcons to get the better of this master of the art of defence.

It was probably not his first fight against the terrible hunting-hawks.

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These hawks, too, were masters in their way. Despite 224
the buck's resourcefulness, two of them managed at last to fasten on his head and neck. Suddenly riotous shouts of applause from the huntsmen rose above the panting of the horses and the drumming of their hoofs. But these plaudits were not for the falcons; they were for the doughty buck. He had checked abruptly in mid-career and leaped bolt upright in the air. With the same mighty swing he threw himself on the ground, tumbled over, and with a sidelong thrust of the head, drove his small dirklike horns into the ground, and executed a few more somersaults, having maimed one hawk, gored another to death, and crushed the third, which had fastened upon him but a few moments before.

It looked as if the buck could never rise again, that all his delicate bones must be broken.

The whole episode had taken place with the speed of lightning—and there was the desperate animal on his legs again, and off in full flight once more, before one had time to take in what had happened.

Fearing that the buck would be lost, the huntsmen unleashed the greyhounds after all; but it was too late. The hounds chased for some time after the little cloud of dust far ahead of them, but the hero of the day disappeared in the glassy distance.

"Ya ibbli—ya ibbli!" the huntsmen shouted—the rallying cry of the Bedouin to his hounds.

Our ride back was not like our merry ride out in the morning. Many of our mares were lame, yet they had to carry not only their tired masters, but the best part

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 of the hunting trophies; and several injured greyhounds into the bargain.

825 Noticing on Amir Fuaz's *abe* droppings of his falcon,
584 I attempted to brush it off, but the young Prince stopped me and said proudly: "No—no, Aziz! The excrement of the noble falcons stamps us with the hallmark of noble birth."

224 His words explained better than any conception of
181 mine the true inwardness of these hunts; they are considered noble and honourable. The nobility of the desert (its "large-eyedness" as the Bedouins call it) must be experienced and tested; but noble and large-eyed as the Bedouins are, so are also their horses, camels, greyhounds, and falcons, and no less the Bedouin's prey—gazelles, antelopes, and ostriches.

But the ignoble man or beast the wandering Arab despises. He holds them beyond the pale, beyond the law of the desert . . .

". . . die that they might have new life;
For only what is weakling dies,
That what is strong may live."

1: Raswan
221, 731

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For a discussion of the problems arising on the annual trek of the Rwala when their usual grazing lands are desiccated see complete text, category 116, pp. 83-138.]

[For information concerning the relationship between the Arabs and the author, a European, see the complete text, category 116.]

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BY

ALOIS MUSIL
Professor of Oriental Studies
Charles University, Prague

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Frontespiece

Al-Sheikh Mijm ar-Rweyli

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000

TO

TOMÁŠ GARRIGUE MASARYK

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

WHO FOR MANY YEARS GAVE ME SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT

IN MY EXPLORATIONS AND STUDIES

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PREFACE

101 114 The Rwala are recognized by all their neighbors as the only true Bedouin tribe of northern Arabia. Traveling and camping with them for months I had ample opportunities of studying their life. The results of these studies are given in this volume. I have found it advisable, however, to add some [115] details which I learned from my companion Blejhán eben Meṣreb, who was not a Rwejli (or member of the Rwala), but hailed from the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe. Both Sba'a and Rwala belong to the 'Aneze group, the Ḳmuṣa being neighbors of the Rwala and almost identical with the latter in manners and customs.

104 In transliterating Arabic terms, phrases, sentences, ditties, and poems I have tried to reproduce exactly the words of those whom I quote — Rwala, for the most part. I have not corrected their many inconsistencies in grammar and pronunciation. All the ditties, songs, and poems were explained to me in the desert. I used no dictionary as an aid to their translation.

In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my works *The Northern Ḥejáz* (New York, 1926), *Arabia Deserta*, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), *Palmyrena*, and *Northern Nejd* (New York, 1928), attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. The meaning of the different symbols is indicated below.

000 Closing the publication of the results of my explorations and studies since 1908 I must thank all those who have helped me morally and materially both in the East and West, among them: the Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Archbishop Dr. František Bauer, Olomouc; al-Ḥâǧǧ Dâûd eben Sulejmán eben Ṣâleḥ, Damascus; Khalil Fattal, Damascus; Dr. Otto Feilchenfeld, Prague; the Geographical Society, Vienna; Dr. Max Ritter von Gutmann, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Gilbert Helmer, Teplá; Dr. Joseph Ritter von Karabacek, Vienna; Jindřich Klinger, Prague; the Lackenbacher Fund of the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna; the reigning Prince Johann von und zu Liechtenstein, Vienna; Dr. Melchior Mlčoch, Olomouc; Prince an-Núri eben Ša'lân; Baron Louis Rothschild, Vienna; Philipp Alois Schoeller, Vienna; Abbot Dr. Method Zavoral, Prague.

The editor Dr. John K. Wright has cared for my work as if they were his own. For over eight years Miss Anna Blechová, Secretary of the Oriental Seminar at Charles University, Prague, has devoted herself with rare enthusiasm to the task of preparing these volumes and maps for publication.

It should be pointed out that the printing of this series as a whole, and particularly that of the present volume, raised exceptional typographic difficulties. The work was carried out by the Státní tiskárna of Prague under the able direction of Mr. Karel Dyrynk. The typesetters were unfamiliar with both the English and Arabic languages and the transliteration of the latter involved the use of innumerable letters with diacritical marks. It is altogether extraordinary that the work has been accomplished so accurately and expeditiously.

TRANSLITERATION

Line (-) or bow (⌣) under the letter indicates an aspirate, a dot (.) an emphatic, and the sign (·) over the letter a palatal pronunciation.

ʾ = أ	z = ز	k = ك
b = ب	s = س	ḳ = ق
t = ت	š = ش (sh)	k = ك
ṯ = ث (th)	ṣ = ص (ss)	č = ك (ch)
ǧ = ج	ḍ = ض (dh,	l = ل
ḥ = ح	ṭ = ط	m = م
ḫ = خ	ẓ = ظ (sh)	n = ن
d = د	ʿ = ع	h = ه
ḏ = ذ (th)	ġ = غ (ghr)	w = و
r = ر	f = ف	j = ي (y in yoke)

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CHAPTER I

THE HEAVENLY BODIES AND THE WEATHER

THE SUN AND MOON

The Rwala imagine that their life is regulated by the moon. The moon condenses the water vapors, attracts the rain clouds, distils the beneficent dew on the pasture, makes possible the growth and longer life of plants — particularly the perennials, which are of the greatest importance to the camels — and grants to the traveling Bedouin comparative safety and refreshing sleep. 321

On the other hand, the sun would like to destroy the Bedouins. It dries up all moisture, not only from the ground, but from plants and animals as well as from man, destroys all life, renders possible the invasion of enemies by allowing them a wide view, and takes revenge on the destroyed animals and human beings by transforming their dead bodies into deadly poison. The sun is a strong, bony female, full of passion and anger. Being sterile herself, she is jealous of all life and would spoil it while yet in embryo. Ever since the woman sun has been known to the Bedouins, she has always been equally old and equally mean. Whether she ever was any younger and has had children they do not know, but they think that, if she could be restored to youth and could bear children, she would at once grow kinder.

The moon is a merry youth, full of vigor and high spirits. The sun is his wife, but he does not live with her. Only on the last day of the old and the first of the new moon does he stay with her for sexual intercourse, but her passions he is unable to satisfy. From fear of her and the needless waste of his vigor the moon grows very thin. At first he refused to gratify the desires of his old yet insatiable wife, but this enraged her and a fight took place between them, in which they each knocked out the other's eye. Since that time they have both a dark stain or scar in that place. Each longs for

721 the lost eye: the moon in order to do good to the Rwala, t
sun to hurt them still more. The moon sometimes says: "
God, if thou hadst not knocked out my eye, I could bring
about that the falconer could hunt in a bright night; *w-all
law lāk farraḥti 'ejni la-ḥalli aṣ-ṣakkār jihedd bekumrāj
To which the sun replies: "By God, if thou hadst not knock
out my eye, I should have had a two-year-old she-camel roast
in a red-hot plain; *w-allāh law lāk farraḥt 'ejni la-ḥalli ḥeššj
al-bel tiśwa' bramḍāje.*"

The moon and sun have a common enemy. This is a fia
like female monster called *ḥawt*. *Al-ḥawt* has persecuted the
from time immemorial but seldom succeeds in deceiving the
Still, whenever she does so, she opens her maw and tries
swallow them. Sometimes they elude her, so that the monst
gets only a small piece of them, but at other times she gul
them down whole. The woman sun is so scorched and bo
that even the *ḥawt* cannot digest her and she is soon vomit
out unhurt. Then the Rwala are vexed that even the ḥa
cannot rid them of the murderous sun. But for the mo
they are much concerned. When they notice that the ḥa
has bitten into the moon youth, most of the camps becon
agitated and from the tents pour out both men and wom
hurrying to the moon's assistance. The women beat the
copper pots, the men brandish their spears, cut the air wi
their swords, and shoot, all crying in unison: "O *ḥawt*, let t
moon go! *jā ḥawt eṭlaḥ al-ḥumāddār.*" If that is of no ava
the men leap on their horses, the women on the camels, a
all gallop in the direction where the female monster is threate
ing the moon. So far they have always succeeded in rescuin
the moon, but they still fear that the *ḥawt* may win; ther
fore there is a night watchman in every camp, whose du
it is not only to watch over their property but over the
benefactor, the moon, as well.

Much uneasiness, too, is felt by the Bedouins on the fir
night of the new moon, *lejlet aṣ-ṣarra*. Since the moon
that time appears neither west nor east, they watch the we
ern sky anxiously after sunset on the following day, in t
hope of discovering at least a little piece of the circle, *hilw
min ḥarṭaḥ*, of their emaciated benefactor. If they sig
the new moon, they show him to each other and raise the
hands to him, crying: "O thou new moon! O lord! O our ben
factor! O powerful new moon! O thou, who savedst us (fro

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an attack) this (month) just passed, will surely save us also 821
in that which is now beginning. *Já helál já sajjed já sa'íd já 'azz al-helál já-lli fukkejtna bhe-lli zel tafekkna bhalli hell.*"

The Rwala never know positively how many nights old the new moon is. When discussing this they fall to quarreling and then have to believe what the older and more experienced say about it. But from generation to generation the confidence [593] in the elders is on the wane. The young men are too clever and heed neither the advice nor the hints of their parents; wherest an old father thus complains to his son: "My son, there will come a disobedient generation, which will claim of (the first night of) the moon that it is already two nights old; *já weledi jefla' ghlem wehni jeḳúl lal-helál eben ţáni.*" An old neighbor of his adds: "A perverse generation is coming; if thou invitest them to feast, they will never find enough to drink or eat; if thou raisest thy war cry for help, they will not come; *jefla' ghl medfa' ilja 'azzemteh má jarwa' wmá jeshba' w-ilja nashejteh má jefza'.*"

The Bedouin is most happy from the eighth to the eighteenth night, for the moon in that period is still alive at sunrise, *tafla' eḍ-ḍams w-el-ḳumar ḥajj.* These nights are called the white, *lejál el-biḍ.* The Bedouin cannot then be discovered from afar, nor suddenly attacked from near by, as he sees farther than the rifle would carry. Beginning with the eighth night he can sleep easily; from the tenth onwards, he need not drive together the camels which lie here and there around his tent; *lejlet ţemán nim bemán w-lejlet 'ašar lá tarodd en-nasar.* In these nights the fire of a lonely traveler can be left burning; on war expeditions no lantern is needed to show the way — what wonder then that the grown youth wishes: "I would that the night were always bright moonlight, the depression always freshly green, and that I might live on, growing neither younger nor older; *ebri enna-l-lej' aḥmar el-er-rous aḥḍar w-ána ḥajj lá ezyar w-lá ekbar.*"

But after the eighteenth night trouble begins. Thieves prowl around, hostile troops ride through the region, the smallest fire can be seen from a great distance, and danger threatens from both near and far. Therefore the warning is heard over and over again: "The twentieth night! Guard thy property, wretch! *lejlat 'išrín eḥfaẓ wálak já maskín.*" The darkness of the night fills the wakeful with terror, and they cry out: "God save us from the evil of the darkness and of those

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821 who walk by night': *allâh jeḫfina šarr aẓ-ẓalma w-aẓ-ẓâlmiin*.

In winter time the moon passes across the center of th heavens, but in summer it stays on the edge, *ma' baṭin a sema'*, while the sun burns right overhead.

805 The Bedouin divides all time into two periods: one whe the moon reigns and the other when the sun reigns. Th first is called the night, the second the day, *nahâr*, and to gether they form our day of twenty-four hours, *jowm*; thi name, however, is not used by the Bedouin, who speaks onl of the night or the nights; the day, the reign of the sun, i regarded as an appendage of the night, which begins wit sunset and ends with sunrise. The period of sunset is calle *maγreb*; the first part of the night, *'aša'*; the time betwee sunset and dark, *'atîm*; then follows *al-'atîm al-aḫîr* (th second *'atîm*) and finally midnight, *nuṣṣ al-lejl*; the perio between midnight and sunrise is *tâli-l-lejl*; then comes *šaḳḳa al-'amûd*, or the time when the morning star begins to ris above the dark horizon; and finally the dawn, *ṭa'at al-ḥamâ* The period of sunrise is called *ṣubḥ*; when the sun has rise and dried the dew, or about halfway between sunrise an noon, *ṣaḥa'*. Noon is called *ẓuhr*; then follows *al-ḳâjile o ṣakkat al-'omaj*, the time of the siesta. About midway betwee noon and sunset is *'aṣr*, and then comes *'aṣejr*.

The division of the day into hours is not known. Th word hour, *sâ'a*, they use, but in the sense of "right away, "in a minute." For instance: "Light the fire right away *bsâ'a*." The days of the week are not counted. *Sbû'*, a week means not only seven, but also five or even nine or more days Whether the month has twenty-eight or thirty days they d not know and do not care, as they count the nights alone

For the individual months they have no special names Ḥmâr, first slave of Prince an-Nûri, insisted that the suc cessive months are named as follows: *'dûr, ṣofar*, four month of *at-tuâm, al-γarra, al-ḳṣejjer, ramaḍân*, two months of a *afṭâr*, and finally *aẓ-ẓaḥijje*, but none of the common Bedouins not even one of the younger chiefs, knew all these names *Ramaḍân* and *aẓ-ẓaḥijje* were known to all; of the rest every body could name some but without knowing the order.

The year itself begins with the autumn. When every stalk cracks, *jiṭeḳḳ al-'ûd*, and breaks — a sign of its being completely dry — then the Bedouin observes the clouds and waits for the rain and the new year which follows.

CLOUDS AND RAIN

821 The rain is caused by the new moon. As soon as the rainy season ends, the new moon sucks and draws the water from the great sea in such tiny drops that even the *ḳaṭa* bird could swallow a hundred of them at once. These drops the new moon places in symmetrical rows and forms of them vapors and thin clouds, *ṛejm*, somewhere far in the west — at al-Ḥaṣra, or Túnis, as some think. Then, scarcely has the star Canopus appeared on the horizon in the autumn, *al-ḥarîf* (for *al-ḫarîf*), the time when the Bedouins have neither water for themselves nor pasture for their herds, than Allâh sends his angel to the far west. The angel compels the drops to cluster closer together and thus forms the dark clouds, *seḥeb*, which he draws to the left (that is, to the north), where he puts them in chains. These clouds he thickens, *jeḥağḥeğ*, by more and more small clouds, *ṛejm*. Finally, grasping the stick, *meḥğân*, with which he guides his female riding camel, he drives them before him, *jeḥillha*, above the territories of the Rwala and other Bedouins and compels them to let their water fall on the scorched desert. If any cloud resists, the angel beats it with his *meḥğân* into lightning, *jer'ağ*, and thunder. The frightened cloud then gives up all the water it is carrying, dissolves, and disappears.

But it is not every cloud that brings rain. The Bedouins like best the clouds called *seḥeb* and *mizen*. A *saḥâba* or *saḥâb* is a dense gray cloud, which often becomes yellow-stained and then never fails to give rain, *ilja rakkaṭat nakkaṭat*. A *mizne* is a small cloud, originally white, which is joined by many other similar clouds, *jitafâze'en*; the augmented cloud rises, grows black in places, flashes with lightning, rumbles with thunder, and produces heavy rain, *sana'at*. The Bedouins are wont to say: "Thou art the cloud with the white spot whose abundant rain has surprised us. Truly, I welcome thee twice, for even the earth welcomes the moisture it has received. *Enti miznet al-ṛarra alli ṛaššâna halalha wa-halli bič halûtên halwat al-arṛ bebelalha.*" When it is raining very heavily, the Bedouin rejoices, saying: "The rain is pouring in streams, the world has changed into a torrent; *hallal al-maṭar hallal sajjalet ad-dinja.*" If rain can be seen falling at a distance, men say: "The world has prayed successfully for an abundant rain, *istahallat ad-dinja.*" A downpour which lasts a little while only

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121 is called *rahâbijje* (or *marhâb*). A downpour which irrigates a small territory is *hemlûl* (pl., *hemâlîl*). If there is abundant rain over a wide district, the rain is called *dîm*. The *saḥâb* cloud brings the heaviest downpour; therefore one may often hear: "The *saḥâb* cloud is a robber strewing on the hills a mixture of stones and gravel, *saḥâb nahhâb jarmi 'ala rûs al-ḥzûm ekhâî*." A heavy downpour carries away the fertile soil suitable for different plants from the lofty hillocks, which resemble waves, and there remain large stones of various sizes only, among which the camel can find but sparse pasture. The Bedouins call a completely overcast sky *mṭawsg*. The semi-transparent, cobweb-like clouds floating under the upper dense clouds are the rain-giving clouds, *rwéjât al-maṭar*.

All clouds obey the dictates of Allâh, who sends his angel to them. The angel holds a stick, *mehjân*, in his hand, urges on the clouds, shouts at them, and beats the disobedient. A swish of the *mehjân* is the lightning's zigzag course, *'akraba*; the shout and the blow are the rumbling of thunder, audible as far as a two days' march (over one hundred kilometers). If a thunderstorm is near, *Hja ra'edat as-saḥâba*, the Bedouins, in happy anticipation of rain, shout: "Bring us a good pasture, O mighty one! O what a lovely sound! *A'mer jâ kerim jâ zên al-waḥaj*." At each flash of lightning they exclaim: "How powerful art thou, whose countenance is glorious (whose protection is known to all)! *'azzak jâ 'aziz al-waǧh*." If the lightning strikes something, *ta'aẓ al-barḳ*, in the neighborhood of the camp, the Bedouins fear lest pieces of the clouds may fall down and bury them; hence they cry: "Lift the sky from the ground, thou strong one, who art merciful (when thou couldst slay)! *erfa' al-'arḍ 'an al-farš jâ mâne'en ḥûwi*."

Sometimes a piece of the sky, consisting of fire and iron, actually breaks off and falls on a Bedouin, killing him, *flân ṭâḥat 'alejh eṣ-ṣâ'a*. If it rains from a great height, the water floods some small star, of which there are thousands floating in the firmament on cold nights. Every little star burns like a piece of red-hot coal, *ǧamra*. When the rain falls upon it, the star is quenched, begins to hiss, breaks to pieces, and falls down to earth. While falling it wails for help, *jesraḫ*. In the desert such a fallen star forms a furrow, *maṭḥ an-nejm*, forty to sixty paces long, at the end of which it hides itself. Whoever observes the fall of a star runs instantly with a water bag to its hiding-place, pours water over it, shovels

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on gravel and sand, and then waits a whole year. At the expiration of that time he scrapes away the sand and gravel, takes out the star, and brings it to a good swordsmith, who melts and beats it into a saber which can be sold for one hundred Turkish pounds ($450). 821

If there is lightning and thunder, but the clouds begin to scatter and disappear, the Rwala pray: "O, that he, who sends (angels) to the cloud, may send (an angel) to it on eight riding camels and say to it: 'The gift (of God) shall come down.' *Já min jirsel las-saḥâb jirsel leh ṭaman erčâb w-jaḳûl leh 'afwa' jiği.*" If merciful Allâh spreads out the clouds on high and but few drops fall, the Bedouins lament: "After this (rain) we have lost what might have brought us gold, (we have lost it) like a vibrating mirage. Truly, we can do nothing without Allâh. *Min 'oḳbeh ṛaddeṭna-d-ḏahâb miṯl ṣaḥṣâḥ as-sarâb 'oḳb allâh má ḳenna šien.*" Abundant rain would have given the camels good pasture and for well-fed old camels gold can be had from the 'Aḳejl.

The end of the rain in the daytime is announced by the rainbow, *sejf al-maṭar*. As soon it appears, the clouds grow calm; *ilja sajjefat kajjefat*.

SEASONS AND RAINY PERIODS

In summer the clouds are plentiful, but they bring no rain. Only in the autumn there becomes visible either on the right or on the left of the sun a sun dog, *middat aš-šams*, a sure sign that rain will soon come. In this season the seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, of the Nṣejr clan, Mbârek eben Ḥwêmel, takes a large handful of salt and, dividing it into six small heaps indicating the principal rains, arranges them in the form of a cross, *ṣallab*, thus: 821 791 787

o *škejlâwi*
o *šitwi* o *ṣrûwi* o *ṣejfi*
o *ṣôaiwi*,

and then lies down by them and waits for what Allâh's messenger will tell him during the coming night. On the next morning he and the others examine the heaps. The one where the most salt is melted is the one which will produce the most abundant rain.

The year of the Bedouins begins with the first heavy 805 132
rain following the appearance of the star Canopus, *sheil*, in

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805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert: *ṭala'at as-shejl nuḥarreż*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṯrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṯrâwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawzā'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-šta'*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-wasm*, *aš-
132 šitwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *as-shejlâwi*, *aṯ-ṯrâwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which
[131] are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *iḏa ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen as-sejl wa-ṭlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-herfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arṣ mawsûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

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the tiny pale-green leaflets of annuals, which the Rwala call "grasses," *'eśeb*, whereas the perennials are called by them "woody plants," *śnǰar*. If the *wasm aṯ-ṯṛiwi*, the rain of the Pleiades, is likewise abundant, the grasses attain their full growth and the camels pasture on fresh *'eśeb* even before the winter, *aš-šta'*, sets in. 132 137

The most important rain of all is the *wasm aṯ-ṯṛiwi*; it is the decisive factor for the future grazing. A copious rain of Gemini extending over wide areas assures the growth of both the grasses and the woody plants and banishes the dread of hunger. Sometimes at the end of the *ǰôzâwi* rain period comes a rain called *at-tuwejbe'* (of Aldebaran), which completes the fertility brought by the rains of Gemini, although not sufficient in itself to take their place altogether.

The *šitwi* rain, called also *an-naṯpân*, will not assure a successful growth of the grasses if they have not already sprouted after the *wasm* rains. In the *swâk* and, especially, in the *ṣejf* seasons there are many very hot days, so that the grasses which came out from the ground after the *šitwi* rain grow yellow before reaching their full development. But the *šitwi* rain fills all the reservoirs with pure healthful water, which evaporates but slowly during the cold winter days and nights and in consequence remains pure for a long time. [312]

The rain of *as-swâk* is beneficial only when the soil has been thoroughly soaked by some autumnal rain, especially that of Gemini, for then both the grasses and woody plants are rapidly developed by *as-swâk* and the prosperity of the Bedouins in that particular season is well-nigh assured. Yet even the most abundant *swâk* rain is of but little account if it falls on ground already parched from lack of moisture from the preceding autumnal rains, for the hot sun of the following season, *aṣ-ṣejf*, will consume everything that the *swâk* has called to life.

An abundant *ṣejfi* rain leads to the destruction of the annuals, strengthens the perennials, and fills all the spring wells. The grasses refreshed by copious summer rain become luxuriant, quickly sending out new leaves and blossoms; but in a few days the scorching sun absorbs all their sap, withering them more prematurely than if *aṣ-ṣejfi* had not awakened them. The woody plants, on the other hand, having a longer period of vegetation, acquire from abundant summer rain so much moisture that they can attain their full development.

132 137 A luxuriant growth of perennials in the autumn is a sure sign that the particular district has been visited by good *ṛejfi* rains, whence the saying: "O that lovely little gazelle! It will eat its fill of the autumn pasture after the summer rain; *já 'aja al-ḫḥejf tar'-al-ḫelfi 'oḫb ep-ṛejfi.*" Abundant summer [312] rain also fills both the natural and artificial reservoirs, but such water soon swarms with frogs, *dafdi'a*, and all kinds of worms, which render it foul-smelling and undrinkable in a short time.

PRAYERS FOR RAIN

539* 789 If the earth does not receive abundant autumnal rain, the danger of a failure of the pasture, *mahal* (or *muḫṭi*), arises. In order to prevent it, the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm el-ṛejf*, mother of the rain (Fig. 1). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession, which wanders from tent to tent singing:

1. *Já-mm el-ṛejf ṛejfina*
   belli bḥejt rḥ'ina
2. *já-mm el-ṛejf ṛejfina*
   min el-maṭar eżżina
3. *já-mm el-ṛejf ṛejfina*
   min midd allâh meddina
4. *já-mm el-ṛejf ṛejfina*
   min el-wabel enfina.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Wet the mantle of our herdsman.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
With pouring rain allay our thirst.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
From Allâh's measure measure out to us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
A real flood let our share be.

[291] Verse 1. *Ḫejf* signifies a rain of at least four days' duration extending over a vast region. *Bḥejt* is a cheap gray cloak made of wool or cotton waste. 2. The girls gradually increase their prayers for rain. At first they want the rain only to wet the herdsman's mantle; then they pray for a downpour, *maṭar*,

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which lasts several hours. 3. If Allâh pours from his measure, or rain vessel, that is a cloud-burst. 4. *Wabel* is a downpour for several days, inundating whole plains. *Nafa'* is used for *'afa'*, to give.

1. *Já-mm al-rejt rejtina*
dájem harret bdina
2. *já-mm al-rejt rejtina*
dájem 'aggas 'amina
3. *já-mm al-rejt rejtina*
wakj al-mahal jatlina
4. *já-mm al-rejt já tak'a*
katalna-l-bard w-ak'a.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Thy evil is still tormenting us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Clouds of dust are still blinding us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
The specter of want speeds towards us.
O mother of the rain! O hungry one!
The chill and severe cold have destroyed us.

Verse 4. *Bard* is less strong than *ak'a*. In summer the saying "*bard al-jaum*, it is chilly today," is often heard, but *ak'a* is used only when the icy but dry north wind penetrates the bones.

1. *Alli ta'tina bel-gerbál*
ga'al wuledah hajjál
2. *alli ta'tina bel-mahal*
ga'al wuledah jedhal
3. *alli ta'tina bel-hafna*
'ana 'aduawateh ledafanh
4. *alli ta'tina bel-kamka*
ga'al 'ajanaka-r-ramka.

Of her who will give us a full sieve.
Oh may (Allâh) make the little son grow up a rider.
Of her who will give us a full bolt,
Oh may (Allâh) lead the son to a bride.
Of her who will give us a large handful,
Oh may the grave open for her enemy.
Of her who will give us a small handful,
Oh may her eyelashes soon grow thicker.

Verse 3. *Ḥafna* is as much as the hand with the palm turned upwards and with bent fingers can hold, or a large handful. 4. *Kamše* is as much as can be held between the palm and the fingers of the hand turned downwards, or a small handful.

Erčebâni-l-ḥâši
w-eb'eḍâ bikmâši
dem' 'ajni nazawâši
'ale-lli ṣâraḳâni.

Seat me upon a weak young camel,
And take away him who would hold me;
The tears of my eyes are exhausted
Weeping for him from whom they have parted me.

Ḥâši is a camel not yet three years old; an older she-camel is called *ṣîl*. The young camel suffers from lack of pasture and water, the girl from sorrow for her lost sweetheart, and both will perish if no one cares for them.

Erčebâni-l-ḥamra'	Seat me upon a bay mare,
w-ef'emâni tamra	Feed me with one date.
allâh jeṭâl 'omrah	Oh may Allâh prolong his life,
jawm ḥaw ḥallaṭâni.	For they have liberated me.

They (her relatives) saved her from death by bringing back her lover, who did not perish of thirst in the raid.

Já ǧîb já ṭâred al-ḥejf
oṭrod ḥabûb aš-šemâli
'ajjant 'alja' w-abu zejd
ahl al-ḳṣûr al-'awâli.

O wolf! O thou who struggiest with the hot south wind!
Drive away the cold breese of the north wind.
Thou hast surely seen 'Alja and Abu Zejd,
Who used to dwell in manors high.

The wolf is not injured by the various winds and thus reaches an age so great that he could tell much concerning the occupants of the demolished manors which he has seen. *Al-ḥejf* is the hot dry wind blowing in summer from the south-east, causing much suffering, especially to children and women. *Aš-šemâli* is the icy north wind, which destroys plants as well as animals and human beings. If it blows for some time, the grass freezes and both animals and men fall sick. There are

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no rains after the *hejf.* in summer nor after the *šemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṣâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-rejf*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-rejf*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-rejf* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṯ-ṯrâwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'eśeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rabî'*. In the inner desert

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In the inner desert

the word *rabī'* does not signify a season of the year; it is therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellāḥīn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabī'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabī'* for them signifies the spring. The angel Ǧibrīn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellāḥīn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrīn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrīn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the autumnal rains, then there is no *rabī'*; *al-arḍ alli mā tiswesem mā terabbe' muḫṭije*. The abundance, *rabī'*, is also greater and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *swāk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabī'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

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destroyed. In the afternoons and evenings the young people hasten to the water holes, *rudrān*, in the valley bottoms for their ablutions. They bathe separately, the youths in one place, the girls in another. Their shouts of joy and various songs are heard on all sides. In the tents mushrooms and truffles, young bulbs, and fresh vegetables are cooked and enjoyed.

The local name for the mushrooms is *ḥawber*. They grow after warm night rains, *emṭer bel-leyl w-rāḥ jetafawwa-l-ḥawber*. On the mornings following such nights both men and women go out in search of this dainty, which grows best of all near the channels, while the truffle prefers soil mixed or strewn with sand. When they come to the surface the latter form tiny hat-like lumps, which attract the eye of the picker. The earth or sand covering them is then turned over by the hand or a stick, and the truffle dug out. In cooking they are boiled in salt water and then served with butter or camel's fat. Another method is to bake them in hot ashes after a thorough salting.

Of the truffle, *faḳa'*, there are three kinds: *al-ḥmāṛa*, *az-zbejdi*, and *al-ḥlāṣi*. A Bedouin, having gathered a heap of truffles, sorted them in his tent according to their kinds, saying: "This one is *al-ḥmajje*, the mother of the little girl will get that; this *az-zbejdi* I will give to the mother of my little son; and the best, *al-ḥlāṣi*, I shall keep myself; *al-ḥmajje lumm al-bnajje az-zbejdi lumm wlejdi al-ḥlāṣi lardi*."

All Bedouins greatly enjoy the small bulbs of certain wild plants, especially *aṯ-ṯiṯa*, *rubaḥla*, *ḥurrāṭ*, etc. Mothers send their boys in search of them with the words: "My little sons, O sonnies! go bring me *aṯ-ṯiṯa*; I will prepare for you *muṯṯiṯa* (a dish of mashed bulbs); *'ejāli jā 'ejāl aṯ-ṯiṯa w-muṯlakom muṯṯiṯa*."

In the sun-baked gravel plains (called *ḥamād*) in a year of abundance the *semḥ* grows with its subvarieties, *ad-da'd'* and *al-ḥawwa*. These plants, when already ripe and still fresh are much sought after by the Bedouins, who place them in pits safe from water or in bags. When dry the plants are beaten with sticks and shaken, and the seed, *ḥe'ber*, which have fallen to the ground, are put into sacks, *'edāl*, and brought to rain-water holes, where they are either left for some time or at least thoroughly soaked until the dry husks crack. Sometimes the large leather water troughs, *ḥowy*, are filled with water and the full shells are put in; in time they swell and burst.

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The chaff, *ḥiṣr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away, while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is called *semḥne* or *sebib*.

The fertility, or abundance, *rubī'*, depends entirely on a luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even after a good *şejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *mapjūfe*; but no *şejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may have no *rubī'* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have something to bite into), and men die of hunger; *kādi-s-sene w-iaha mūn mās jā'kūn w-mās jemūtūn*." The Bedouin also refers to a *rubī' al-mā'i*, meaning a season when the entire growth consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even the youngest camels; a *rubī' ap-paṭāra*, when nothing grows except the *paṭāra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rubī' al-dimne*, when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *ḍitwi* rains, fail to receive the *smāk* rain and become yellow as early as the end of March; a *rubī' an-naṣṣān*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rubī' aṣ-ṣafān*, when not only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant pasture.

Just as the Bedouins long for the *rubī'* years, so they fear the years of want, or *ǧawe'*. If for two or three years the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody plants alone. The winter rain, *al-ḍitwi*, makes these perennials swell, but during the hot *smāk* days they dry up, become unpalatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ejjām al-ǧawe'*, or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish. But if the rains of the *şejfi* also fail, then not a single perennial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

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a dead and death-dealing desert. This is the work of the woman sun, whose sole aim is to burn and destroy.

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HOT AND COLD WEATHER; DEWS; WINDS; FOGS; MIRAGES; SAND STORMS

The greatest heats, called *ḥâmm al-ḥiejbân*, occur in the season of *al-ḥâr*; *ḥamm as-shejl*, the season immediately before the rise of Canopus, is the next hottest. When the Pleiades, *aṣ-ṣurâja*, disappear from the heavens, every stalk dries up, *ilja ṣâbat aṣ-ṣurâja kîl 'âden jibes*. 132

The season of *aṣ-ṣtâ'*, with a few days before and after it, is the coldest of all; from about December 11 to January 20 is the time of the real winter, *al-marba'usijje*. The *ṣtâ'* cold is followed by the seven poisonous nights, *sabe' semm*; then come the seven bloody nights, *sabe' demm*; and finally seven nights in which the fat (of the camels) is either increasing or decreasing, *jisir ad-desem w-id jisir*. In explanation it should be said that the nights of the first and second week following the *marba'usijje* are often so cold as to make the life of both human beings and animals miserable; the noses of the camels even bleed from the effects of the cold. Not until the third week, or about the middle of February, do the cold nights begin to alternate with warm ones. In the daytime the earth is warm, but at night the air stratum more than one meter above the ground cools off; wherefore the two giants (i.e. the camel and the palm) suffer much from cold, *bard aṣ-ṣuzûlên*. In winter, *al-marba'usijje*, all of Palmyrena, all the territories of al-Ḥamâd, al-Wuḍîjân, al-Ḥeğera, al-Ḥunfa, Ḥesma', and even the Nefûd are covered with white frost, *ṣalîṭ*. In Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and al-Wuḍîjân trees and bushes become white with hoarfrost, *ğelîd*, at that time. Snow falls, *feleğat ad-dinja*, in Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and Ḥesma in large flakes, *ṣoḥrât*, regularly every year, but as a rule it remains on the ground no more than one day, excepting in Palmyrena, where it sometimes stays longer, causing great losses to the owners of sheep and goats. [821]

The dew, *ṣall*, *neda'*, or *ṣofal*, is plentiful all the year round, especially during the summer months. It is sent by the moon to refresh both the annuals, or grasses, *'sêb*, and the perennials, or woody plants, *ḥaṣer*, which otherwise could [821]

not support the sun's heat.

1 [The drought--Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[32] not support the sun's heat. Hail falls sometimes instead of or with rain, and the hailstones are often of a size large enough to wound and even kill young camels.

[§21] As every breeze comes from Allâh, nobody dares curse the winds. A light wind is called *hâwa*, also *habûb*; a strong one, *šelf*. The west wind is the most frequent. In summer it springs up regularly two hours after noon, cools the heat of the day, and is called *barrâd* or *ğa'ğâ'i*. The north wind, *ša-šemâli*, blows almost exclusively during the *ḥîr* season, dispersing the clouds and absorbing their water, and therefore called *aš-ašlâğa*. In the winter time the Bedouin likes the south wind, *aš-žibli*, best, as it is always accompanied by rain, *aš-šaujje*. The east wind, *aš-šarḳi* (or *aš-šarḳijje*), generally blows for only three or four days, and the west wind always follows after it. Towards the end of the *ṣmâk* and *ḳêẓ* seasons the east wind is especially strong, blowing then for as long as seven days and nights. It is called *semûm*, is exceedingly dry and hot, and causes much suffering especially among women and children. They would all perish if it blew for more than seven days. Sometimes the northwest wind, *aš-šarbe*, blows in winter, usually on nights when there is no moon and the stars alone are shining. A night of this kind is called *ğird*; it is very bright, but icy cold. If a stiff but cold west wind blows at night, the night is called *šalta*. A warm, cloudless night is known under the name of *ḳamre zerîḳ*; a warm but clouded night is called *šalme' dêlkes*, and a dark rainy night, *ẓadra'*.

If on a bright sunny day the view is not clear and the horizon is slightly hazy, the day is spoken of as the *ẓuhûḳ mâ ja'ṭi-l-ḥowf*. During the hot summer days the noon atmosphere is almost opaque and the sun resembles a yellowish disk; this is the *čatme* (or *čitâm*). In autumn and winter a dense moist [§21] fog, *ḳubejs* (or *kubejs*), hangs over the country. The Bedouins think that the fog can hear like human beings and is afraid of the fox, and therefore they shout at it: "O father of the fogs, run away! The fox! *Já-ba ḳbâs 'enk aḥ-ḥa'leb.*" They take fog to be the creation of the earth spirits, *ğinn*, as it usually appears to come out of gullies and jagged rocks, where it also remains longest. Besides the *ḳbejs* in the cool season, the *'ağâğ* and *sarâb*, which occur in the hot season, are likewise the work of the *ğinn*. On hot and bright days, especially about noon, there appear on the scorched plains of al-Ḥamâd many ponds hedged in with bushes and tall grasses.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The stranger, deceived by the apparition, urges on his tired animal to the water near at hand and wonders why the animal does not itself hurry. But here the beast is wiser than the inexperienced stranger. Those ponds, bushes, and grasses do not rest on terra firma, but merely vibrate in the air and are nothing but a mirage, *serâb*. At other times again the *ǧinn* raise a strong wind with clouds of dust and sand, which they drive against the Bedouins, trying to blind them, to overthrow their tents, and to entomb every living thing. Such a storm is called *'eǧâǧe*. Dreadful are the days and even more so the nights during the sand storms. In the south a tiny dark cloud appears on the horizon. The wind dies down, the sun is enveloped with quivering veils, and a peculiarly depressing feeling takes hold of the people. The camels become excited, and, collecting in groups, stop grazing. The tiny veils grow to a cloud, which covers the edge of the horizon to a considerable height and, steadily rising, sends forth a rumbling noise. Before long there appears a dark wall in front of it, which advances along the whole line. The rumbling increases, changes into a wild roar, the wall comes rolling on, covers everything with dust and sand, carries away whatever resists, and buries what it cannot carry away.

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala. The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥān as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazm.

The *ḫurṣ* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Ḥeǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥamṛi*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ḍab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the aṭ-Ṭawīl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies.
224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the *ḍeṛ*, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena
262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is
825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round
751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of
278 the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink,
757 assuages fever.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ǧîb*, wolf, is most fond of frequenting caves and crevices in rocks. Only when it is about to give birth to young does it crawl into a deserted hyena den. In color it adapts itself to its surroundings. In the volcanic territory it is dark brown, *asḥam*; in the sandy desert of the Nefûd it is a light brown with a greenish tinge, *azrak*; and in the plains of al-Ḥamâd and al-Wuǧîǧa it is gray with a tinge of blue, *aškab*. Wolf skins are used in making rebecs, or one-stringed viols, *rebâbe*, which then have a particularly high note. The wolf's eye fetches a very high price, because it affords protection in the greatest danger. The wolf thoroughly understands human speech. He himself was once a human being and his name was Serḥân. At that time all the sheep and goats belonged to him. Because of some great sin he was changed into a wolf, and his flocks were taken by man. But the wolf even now regards goats and sheep as his own and has a grudge against shepherds and their dogs because they prevent him from enjoying his property. Once a wolf said to a sheep dog: "Tonight I will take some of my property for supper, *al-iǧile 'aḫḏje rûs mâl*." The dog replied: "We shall see. If I get supper from my masters, I shall protect their property, so that thou wilt not get a taste of it; *aǧa 'aššâni-ḥali affekuḥa lâ tṯâṭuḥa*." If the dog does not receive an adequate supper, his hunger causes him to seek food throughout the neighborhood, and the wolf can plunder to his heart's content.

There was a certain Bedouin who went out on his camel for booty. He met a wolf who likewise was going in search of spoil. They agreed that they would help each other like brothers, *taḫâwow ḥa w-aǧ-ǧîb*. The wolf sat on the camel behind the rider. While the rider slept, the wolf watched over the grazing camel. When they reached a high hill, from the top of which there was a good view, *markûb*, the wolf crawled out on to the hill and inspected the region on all sides. Finally he caught sight of grazing camels which belonged to a hostile tribe. They rode cautiously in their direction. The rider kept his camel in a hidden gully and crept with the wolf towards the camels. The wolf ran up to the shepherds, who immediately seized their weapons and pursued him with shouts. Scarcely had they disappeared when the Bedouin seized the finest camel and rode with it into the gully. The wolf led the shepherds far away from their herd; then he returned to it, caught by the throat a tiny young camel, which was covered with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 the skin of another young one, and dragged it likewise into the gully. (A young camel of this kind is called *bauw*. If a [231] strong she-camel, which gives milk long and abundantly, gives birth to a weak male cub, the owner removes it from its mother, kills it, and ties a portion of its skin around the neck and throat of another young camel. The mother of the animal which has been killed sniffs at the skin, thinks that this is her cub, and lets it suck. Thus she does not lose her milk with fretting, while the mother of the living camel continues to treat it in the same way. Thus both she-camels adopt the cub, both feed it, and the owner can milk both of them.) As soon as the she-camels noticed that their cub was being removed by the wolf, they fled after it and also ran into the gully, where the Bedouin tied them up and drove them as a welcome booty into his camp. His comrade, the wolf, not venturing into the camp, hid himself in a rocky cleft near by and waited for the Bedouin to bring him something. This, however, the latter forgot to do. After two days the wolf began to howl: "*'Aú 'aú 'auwessi*, give me something to eat!" The Bedouin immediately killed one of the she-camels, brought the intestines, the throat, and the forelegs beyond the encampment for the wolf, and, having explained the whole affair in the chief's tent, he announced that he would punish anybody who harmed his comrade, the wolf. In this encampment there was a youth who was learning to shoot. Catching sight of the wolf, he forgot the threat, took aim, and shot it. The Bedouin avenged his brother, the wolf, and all the elders said that he was in the right. The Bedouin exclaimed: "I have fraternised with the wolf. Oh, woe is me! My other brother did not leave this brother. *Taḫdawajt awa w-ǧiben aerḥân jâ wejje ḫawîjje mâ ḫalla ḫawîjje.*"

136 The *ǧib* is a cross between a wolf and a female hyena. It lives in the environs of the well of aš-Šiṭṭi and attacks a man even when not provoked.

The *parbûl*, badger, is an animal smaller than a dog with a grayish-yellow back, a black belly, a dog's head, teeth similar to those of a human being, and a long tail. Its skin has a characteristic smell. It lives in dens, which it digs for itself, and devours jerboas and ordinary mice, lizards, chameleons, etc. Its flesh is eaten. If a Bedouin sees that a *parbûl* has hidden in its den, he shouts: "Run away, badger! run away, badger! *kurr ay-parbûl kurr ay-parbûl.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ab-al-ḥṣejn*, *ṯa'leb*, or *rprejri*, fox, is found all over the territory of the Rwala. If its spoor is seen in the morning in the dew, a greyhound, *sluke*, is set on to it. The flesh of the captured fox is eaten. The fox has a great grudge against human beings for pursuing it and accuses them of ingratitude. Adam, the first father of all human sons, once found a half-frozen serpent outside the garden of Eden. Being moved by compassion, he laid the serpent in his bosom and returned with it into his garden. The serpent became warm, recovered, and shouted to Adam: "Carry me back at once to the spot whence thou didst take me; I have my family there. If thou dost not carry me back there at once, I will bite thee." Adam could not exactly remember the spot. He walked to and fro with the serpent, who kept shouting: "This is not where my family lives. Carry me back there at once, or I will bite thee." Adam, wearied and terrified, was glad to meet a fox, and proposed to the serpent that the fox should act as judge. The serpent agreed. Adam sat down in front of the fox and was about to explain what the point at issue was, but the fox interrupted him with the words: "Be silent until thy adversary comes." "My adversary is here." "I do not see him." "I am here. I am lying right on Adam's belly." "If thou art Adam's opponent, *ẖebileh*, thou must sit opposite him, *ẖebileh*, otherwise I cannot acknowledge thee as such." "Very well, then I will crawl out." The serpent crawled out from beneath Adam's garment and sat down in front of him. The fox said: "Thee, O man (Adam), I will call Nejṣûbe, therefore pay heed that thou mayest comprehend everything. Behold the serpent's head, O Nejṣûb beh!" But *Já nejṣûb beh* means: "Oh! a blow upon it." Adam understood the meaning of the fox's challenge, seized his cudgel, which was provided with a heavy knob, *ḳesa*, and smashed the serpent's head. Since then the sons of Adam have slain every serpent at sight. But when they began to pursue the descendants of the fox also and to eat their flesh, the latter complained: "Shame unto thee, thou black-headed one! Why am I being pursued? Is it thus that I am requited for my good deed? *Aḳs ṣá alwed ar-rûs lih atandžer tesla-l-melih.*"

The fox declares that he wishes to live at peace with everyone, but in reality he wishes to beguile everyone. Thus he sent a message once to the raven: "Gladly would I entertain thee, *abyi akrem lak*." "Good! entertain me! *ala 'akrem*." The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 825 fox boiled some *'aṣîde*, gruel made of milk and flour, poured it out on a shallow rock, and invited the raven. The raven came and the fox urged him, saying: "Enjoy thyself, comrade! *efleḥ jâ ṣâḥbi*," and at once began to lap the fluid from the surface of the rock, *aṣ-ṣafa'*, while the hungry raven was unable to get anything into its beak. He thought to himself: "Very well, then; that is the fox's hospitality." But he did not show his dissatisfaction and invited the fox to visit him for sweet dates. The fox's mouth watered. He was very fond of sweet dates, but he could never pluck them; they hung too high, and it was only for them that he had wished to make friends with the raven. The raven shook the finest and ripest dates into a dense shrub containing long and sharp thorns, *žetâde*, and he then said to the fox: "Enjoy thyself, comrade!" The fox ran round the shrub trying to snatch out at least a single date with his tongue or his foot, but in vain. The thorns wounded his legs. Enviously he watched the raven, who with his claws drew forth date after date and picked them up with his beak. Since that time the fox has acknowledged the raven as his equal.

The fox is very fond of feeding on grains of wheat. He therefore invited the hedgehog, *kumfoḏ* (pl., *kenâfiḏ*), to till a field in common with him and to sow wheat. The hedgehog agreed, and with his family — he had twenty-four children — he set about the work. They plowed the soil, sowed the wheat, and protected it against trespassers. From time to time the fox came running up to look at them, but he did not help them. He promised that he would reap, thrash, and winnow the wheat. But this work also he left to the hedgehog. When the wheat was thrashed and winnowed, the fox suggested to the hedgehog: "Thou and I shall run a race. Whichever of us runs first from my den to the pile of wheat, shall take it all. We are friends. Why should we divide it?" The hedgehog agreed. The race was to begin at sunrise. In the night the hedgehog brought his wife and his twenty-four children to the pile of grain, placed his wife up against it, and proceeded straight to the fox's den, posting his children at fixed intervals, so that he reached the den alone. "O father fox, the sun is rising. Wilt thou not run?" "Run thyself. I will catch up with thee!" "Good, I will run." When it grew warm and the dew had dried up — that is, in the time of *aṣ-ṣaḥa'* — the fox jumped up from his lair and shouted: "Where art

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

thou, hedgehog?" "Near thy jawbone," and actually he perceived the hedgehog in front of him. He went a short distance farther and asked afresh: "Where art thou, hedgehog?" "Here, in front of thy face." The fox was surprised at seeing the hedgehog in front of him. He set off at a trot. The hedgehog was still in front of him. He ran leaping on. The hedgehog was still in front of him. The sweat was pouring off him when he drew near to the pile of wheat, but the hedgehog was sitting on it. Thus the hedgehog gained a victory over the fox.

The foxes wanted to make friends with the dogs. After conferring together, the foxes wrote a long letter in which they described their love and devotion as well as their longing for peace, and they sent a young fox to hand the letter to the chief of the dogs. Scarcely had the fox reached the frontier of the territory belonging to the dogs, when he was observed by the guard, and five dogs set upon him. The fox shouted that he had come to negotiate for peace and showed the letter, but the dogs did not believe him. He threw the letter to them in order that they might read it, but the dogs continued to snarl angrily and rush after him, without taking any notice of the white paper. The fox was glad to escape with his life. Bleeding from many wounds and all covered with sweat, he reached his companions. When he had recovered, the foxes asked: "What about the letter?" "They did not believe it." "What? they did not believe it? Why, we stamped it with our seal." "Then the dogs do not trouble about your seal. I showed the letter to five of them. Not a single one could read or write, but they could all snarl and bite, as you see from me."

THE LARGER HERBIVOROUS ANIMALS

The *beden* (or *wa'al*), ibex, with long powerful horns, lives in the mountains of ar-Rawâḳ, aš-Šâma, aṭ-Ṭawîl, and al-Hûǧ. If it descends to the plain, it does not escape the dogs, but in the mountains it cannot be overtaken. The hunters track the fresh spoor which it leaves when going at night to the pasture. They crouch in a rocky cleft and wait until it passes. Sometimes five or even more men go out to hunt it. One proceeds along the ridge of the mountain, the rest go at fixed intervals along the slope, and during the day they search for the place where the ibexes take their ease. The ibex has very

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 weak sight, but its sense of hearing and smell are excellent. The female protects her young with her horns.

The *baḳar al-maha* (or *baḳar al-waḥaš*), Beatrix antelope, attains the size of a one-year-old calf. It is white and has straight sharp horns, with which it defends itself against dogs. During the day it is most fond of frequenting the deep funnel-shaped pits of the sandy desert an-Nefûd. In the summer, when the Bedouins do not encamp in the Nefûd, it grazes quite freely even during the day, while in the rainy season it goes out to the pasture only at night and is very timid. If it is alarmed it will flee for a whole day without stopping. [224] Its sight is bad. A huntsman in a white shirt can approach to within gunshot of it if he advances against the wind behind a white horse or camel. The male is called *ṯôr*, the female [231] *bḳara*, the young *'eǧel*. Its flesh is very tasty. The skin is used for making water bags or coverings, and from the fat [293] skin at the back of the neck, known as *'ar'ara*, the Bedouins sew gauntlets, *daraḳe*, for protecting the hand against saber wounds.

The *ẓbi*, gazelle, forms whole flocks, *ǧemîle*, in al-Ḥamâd, especially in the territory of al-Manâẓer on the southern border of Palmyrena. The male is called *tejs*, the female *'anz*, the young *ḫišf* (or *ṛazâl*). The gazelle is known as *rîm* if it is white, *'efri* if it is white beneath its belly and yellowish on its back, and *ḥemri* if it is of a pinkish tint.

224 The best gazelle hunters are the men of the Ṣlejb tribe. Their favorite method is to hunt in twos. One does the driving, *ḥawwâš*, the other the hunting, *ḳannâṣ*. The one who does the driving wraps skins, *ḥabbâǰât*, round his knees and elbows and crawls on them towards the flock of gazelles, endeavoring to drive them up to the hidden marksman. In a single day they capture ten to twenty gazelles.

In al-Manâẓer the gazelles are driven into extensive enclosures. A wall about one and a half meters high, shaped like a figure eight, is built of stone without mortar. The lower loop is only half finished. Where the two loops meet, a narrow opening, *ṭenijje* (or *ẓeǰǰ*), is left. At several places portions of the wall enclosing the upper loop are a little lower than the rest of the wall. At each of these places a hole two or three meters deep is dug outside the enclosure. The flock of gazelles is cautiously driven into the lower uncompleted loop. This is soon accomplished, because the two walls are about

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a thousand paces distant one from the other. The gazelles at first advance quietly, but later on, becoming scared, they run along the two walls and try to penetrate as rapidly as possible through the narrow opening into the upper and completely closed loop. As soon as they run through, the narrow opening is blocked up and a greyhound, *sluḳe*, attacks the gazelles. The frightened animals run round the wall, jump across it where it is lowest, and fall into the pits that have been dug outside. It is said that the gazelles even dream of the narrow opening, *ẓejž*, through which they rush to certain destruction. If a Bedouin wishes to stop a gazelle in flight, he shouts: "A narrow opening is in front of thee, O gazelle! *aẓ-ẓejž jâ ṛazâl*," and the gazelle at once stops and looks round. If a Bedouin perceives a gazelle when he is undertaking an important task, he is afraid of bad luck, and shouts: "Gazelle, gazelle, let the misfortune vanish as well! *ṛazâl ṛazâl w-šarren zâl*."

224 825 [777]

SMALL ANIMALS

The *arnab*, hare, is found throughout the territory of the Rwala. In the sandy Nefûd it is pinkish-white; in the volcanic regions it is black; in al-Ḥamâd it is grayish-yellow. Hence it cannot be distinguished from its surroundings. The male is called *ḥazaz*, the female *'edene*, and the young *ḥurnež*. The full-grown hare is not as large as the wild rabbit of Europe. Like the gazelle and antelope it quenches its thirst with dew only. If a man approaches it, it crouches close to the ground or hides behind a stone in a brushwood thicket and does not move even if the man walks right past it. If, however, it notices that the man is returning, it seeks safety by rushing madly away.

136

The hare is said to boast: "I am he with the white lip in the plain with the dried-up plants, who satisfies two and makes the mouth of the third one water; *ana-š-šerma bḳâ'at al-šerma mišbe' aṭ-ṭnên w-mlaṛṛem aṭ-ṭâleṭ*," or "I am he who hides beneath a tiny shrub, whose fur gives pleasant warmth, and who is not seen except by the camel herdsmen; *ana šŷêreti ḥafijje w-wbêreti ẓafijje w-lâ jišûfni kûd râ'i al-belijje*." If the hare runs away, the Rwala shout after him: "Furry one, furry one, into the fire with him when he's caught! *wabra wabra w-ben-nâr minṭabra*." If the hare shows himself to men hunting with falcons, they shout: "Thy appearance is a

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825 good omen to us, but we will show thee to the falcon; *'araẓtina-l-ḥejr w-'araẓnač laṭ-ṭejr.*"

136 The *ḥanzîr*, wild pig, lives only in Palmyrena and in the environs of al-Azraḳ, where it hides in the marshy thickets. The boar is called *šiḥl*, the sow *šîbe*, the sucking pig *ḳarnûṣ*.

[262] Instead of *ḥanzîr*, the Rwala use the word *tahzîr*. The flesh of wild swine is generally eaten.

The *ṣejd aṭ-ṭas'a* is an herbivorous animal of the size of a six-months lamb, gray in color; its head is said to resemble that of a wether below and a human being above. It lives almost solely on the border of the Nefûd, and its flesh is very tasty.

The *wabr*, marmot, is found in the same mountains as the ibex.

The *nîs*, porcupine, is particularly abundant in the environs of al-Ḳa'ara, where the innumerable caves and rocky hollows of all sizes serve as its refuge. When wounded, it attacks a man by biting and scratching. Its flesh is very good.

[224 The *ḳumfod*, hedgehog, is also hunted, as its flesh is very tasty. Hedgehog skin is tied round the neck of timid camels.
825] It is said that when they have worn it for at least a month, they cease to be scared.

The *ǧerdi* is a large variety of jerboa. It scrapes deep holes on the uplands and excavates passages into them in such a way that the water does not penetrate even during the heaviest rains. Its flesh is not particularly savory.

The *ǧarbû'* (or *jarbû'*), a smaller variety of jerboa, prefers to dig holes in plains with soft sandy soil and forms long and easily recognizable passages immediately below the surface. These passages are known as *neṭâḳa*. When it runs into its hole, it immediately stops up the entrance with a heap of clay, *ḳaṣ'a*, for fear of snakes. This heap of clay is
224 an unfailing sign that the *jarbû'* is in its passages. If the Bedouin wishes to hunt it, he thrusts stalks or branches of plants into the passage at several spots and waits until one or another of them moves. That shows him that the *jarbû'* is trying to crawl through, and he kills it with his stick or tramples on it. If he has no time to wait, he tramples on the passages until he drives the *jarbû'* out. In its terror the animal often penetrates the roof of the passage and escapes, if the Bedouin fails to reach it with the stick he throws. The
252 flesh of the *jarbû'* is very tasty, similar to that of chicken. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

skin is removed and the carcase roasted whole together with the entrails, only the lower part of the legs being thrown away. 252

The *ǧarbû'* and *ǧerdi* boast: "I am *al-ǧarbû'*, the son of *al-marbû'*; on me ten people can easily eat their fill at supper, and pieces of my extremities will still be left in the scrub; *ana-l-ǧarbû' eben al-marbû' mu'ašš: 'ašara ma'ašera w-ḳaṣâ-llmi 'ala-š-šǧera.*" "If my forelegs were as long as my hind legs there is no *'obejje* mare, which could overtake me; *law idejje ṭûl riǧlejje mâ talḥaḳni kill 'obejje.*" "I am *al-ǧerdi*, the son of *al-ǧerdi*, who thrusts a man in armor into a mouse hole; *ana-l-ǧerdi eben al-ǧerdi rammâj al-milbes bel-ḥabâra.*" The man in armor always rides on a horse, which stumbles if it steps into the deep hole of a *ǧerdi* and throws its rider. 539* 825

An old *ǧarbû'* was giving advice to her child. Amongst other things she said:

Fuz bna'sak en šufet ẓejmen
w-ḥalli-d-dâr tan'a' limin banâha
ad-dâr taǧed dâran aḫejr minha
w-rûḥak lam taǧed rûḥ sawâha.

Flee alone if thou beholdst a mightier
And let the dwelling mourn for him who built it.
A dwelling, thou wilt find a dwelling better than this one,
But a soul, thou couldst not find a soul such as the one thou hast.

Elja ḫall aṭ-ṭežil bdâr ḳowmen
w-mâ lis-sâčenin illa-r-raḥil."

If the oppressor penetrates into the dwelling of his vassals,
There is nothing left for the dwellers but to go.

The *fâr*, mouse, is found everywhere. It penetrates into the tents, carries away food, and often gnaws even sleeping persons. A Bedouin recites: [136]

Ana-sharatni tâli-l-lejl fâra
tâḫoḏ zahâbi jamm ḥeǧrah twaddih
ẓarabtuha ḳaṣdi-lha bel-feḳâra
min ǧûd melḥi râḥ dammha jibârîh
w-adḫol 'ala ḫaṣnân w-šejḫ al-wabâra
w-allâh jiṣajje' min ḫalla 'awânih
amm-ente jâ ẓarbûl mâ bak ḥemâra
akṣa ǧûdak bṯâref al-ǧohr taṯlih.

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A mouse woke me at the end of the night,
Taking my food and carrying it into its hole.
I fired at it, aiming at the tip of its back,
But my powder was fresh, and therefore its blood
immediately gushed forth.
I will place myself beneath the protection of the fox
and the chief of the marmots;
Allâh would destroy him who would desert his protégé.
But thou, O badger! thou art not afire with courage,
Thy courage extends at the farthest to the border
of thy pits, whither thou bearest [thy children]
to the pasture.

A Bedouin was sleeping in the desert while on a raid. His provisions, *zâd*, were lying beside him. Waking up, he saw a mouse stealing from them. Wishing to frighten it, he aimed his rifle, which was loaded only with powder, at the tip of its back, in order that he might singe its fur. But he had fresh powder which pierced the fur, so that blood immediately appeared. Fearing the blood revenge of the mice, the Bedouin placed himself under the protection of the fox and the chief of the marmots, who are famed for never deserting their protégés, *'awânih*, which include a neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, a fellow-traveler, *ḥawi*, a guest, *zejf*, as well as one who takes refuge with them, *daḫil*. The badger, *ẓarbûl*, rebuked the Bedouin for not turning aside to him in the desert, but the Bedouin disposed of him with scorn, saying that even when going to the pasture he did not venture farther than to the border of his pits; whence then would he derive courage to protect him from the revenge of the mice?

The mouse laments: "I am a mouse, the daughter of a mouse, my forefeet were deformed by a mattock; *ana-l-fâra bint al-fâra ḳaṭa'at idêjje al-meḥfâra.*"

The greatest adversary of mice is the cat. The mother of all mice feared the mother of all cats. Once she was crawling along the roof of a tent and perceived the cat below the tent. In her terror her legs were benumbed and she called on the name of Allâh, just as children call when they tumble; and she added: "O Allâh! if thou protectest me from this creature, I will never again demand thy protection." Allâh was very angry with her for this, and the cat immediately ate her up.

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Once the mice summoned a great meeting and agreed with one accord that every cat must wear around its neck a little bell which would give warning to the mice. The mice bought many little bells, and their chief, *čebîr al-fâr*, called on the bravest to come forward and undertake to hang them around the cats' necks; but so far no mouse has ever come forward. The little bells are lying in the storeroom of the mice, and the cats still torment the poor creatures.

The *ḫlend*, mole, grayish in color, lives particularly in the depression of Sirḥân. Once a mole encamped with an owl, *bûma*, a swallow, *rḳê'i*, a frog, *ẓafẓa'*, and a moth, *šerâra*. There came to them a man riding on a camel. They all entertained him; he was the guest of all. At the time when the morning star rose, someone stole his camel from him. All his hosts had just fallen asleep. The lamentations of their guest woke them up. They at once left the camp and went in search of the stolen camel. The mole searched for it under the earth, the owl among ruins, the swallow among herds of grazing camels, the frog in the water, and the moth among garments and carpets. The butterfly moth is unhappy because it has not yet succeeded in finding the camel, and throws itself into the fire with the words: "Rather into the fire than live in dishonor."

CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

The Rwala divide birds into *ṭjûr* and *ḥummar*, the *ṭjûr* comprising all carnivorous birds.

Falcons and Falconry

The main representative of the *ṭjûr* is the hunting falcon, *ṣaḳr*, which is often known as *ṭejr*. The Rwala buy hunting falcons from the settlers in aš-Šejḫ Miskîn and ar-Rḥejbe, who either select young ones or catch fully grown ones. The best hunting falcon is *al-ḥorr*. It is reddish brown, *ašḳar*, with many white spots, *ṭrejwât*, on its tail; or dark brown, *adbas*; or even black. The male falcon is called *šabbûṭ*, the female *šêhâna*. The Bedouins relate that the young falcon remains forty days in embryo, forty days before it is hatched from the egg, and that only after another forty days does it show whether it will fly or not; *arba'în jowm fêẓ w-arba'în jowm bêẓ w-arba'în jowm jeṭîr w-lâ jeṭîr.*

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136 223 The best of the young falcons is called *zên an-nâder*; the second best, *laziz an-nâder*; the third best, *ḳaṭ'ijje*; and the one which is of no use for anything is *tibe'*. The male provides food for both the female and the young. It brings home *ḥubâri* (bustards) and hares. If the young one falls out of the nest, only the male looks after it. If the male perishes, the female is glad if she can supply her young and herself with jerboas and mice, which are not particularly good for the young. When the young falcons are able to feed themselves is the most favorable time to take them out. A dealer in falcons gives them food until they are fully developed, whereupon he sells them to the Bedouins.

FIG. 2—Hunting falcons.

223. The catching of full-grown falcons involves less trouble. The falcon hunter, *ṭarrâḥ*, seeks out a suitable spot among the rocks, prepares a hiding place there, places two or three stones in front of it, fastens a small net between them, shakes clay over it, and connects it to his hiding place with a string. To a thin cord he then ties a raven, a handful of feathers, and a pigeon. By means of a slender thread he fastens the raven to a large stone between the hiding place and the net and gives it water and food; he himself keeps in his hiding place with the pigeon, and waits until the cry of the raven shows that the falcon is circling above it. He then cautiously pulls the raven in, so that in its place there remain the feathers tied to the same cord, while the pigeon sits down by the net. If the falcon flings itself upon the pigeon, the hunter releases the net by means of the string, catches the falcon, and immediately sews up its eyelids, *jekaṭṭeb eṭ-ṭejr*. After three or four days the falcon has become a little tame, *jeswâlef*, and the stitches may be undone. The falcon hunter sells untrained falcons for eight to twenty *meǧidijjât* ($7.20–$18) each. [435]

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The Bedouin has to train the falcon himself. The chiefs 223
generally have a slave who trains falcons for them and also hunts with them. If the chiefs wish to hunt themselves, they must also occupy themselves with the falcons, or else the birds will not be accustomed to them and will not return to them from their booty. The falconer needs a wooden stand about forty centimeters high, provided with an iron spike below and covered with leather above. Upon this stand, *markâba*, the hawk lives. On each foot it has a leather loop, *sibk*, from which there extends a chain, *marbaṭ*, passing about halfway down the stand. The falcon can rise a little, but it cannot fly away (Fig. 2). On its head the falcon wears a small leather helmet, *burḳu'*, which can be drawn down over its eyes and fastened under its beak around its neck, so that the bird cannot throw it off with its claw.

Shortly before sunset the falconer, *ṣaḳḳâr*, puts a coarse leather gauntlet, *dess*, on his right hand, removes the chain from the loops, draws a long thin cord through them, takes the falcon on his right hand, keeps calling its name, *jad'i*, and swings it to and fro, endeavoring to make it fly. The falcon rises and circles above the falconer. He fastens the other end of the cord to a firmly fixed peg, takes a small riding bag in his left hand and a piece of meat in his right hand, and with this he beckons to the falcon, calling it by name. If the falcon does not clutch, he slowly treads on the rope until the bird finally dashes upon the meat. When the falcon after a few days of training returns of its own accord, he lets it go entirely free. Then he obtains a hare, which has either been wounded by a shot or has one leg broken, and he sets, *jihedd*, the falcon and a greyhound, *sluḳe*, on to it. If the falcon catches it, he lets it have it all. When the falcon has caught and devoured several wounded hares with the help of the greyhound, the falconer goes out hunting with it. He fastens it on a small chain behind the saddle of the camel, takes a riding bag with him, calls the greyhound, and rides out beyond the camp. If the greyhound raises a hare or a *ḥabâra* bird, the hunter unloosens the falcon, takes it on his right hand, rides up at a trot behind the dog, and sets the bird on the hunted animal. The falcon looks round, lifts its wings, *jifarfer*, and, observing the prey, *ṭala'*, flies after it. It catches the *ḥabâra* immediately, but the hare usually slips away, hides, and thus escapes its beak. If the falcon swoops

223 down upon the hare, this is called *aṭ-ṭejr jedlih*. If it succeeds in plunging its talons into the hare's back, *'alaḳ*, the falconer rides up at full speed behind it, covers it and its prey with his cloak, slaps, *jiṭabṭeb*, the bird on the back, shouting "*kiš kiš*," and endeavors to remove it, *tenaḥneš*. The falcon receives its share of the prey only inside the tent, never on the open plain. A well-trained falcon can catch as much as ten *ḥabâri* and twenty hares a day, but only if there is an abundance of game. But there are few falconers who keep their falcons as long as three or four months, as they all get lost. In February and March they do not return, especially if they meet with wild falcons.

539x 517 524 The young Bedouin is fond of hunting with falcon and greyhound. He can then ride more freely among the throngs of his migrating countrymen and can approach his sweetheart, talk to her, or offer her his booty. He therefore sings:

Jâ lejt li ğerwen w-jâ lejt li ṭir
w-ku'ajjeden nensef 'alejh aš-šdâdi
neği mâ bejn as-salaf w-al-mezâhir
w-nešalli-l-ğerwa w-aṭ-ṭejr ṛâdi.

Oh had I a hound for the chase! Oh had I a hunting falcon
And a little camel! we would place a saddle upon it,
And would ride forth between the leader's troop and the migrating tribe,
We would call to the hound, and the falcon would hunt.

223 539x The *ğerwa* is the bitch of the greyhound species. The leader's troop of warriors, *salaf*, rides generally one or two kilometers in front of the pack train. The *ğerwa* runs out in front and raises hares and *ḥabâri*, which flee from the danger behind the *salaf*, but are turned back by the migrating tribe. Thus a good falcon has the best opportunity for hunting between the riding troop and the camels with the baggage.

Aṭ-ṭejr 'ajja jâ-l-ḳzej'i jeṣidi
jâ alli 'ajja jeṣid al-ḥebâra
lâ wa' ḥasâjef naḳlejteh 'al-îdi
meseḥḥ ar-riṣân 'afen aṭ-ṭejâra.

The hunting falcon, O al-Ḳzej'i! has refused the chase,
Alas for the one which refused to hunt the *ḥebâra*;

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A pity is this loss; I shifted it into my other hand,
But it is like a *meseḥḥ ar-riẓân*, which because it is
a sluggard cannot be trained for flight.

The falconer seizes the falcon, places it on his hand on which he wears a leather gauntlet, unfastens the chain from its foot, and by swinging it to and fro in his hand compels it to fly. When one hand becomes tired, he shifts it into the other and repeats his attempt. The *meseḥḥ ar-riẓân* is a bird of prey similar to the falcon.

Aṭ-ṭejr jâ 'ammâr jâ čâseb aṭ-ṭena
allâh w-lâ leh ǧerraten nastahdi bah
ṛadat beh 'arda min al-ḳerâniṣ ḥâjel
'âmên šâtên muḫḫaha biǧerîdah.

Of our falcon which was so winsome and ever capturing booty,
By Allâh himself! there is no trace which we could follow;
It was joined by a hardy female falcon, a barren one,
Whose marrow after two summers and two winters had gathered in her feet.

The *žernâṣe* (pl., *ḳerâniṣ*) is the [illegible]own female falcon. The *ǧerîd* are the falcon's legs from [illegible]alons to the knees. The female falcon had not paired for two summers and two winters; she had remained *ḥâjel*, barren. In the opinion of the Bedouins the marrow — mainly that which has accumulated in the region of the shin — escapes from the bird's body during pairing.

Other Carnivorous Birds

The *ǧeleme* is a bird of prey smaller than the falcon, *ṭejr*, but larger than the *bâšeḳ* (known also as *čḥala*), a kind of hawk. It catches and devours all *ḥummar* birds (see below, pp. 37—41) and seeks particularly after *al-ḳaṭa'*, the sand grouse.

The *meseḥḥ ar-riẓân*, a kind of falcon, is fond of catching the *ǧarbû'*.

The *bâz* is the sparrow hawk.

The *ḥdejja* is a kite.

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136 The *'aḳâb*, eagle. Not even a *bâšeḳ*, nor a *ǧeleme*, nor the falcon itself is safe from the *'aḳejb al-ǧerdân* species.

223 825 757 The *nisr* (pl., *nsûr*), vulture, especially the *ḥabaši* species, is shot and eaten, for its flesh is healthful. Seven pieces of its flesh dried in the sun are the best remedy for rheumatism and hemorrhoids. The patient should eat these seven pieces at once, cover himself with seven quilts, and sweat, and Allâh will help him.

136 825 The *raḥama* (*Vultur perenopterus*) migrates at the beginning of the autumn rains and does not return until the beginning of the *smâk* season. The Bedouins greet its return with joy, for they know that within ten or fifteen days there will be warmer weather. The *raḥama* is unwilling to give up its booty and exerts all its strength to get possession of it. Hence the saying: "So and so craves for something like a *raḥama*. *twaḥḥam twaḥmet ar-raḥama*."

The *sa'adi* or *abu sa'ad* is the stork.

The *ṛarḳ* is a water bird.

The *ṛurâb*, raven, is found in three varieties: the *zâṛ al-baḳ'*, the smallest, is black with a bluish or greenish luster on its chest; the *ǧab'a*, somewhat larger, has a short tail and very tasty flesh; the *ṛurâb al-'aḳ'aḳ* is the largest. All three species accompany the camels far into the desert and from them they pick ticks, *ḳarâd*, and the larvae of the gadfly, *ḥeleme*; but they also gnaw at the blisters under the saddle, and for this reason the herdsmen drive them away. If they see a raven settling on a camel, they call to it: "Fly away into the inhabited regions! *ṛarreb ṛarreb*." Or: "Beware of the awl! The awl will prick thy throat! *mḥejrîz jibeṭṭ leḥâtak*!"

777 825 If a man undertakes an important journey and observes a single raven, he laments: "Oh! weary with weeping is the eye of him whom a single raven has approached. *jâ ḳard al-'ejn min ǧâh al-ṛurâb wḥîd*." He knows that he will have bad luck, and therefore he will prefer to return. If, however, he sees two ravens, he exults: "Oh! blissful is the eye of him whom two ravens have approached, *jâ ḥaẓẓ al-'ejn min ǧannah al-ṛurâbên*."

539x 825 The young ravens are more wary than the old ones. An ancient raven was giving instruction to its great-grandson: "My son, do not trust people. If thou perceivest a man approaching thee, fly away as soon as he bends down. He might

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lift a stone and throw it at thee." "Granddad, do not be afraid for me. I shall not wait until he bends down, but will fly away as soon as I catch sight of him. Why, he might be carrying a stone in his hand, and then he could throw it at me without having to bend down." 539* 825

NON-CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

Non-carnivorous birds, known as *ḥummar*, are as follows: 136

The *ḥabâra* (pl., *ḥabâri*), a variety of bustard. It is dark-gray, with white feathers in its wings and tail, and is the size of an average hen. It runs quickly but flies clumsily. It is most fond of frequenting plains and valleys covered with perennials, and for the most part it lives on seeds and young shoots. When frightened it hides under a shrub and does not fly out until its enemy draws near. It flies close to the ground for a distance of one or two hundred paces, settles down for a moment, makes off again for several paces, and once more nestles close to the ground under a shrub or a leaning slab. It is very difficult to get within striking distance of it, because it flees continually. Only a rider on a horse full of endurance can weary it. Its greatest enemy is the falcon, which watches its movements from above and when it settles down swoops upon it like lightning.

Originally the falcon was afraid of the *ḥabâri*, for they were more numerous than his own stock. Once a wounded falcon asked for their hospitality. They received it kindly, fed and nursed it, so that it completely recovered. It seemed strange to the falcon that they did not hold any councils together. Accordingly, it asked the hostess: "To what tribe do you belong?" "We are the *ḳôm* (subjects of) az-Zennâra." "And who is your chief?" "I am the chief," said the hostess, but her neighbor exlaimed: "Not at all, I am the chief." A bird which was flying past contradicted her: "Why, how so? I am the chief." The falcon was very much pleased, for it thought to itself: "Surely I shall not be afraid of these. They will never attack me together. I shall be able to feed on one after the other. I shall have less trouble than if I were to catch only small birds, as hitherto." From that time the falcon, *ṣeḳr*, has devoured the *ḥabâri*. 539* 825

The *ḥabâra* mocks at the falcon: "I am the *ḥabâra*; in the region where there is no camp the shouting of the herds-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* men [who have observed thee] scares me, so that thou wilt
825 not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-l-ḥbára barz ekfára ḥess ar-ra'ján jeǧazzíni má tekwáni já mesčíni.*" The falcon replies: "I am the commander assigned to thee, with very keen eyes, although I do not rub indigo upon them; *ana ḥurren leč maḳkúren leč makḥúl al-'ajn belá níli.*" The *ḥabára*: "I am like a snake crouching under a shallow stone, so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-l-ḥajje taḥat aṣ-ṣfajje má tekwáni já mesčíni.*" The falcon: "I am a snake charmer, the son of a snake charmer, I charm the snake, so that thou canst not harm me; *ana-l-ḳarrâ'i eben al-ḳarrâ'i aḳra' al-ḥajje má teǧíni.*" The *ḥabára*: "I am a tiny date hidden at the top of the palm [protected by the spikes of its leaves], so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-ṣ-ṣḥala brás an-nḥala má tekwáni já mesčíni.*" The falcon: "I am a climber, the son of a climber, I will cut the spikes with my knife; *ana-r-raḳḳáj eben ar-raḳḳáj aḥask* (sic) *aš šowk besečíni.*"

136 The *na'áme*, ostrich, is found mainly in the Nefûd, particularly in the northwest part, also to the west of al-'Elejm in the environs of aṭ-Ṭawîl, in al-'Arejž, and in al-Ṛwêṭa. In the dry season the ostriches go far to the north, as far as the environs of Palmyra. On account of its dark-gray plumage the male ostrich is called *zlîm* (or *muzellel*); the female is called *rabda* and the young, *rilán*. In the *smâk* season the female lays ten to thirty eggs in shallow holes in the sand. Such a heap of ostrich eggs is known as *dehw*. As soon as the first egg has been laid, the guarding of the nest begins. According to the Rwala, in the daytime it is guarded by the male, while the female feeds, and during the night she does the watching. When the last egg is laid, three or four are rolled away to a distance of one pace from the nest. The bird does not trouble about these, but turns the others over and during the night sits upon them and warms them. The male bird, which remains by the nest during the day, does not sit on the eggs, as these are then warmed by the sun, but the female protects them against the night cold with her body and plumage. After what is said to be twenty-one days the young are hatched. The male then pecks through the eggs, which were removed from the nest one after the other, and makes the young birds feed on their contents. When they have finished these eggs, they go to the pasture under the protection of their parents. The

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are always led by their mother, while their father walks behind them and protects them from wolves, hyenas, and *nsûr*. The ostrich has very bad hearing; on the other hand, its sight is excellent. It is easiest to hunt near its nest. When there is no wind the spoor of the ostrich is very plain in the sand. The hunter follows it, hides behind every shrub, crawls on his stomach, and so draws near to the bird. If the male observes from a distance any suspicious movement of the shrub or the hunter, it flees with the whole flock, which cannot be overtaken in the sand even by the swiftest horse. Near the nest the hunter can fire at the birds he is stalking. The fat of the ostrich, known as *zihem*, is a remedy for various diseases.

The *ḳandara* is a pinkish bird about the size of a hen. It flies badly and runs in a clumsy manner. It is found solely in the Nefûd, especially on the precipitous slopes of the pits.

The *ḳaṭra* is larger than the *ḥabâra*. It flies very little. If attacked by the falcon, it lies on its back and defends itself with its claws.

The *ṭarše* is a dark bird the size of a small duck. It lives only in pairs in al-Ḥamâd. It has no sense of hearing.

The *bawwa* is half the size of the *ḳandara*. Two varieties live in al-Ḥamâd, of which the darker and larger is the *kidri*.

The *ḳaṭa'*, sand grouse, is found in the interior of the desert only as long as the various natural reservoirs are filled with rain water. When these dry up, it migrates to the edge of the desert about a hundred kilometers distant from permanent water The *ḳaṭa'*, *ḥaǧal* (see next page), and the pigeon are the only birds which regularly drink water after sunrise and before sunset. The *ḳaṭa'* never lays eggs near a watering place, but in a remote valley covered with grass and bushes. It digs a tiny hole alongside a shrub, and the female lays three or four eggs, gray in color with dark spots, the size of a pigeon's egg. The birds leave their nests only when flying to the watering place; otherwise they always keep close by them. In such valleys there are usually at least a thousand nests. When the young are hatched they run about like countless tiny chickens and search for seeds. The *ḳaṭa'* never flies alone, but always in flocks. If the flock does not contain more than ten birds, it is known as *firs*; otherwise as *raff*. The Bedouins express surprise that the *ḳaṭa'*, when flying to a watering place — even though it may be a hundred kilometers

136 825 away — never goes astray and never deviates from the straight course; and therefore they say of a good guide, *delîl*, who has an excellent knowledge of the flat desert, that he is *delîl ḳuṭâsi*. The *ḳaṭa'* is very fond of entering encampments, where it seeks for grain. Its arrival is known immediately throughout the camp, for it is always possible to hear the cry of the bird: "*Ḳaṭa' ḳaṭa'*." The Bedouins say: "The *ḳaṭa'* have come to us with a deafening cry; would that Allâh had not blessed the *ḳaṭa'*; *ǧâna-l-ḳaṭa' lek farḳaṭa' lâ bârak allâh bal-ḳaṭa'*."

The *ḳêrodn* is a variety of *ḳaṭa'*, but smaller; the outer half of its wing is black.

The *ḥaǧal*, partridge, lives in flocks of eight to sixteen in the depression of Sirḥân only, where there is abundance of water everywhere. On hot days it hides in the bushes. The male bird calls his flock together by crying: "*Ḳor, ḳor, ḳor.*" The flock, thus alarmed, flies out but soon retires again and hides. If a Bedouin wishes to stop their escape, he shouts: "*Ḥawǧêlô ḥawǧêlô.*" The male bird never hides but jumps from boulder to boulder, watches the enemy, and warns his charges.

136 The *mrê'i* is a smaller variety of the *ḥaǧal*. It does not live in flocks but only in pairs, and it flies well.

The *sîmaḳmaḳ* is a dark-gray bird the size of a small pigeon. Its legs and neck are long, and it lives on fish in the lake near al-Azrak.

The *ṣabri* collects seeds and insects, but it also gnaws the young of the *ǧerdî* and *ǧarbû'*.

The *ḏabbâḥ ummeh w-abûh*, murderer of its mother and its father, is the hoopoe.

The *sammâne*, a small dark-gray bird, creeps among the bushes.

The *ṣeejsi*, a small bird with a white belly and a dark back, flies only among the tops of bushes and trees.

The *ṣâ'w* is a small bird similar to our finch. One variety is yellowish, another black and white.

The *ǧarǧara*.

The *ḥa'êle*.

The *rkê'i*, swallow.

The *ṣaffâra*.

The *ḏhejjen*, a dark-brown bird, smaller than the hoopoe.

The *zumarwar*.

The *malakît er-re'jân*.

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The *umm ṭwejil*, the turtledove, lives only in the oases. 136
The *ḥaḍri'* is found only in palm groves.
The *miṭṭa'* eats ripe dates.

The *umm sâlem* is a small ash-colored bird which always flies round camels. If it flies up to a height of ten or fifteen meters, it begins to choke and at once comes down again. Its voice is very pleasant. Once the *umm sâlem* came to the 539x ant and begged: "Give me supper for my children." The ant disposed of her by saying: "Depart! I am constantly attending to the harvest, but thou to singing; *ana ḥammi al-ḥaṣâjed w-enti ḥammeč al-ḳaṣâjed.*" The *umm sâlem* replied: "And yet my voice is often more precious than the whole of thee with thy ragged tail, *ana jowmen min ajjâm ṭrubi jesuḍč jâ mḥarrâḳat aḍ-ḍnebi.*"

REPTILES

Of reptiles the Rwala are most interested in the following: 136
The *ṣabb*, also known as *abu ḥamad*. Many declare that it does not belong among the reptiles, because it has four feet of which it can make good use. It is a large lizard with seven vertebrae. It has five toes on each of its feet. Its tail is longer than its actual body. It lives on plants only and is fond of lying in the clefts between stones. The Bedouins eagerly pursue it. 224 If they catch it, they turn it over on its back in order to cut its throat. It then raises its forefeet to protect itself. The flesh of the dead lizard twitches for a long time. It is very tasty. Generally the Bedouins push the *ṣabb* into the sand and light a fire above it. After about an hour they rake the fire away, dig the *ṣabb* out, turn it over, push it back again, and make another fire over it.

The *ṣabb* was originally the chief of all reptiles, being 539x the first one who urged them to prayer and who taught 825 them how to bow down, while praying, and to kneel and touch the earth with their foreheads. When human beings began to increase in number, the *ṣabb* sent forth his spies into the territory inhabited by human beings, in order to find out what weapons the latter possessed and how war could be waged with them. The spies, who were the actual sons of *abu ḥamad*, informed him of what they had seen and heard, and he realized that war with human beings was not possible and that it would be best to hide from them. Accordingly he

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539 825 dug dens for himself and his numerous family. To the rest of his subjects he said nothing. When he used to come from his work into the assembly, his whole forehead was gray with dust and clay. His companions asked him: "What makes thy forehead gray?" "Constant praying, during which I touch the earth as is prescribed." One day the guards who had been posted on the boundary came running up, shouting: "The Arabs are approaching with dogs and weapons." *Abu ḥamad* and his family at once hid themselves in the dens which had been prepared, so that none of them perished.

136 825 The Rwala divide serpents into *ḥajje* and *dâbb*, the former being any short snake and the latter any long serpent, irrespective of whether it is venomous or not. In poetry the latter appellation is always used for venomous serpents. Of the short serpents they are afraid of the viper, *efâ'i*, which is found in the rocky desert, as well as of the *batra* and the *ḥaṣaṣ*, which live in the sandy desert. The latter crawl out only by night. During the daytime they dig themselves into the sand, so that the tips of their heads alone project.

Of the long serpents the *ḥamîṭ* is particularly venomous. It is one meter long, covered with patches of color, and swims in pools of rain water.

[757 262] The skin shed by a serpent, *silb*, serves as a remedy for various diseases of the eye. The Rwala all eat the long serpents. The flesh of the short snakes they give to camels suffering from the disorder of the stomach known as *roši* and from caries, *rasis*.

The *ḥardaun*, chameleon, basks in sunny spots and nods its head at passers-by.

The *ab-aṭ-ṭaḥjâ* is smaller than the *ḥardaun*. It lives exclusively in the Nefûd, where it hides in the sand, leaving its head alone uncovered.

[278] The *malas*, a reptile similar to the *ḥardaun*, is found likewise in the Nefûd. It is spotted with red and black patches. Its flesh dried in the sun and ground to powder is eaten by impotent old men.

The *solejmâni* (or *ǧlejmâni*) and the *ḥabaṣmijje* are harmless lizards.

136 825 The *ba'erṣi* (or *brejṣi*) is a venomous lizard of the Nefûd. When a man is bitten by this lizard, he becomes very restless. He cannot remain in one place. If he is lying in the shade, he craves for the sun, and if he is carried into the

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sun, he wants the shade. Hence they say of a man who runs from place to place: "He has been bitten by the *brejṣi, ku ḳeriṣ al-brejṣi.*" 136 825

The *ʿaḳrab*, scorpion.

INSECTS

The Rwala are infested by the following insects: 539x

The *ʿankabût*, a venomous spider. 136

The *naḥal*, bees, which are found particularly in the rocky regions. They are tiny creatures, and their sting is insignificant. Their honey has a sour taste. If anyone finds a swarm of bees, he endeavors to reach the honey. There is a well-known riddle: "It feeds in the waterless region, no man tastes its flesh, but its offspring is eaten by every passer-by; *žâfer al-arẓ marʿaha w-mâ ḏâḳ an-nâs laḥamha illa waladha jâkeleh kill min ǧâh*"; the answer is: the bee.

The *ḳaʿejṣi*, a species of large ant, is known also as *šejḫ an-naml*. It forms the subject of the following riddle: "It devours barley and is not a camel; it devours straw and is not an ass; it pulls down a dwelling and is not a mouse; it is black as night and yet is not night; *jâkel aš-šaʿîr w-lâ hu baʿîr jâkel at-tiben w-lâ hu ḥmâr jiḫarḳ ad-dâr w-lâ hu fâr aswad al-lejl w-lâ hu lejl*"; the answer is: *ḳaʿejṣi*.

The *naml*, the ordinary ant, of which there are three varieties: *ṭajjâr, farsi*, and *ḏarr*.

The *arṣa*, wood borer, a small insect somewhat larger than the ant. It devours everything that it can reach.

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CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *ʿarab*, or those who dwell in
101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase
829 is used: "*ʿArabna raḥalow, ʿarabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *ʿarab al-ẓebūla* are members of the same tribe. *ʿArab ad-dīra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *ʿorbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *ʿOrbân ʿala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Ḍmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min haḷ-ʿarab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn annak mîn aḷ-ʿarab mâr mîn ajj aḷ-ʿorbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḳarâwne*
221 (the individual is known as *ḳarwânī*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *raʿʿe* (or *raʿijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *raʿʿe* or *raʿijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *ẓwâja* (or *šûjân*). The
233 *ẓwâja* have two things black, *leḥom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

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do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruhm aḍ-dire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *razw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeṛarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'w* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'idîn aṣ-ṣa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The Šwâja -- Analyst]

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeż. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ǧlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddîm ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čéf jeṣîr lena-bn al-ʿamm.*" or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr arlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr aǧânib mâ lena w-lahom ǧidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Maha' married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the [628] maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs; *ʿamâmeh ʿaṣabe w-ḥwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-ʿamm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ ʿalejh arbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnûʿ ʿalejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ.* The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-ʿamm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beniʿam* (or *ḥakk al-beniʿame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-beniʿame swât al-beniʿam.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *zeji*, or fellow traveler, *ḥawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣliḥ al-ḥači min ẓejr manfaʿa.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni ʿammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered: moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-ʿamm*. 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *ʿaširt*) *ar-rwala*, *ʿašire* having the same meaning as *bedîde* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the 101 601

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101 name given to a group of kindred descended from the sam
601 ancestor; a *ferîž* is also wider than an *ahl*.

The *ahl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," in
611 technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individua
602 only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father o
son (although all three kins in this case would include many in
dividuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descendant
to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons, an
great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the thir
generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and great
grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants t
the third generation from each. Descent is reckened throug
male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collateral
that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to th
same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ancesto
of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provide
not more than five individuals are thus counted between X
and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is no
separated from either X or Y by more than three generations
X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of th
kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfathe
whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be ab
solutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the followin
explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓeri
who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâleḥ
Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left m
that is Blejhân, Ğî'ân, and 'Aŝwân, while Baṛri's sons wer
Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named Ned
and Ğlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḏijâb; Ğlejdân had Neğî
and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *ahl*, and nobod
else. My father's *ahl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the fathe
of Ẓeri and 'Abdallâh, but the descendants of 'Abdallâh d
not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I sha
not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew nothin
at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (an
therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he had
brother, Ma'rûf by name. But how many generations ther
were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anybod
in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as bein
thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1) hi
father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly h

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counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'ajle* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

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619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ğebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ad-dîre* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

594 The *ʿajle* indicates a family which has a house and hearth of its own, *al-ʿajle ahl al-ğdâr w-an-nâr*. Any settler who has a house of his own and in it a wife who cooks for him is said to have his *ʿajle*.

601 The word *ḏurrijje*, descendants, is replaced among the Rwala by the word *ẓana*, which designates very distant descendants, irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or the relationship is due to adoption.

CHIEFS

622 The word *ḳowm* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "*Ḳowm eben šaʿlân*, he is of the *ḳowm* of Eben Šaʿlân"; "the *ḳowm* of Eben Meʿğel are encamped there; the *ḳowm* of Eben Ğandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as: "That is the *ḳowm* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḳowm* of the Freğe" will never be heard. When Prince Eben Šaʿlân speaks of *ğemâʿaṭi* he is thinking of the various tribes who obey his orders and who hasten to his assistance, *jefzaʿûn*. *Ğemâʿa* is almost the same as *ḳowm*.

The rank of chief is hereditary in a definite house, *âl*. It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities, nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and
643 many families may have deserted them. A head chief or prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted either of their own free will or under compulsion and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as *šejḫ al-bâb*, while affairs of war are left to a man renowned for his courage and prudence

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even though he may be descended from a different kin. Such a leader is known as *šejḫ aš-šdâd* or *šejḫ al-ḥarb*. If he succeeds in overcoming the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans become attached to him. They obey him in peace, and there ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes *šejḫ al-bâb* as well.

643

Traditions Concerning the Rwala Chiefs

According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended from the kin of the Ḳa'ḳa'a. Ša'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the Âl Mur'aẓ kin in the capacity of a *fedâwi*, free-born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Neǧd. The Ḳa'ḳa'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defenses, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if they did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Ša'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The head chief called Ša'lân to him and said:

643x 173x

"Thy friend, *ṣiddîž*, the elder of the settlers, will give up the camels but only to thee. Hasten to him and come to terms with him in my name."

"Thou art the head chief; it is for thee to command, it is for thee to advise."

"Hasten to him. Come to terms in my name."

"You will not fulfil the terms I make."

"We will."

"Will you restore the captured sheep and goats to the settlers?"

"We will."

"Let representatives of the Freǧe and Ribšân clans go surety for that."

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643* 193* "I, So and So, offer surety that the Freğe will not permit a single thread of the settlers to be cut."

"I, So and So, offer surety that the Ribšân will not permit a single thread of the settlers to be cut."

"Good, *zên*. Now give me thy seal ring."

"What dost thou want it for?"

"How could I settle anything in thy name without thy seal ring?"

The representatives of the Freğe and Ribšân pleaded with the chief to give Ša'lân the seal ring, and this was done. Ša'lân went to the elder and came to terms with him. The settlers returned the captured camels, *addaw an-nawâḳeṣ*, received their sheep and goats, and renounced all claims to compensation for the damaged grain. All praised Ša'lân and said that he was a *ṣâḥeb al-marğala*, gentleman. A *ṣâḥeb al-marğala* must have a courageous heart, *ḳalbeh ḳâwi*, he must have a very shrewd wit to cope with difficulty, *râ'i fetel*, he must have a shrewd understanding, *leh 'erî*, he must see clearly into the future, *šôfteh ba'îde*, and he must never be too hasty, *leh ṣabr*. Ša'lân remained in the settlement and did not return the ring to the head chief. The settlers, the Freğe, and the Ribšân supported him, and after four years he overthrew the head chief and himself guided the destinies of all the Rwala.

A struggle for priority ensued between the head chief Eben Ša'lân and his Rwala and Chief aš-Šrejfi of the Kwâčbe. The latter belonged to the Ḳahaṭân division of the 'Aneze. Originally they camped in Neğd. Under their chief aš-Šrejfi they advanced to the territory of the Rwala and encamped to the east of al-Ğowf. They wished to act and rule in complete independence, *al-'amâl w-al-ḳwâl lehom*, but the Rwala declared that they must acknowledge the Rwala supremacy or else withdraw. Thereupon the Kwâčbe joined with the Šammar and Ẓefîr and undertook a great raid upon the tribes obeying Eben Ša'lân. They were led by the seven sons of aš-Šrejfi. With aš-Šrejfi there was serving at that time as a camel herdsman a member of the Freğe clan named Mehi. On the evening after the departure of the warriors aš-Šrejfi said to him:

"What kind of Rwejli art thou, Mehi? Thou art peacefully eating thy supper and thy kinsmen are threatened with destruction."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Mehi replied: "What is to happen will happen." Having finished his supper, he lay down and waited until all were asleep. Then he got up, saddled the swiftest camel, and rode out at full speed to his own people, warning them and forestalling the enemy. His people concealed their herds in a safe valley, opened the leather receptacles in which they kept their armor, *drû'*, and prepared for a fight. The armor had been wrapped up in the leaves of a strongly fragrant plant known as *ğa'ade*, partly in order that the metal parts might not damage the leather receptacles, partly in order that the moths and *arẓa* borers might not eat the leather. The fragrance of the *ğa'ade* was spread about the neighborhood when the warriors put on their armor. After midnight they rode out of their camps to a certain spot situated in the direction from which they expected the attack. They unsaddled the camels, sent them back, hid the saddles, and occupied the rocks which almost entirely enclosed a basin covered with an abundant growth of grass. After sunrise the herdsmen drove the riding camels and about two hundred and fifty other camels into this basin for pasture, and struck up a merry song in order to attract the attention of the hostile spies.

The spies discovered the herds and announced the fact to the seven sons of aš-Šrejfi, who gave orders for the herds to be attacked. The warriors swiftly mounted their horses and rode out at a gallop to the defile leading into the basin. They were riding from the southeast and the wind was blowing from the northwest. As they were approaching the defile a Šammari riding on a spirited stallion shouted to the seven sons of aš-Šrejfi:

"I smell *ğa'ade*! I smell *ğa'ade*! flee away!"

"Liar! Where hast thou any *ğa'ade* around here?"

"The wind is bringing me the smell of *ğa'ade*. Flee away!" He turned and fled, and Mašlân, the youngest of the seven sons, fled with him. The rest of the sons, together with all the Kwâčbe and the greater part of the Šammar and Ẓefîr, rode through the defile into the basin and flung themselves upon the camels. The Rwala quickly occupied and blockaded the defile and surrounded the enemy. A furious contest ensued. Of the Rwala those who most distinguished themselves were ad-Drê'i eben Mašhûr, Miğwel âl Miğwel, and Fhejd eben Ma'abhel. All the six sons of aš-Šrejfi fell, and of the rest of the enemy only a few warriors saved themselves on foot,

because on horseback they could not ride out from the rocks. Having ridden down the fugitives, the Rwala saddled their camels and attacked the Šammar and Zefîr who were guarding the camels, water, and supplies. Only ten escaped, all the rest being either slain or captured.

Of all the Kwâčbe there was saved only Mašlân, the youngest son of aš-Šrejfi. One of the Šammar took him on his camel, which was a specially swift one, and rode with him to his father's camp. Having entered the tent, he sat down on one side with Mašlân. After a while aš-Šrejfi asked:

"What is the news? *al-'elem.*"

"There is no news, *mâ min 'ulûm.*"

"By Allâh himself, if thou wilt not give me news, I will cut off thy head straight away; *w-allâh elja mâ 'allemteni laḳṭa' râsak bes-sejf.*"

He did not even look at his son Mašlân, nor speak to him. The Šammari, having given news of the fate of the battle, said:

"O aš-Šrejfi, dost thou not see the darling of thy eye?" Aš-Šrejfi was silent. After a while he called his wife, the mother of all the seven sons, who was sitting behind the partition and had heard all the news. He asked her:

"Mistress of my tent, where is Mašlân, thy youngest son?"

Glancing at Mašlân, she replied: "We did not bear, we did not bring forth, and we did not receive a son named Mašlân; *lâ ḥamalna w-lâ ẓanejna w-lâ ǧâna waluden ismeh mašlân.*"

Mašlân left the territory of al-Kwâčbe and never showed himself there again. His mother, the wife of aš-Šrejfi, died of grief shortly afterwards.

The Kwâčbe and Šammar wished to avenge their great defeat, and in the following year marched against the Rwala. This time it was to be finally decided who should command, and therefore the Kwâčbe marched with their families, tents, and flocks, and established a war camp, *manâḫ*, against the Rwala, whose tents were pitched round the wells Ğaw Morejra and Ḫaw'a (or al-Ḫâwa) to the east of the settlement of Skâka. The Rwala had previously occupied all the wells for a considerable distance around. The Kwâčbe together with the Šammar made several attacks on the encampment of the Rwala, but each time they were repulsed. The Rwala, who were commanded by a war-chief, *'ażîd al-ḥarb*, the renowned

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Fhejd eben Ma'abhel, never attacked but so pressed their adversaries closer and closer that they were unable to obtain water anywhere. Thirst tormented not only the animals but the people also. The women and children in particular were sufferers. For one *delw* (about ten liters of water) they paid one camel. They killed the camels and saved the water from their paunches.

Aš-Šrejfi had a daughter named Ḳût, who was both beautiful and courageous. After a talk with the other women of the Kwâčbe she decided that she would go before the countenance, *bwağh*, of the enemy commander, Fhejd, to the well of Morejra for water. The women prepared water bags, loaded them on camels, and rode up to the tent of aš-Šrejfi in order that they might accompany his daughter Ḳût on her venturesome expedition. When she had seated herself comfortably on her camel, she exclaimed: "O Fhejd, O Fhejd, behold, I am riding before thy countenance, under thy protection." These words were repeated after her by each of the women accompanying her. When the guards of the Rwala perceived more than a thousand camels approaching, led by a woman and ridden by women, they forgot in their surprise to bring the news to their leaders, and waited to see what would happen. When Ḳût came within earshot, she exclaimed: "O Fhejd, O Fhejd, behold, I am riding before thy countenance! *jâ fhejd tarâni bwağhak.*" The guards heard this. The younger men ran up to the approaching camels and, disregarding the warning voice of their elders, captured the best animals and the women who were seated upon them. From the camp other young men ran out, and within a short time Ḳût's whole retinue had become the booty of various warriors.

Fhejd was not in the camp. He was making a circuit of the surrounding district. His old slave, hearing Ḳût declare that she was riding before Fhejd's countenance, saddled the swiftest stallion and rode off to seek his master. He met him at no great distance, for he was just returning.

As soon as Fhejd learned that Ḳût had ridden before his countenance and that she had been robbed and captured, he flew into a great rage, uttered a war cry, and declared that at the next sunrise he would burn every tent before which he found camels from Ḳût's retinue. Those who wished to escape this punishment must before sunset bring the camels which had been stolen, together with their entire equipment

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

643* 173* and the women, before his tent. The kin, *ahl*, and the slaves of Fhejd at once rode through the camps and proclaimed his command. Fhejd himself proceeded with his old slave to the tent in which the captured Ḳût was sojourning. He ordered her camel to be saddled, asked her to be his guest, and led her to his tent, where he assigned the foremost place to her. At his command his slaves killed five fat camels and prepared an abundant supper for Ḳût and all the women of her escort, who had assembled with her before sunset. Not a single camel, not a single water bag, not a single saddle was missing. Fhejd's slaves and relatives watered the camels all night, filled the water bags, and after sunrise the women took them and rode off with Ḳût to their thirsty families. Fhejd accompanied Ḳût to within shooting distance of her father's tent.

The water which had been brought was sufficient for five days. After that time the children were again crying for water, and many young camels collapsed with thirst. The women asked Ḳût to ride again for water. Ḳût declined, urging that peace should be made with the Rwala. At her prompting the elders of the Kwâčbe sent a messenger to Fhejd with a request for peace, and offered the Rwala half their herds. Fhejd agreed and peace was concluded. This harsh war is known as Manâḫ aẓ-Ẓîrên, Battle-camp of the Two Starvations.

The Šammar, the allies of the Kwâčbe, did not accept the peace and threatened them with war. Aš-Šrejfi then decided that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Rwala and would join them entirely. His daughter Ḳût married Fhejd, and his Kwâčbe encamped together with the Rwala.

After Ḳût had moved into Fhejd's tent aš-Šrejfi's tent remained without a woman in charge of it. Accordingly he placed the female slaves under the control of a widow of a Šammar warrior who had fallen in the battle. The widow brought into his tent an abundance of food, such as butter, dates, and rice, and said to aš-Šrejfi:

"Marry me and I will tend you by day and night." "Good, I will see." The Šammar woman cooked tasty meals for him, kept the tent in order, and urged him to marry her, but aš-Šrejfi put her off. When he was encamped with the Rwala at an-Nuḳra (to the south of Damascus), he suddenly brought into his tent a girl of his kin, *bint 'ammen leh*, and proclaimed her his wife and the mistress of the tent. The Šammar widow

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

said nothing, but when on the second day aš-Šrejfi lay down during the heat of noon, she took a knife, cut his genitalia with it, and then escaped into a strange tent, where she demanded protection, *daḫalat 'alejh*. The owner of this tent accompanied her to a great caravan proceeding towards Neǧd, and she reached her kin, *ahalha*, in safety.

The Rwala tradition explains that originally the Ẓana Muslim division were encamped in the vicinity of Ḥajbar, where in the valley of al-Ǧlâs they still have their *ḫelâl*, palms. From there they are said to have moved towards the north. The first tribe to migrate was al-Ḥsene, whose chief was descended from the kin of Eben Melḥem. To him was entrusted the control of the Pilgrim Road from Damascus as far as al-'Ela', in return for which he received a large sum of money from the Government. In the oasis of Ḥajbar several families of the Weld Slejmân and the Weld 'Ali still have their palms. The Serâḥîn, who belong to the as-Sba'a tribe and obey the chief of the kin of Abu Šâma, have their *fellâḥîn* there.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the commander, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, of the Rwala belonged to the clan of as-Swâlme; his name was ad-Drê'i eben Ǧandal.[1] The kin of Eben Bnejje of the Mur'aẓ clan of the Rwala tribe supported the Wahhâbites, with whose help Prince Muḥammad eben 'Ali overcame his adversary, 'Abdallâh eben Rašîd, and for a time drove him out of the settlement of Ḥâjel. To the house of Eben Bnejje belonged the important wells of al-Hebeke and aš-Šižîž. When in the thirties there ensued a general rising against the Wahhâbites, the kin of Eben Ša'lân of the Mur'aẓ clan distinguished itself. At the head of the clan was Nâjef, the son of 'Abdallâh eben Ša'lân, who had deprived the kin of Eben Ǧandal of the leadership in war. He had seven sons, who all died violent deaths. After his death the head chief was Ḥamad, who left a son, Saṭṭâm.

Fejṣal, the sixth son of Nâjef, won great renown. He established the power of the Rwala to the south of Damascus in the region of Ǧejdûr or, as they say, in an-Nuḳra. He met in war the Weld 'Ali, who were led by Muḥammad eben Dûḫi eben Smejr. Several chiefs of the Rwala tribe, such as Eben Me'ǧel, Eben Ǧandal, and Eben Mǧejd, desired to make an

[1] Alois Sprenger, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik von Arabien*, in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 17, Leipzig, 1863, p. 226.

643 alliance with the Weld ʿAli. But Fejṣal forestalled them and
173 in 1859 killed their leader, Barǧas eben Mašhûr, with his own hand and soon afterwards defeated all the allies of Muḥammad near the settlement of Boṣra. Fejṣal waged war successfully and continually, becoming the supreme lord of northern Arabia, but on January 14, 1864, he was murdered in his tent by the avengers of Barǧas, his brother Nahâr and his nephew Hamdân.[2]

The head chief was now Ṭalâl, the son of Fejṣal. The military leader was Ḥamad eben Bnejje. Among the warriors special distinction was attained by Saṭṭâm eben Ḥamad eben Šaʿlân and Hazzâʿ, the seventh and last son of Nâjef. Hazzâʿ's wife was Ṭaḳla, the daughter of Chief Fâjez eben Ǧandal, who bore his sons an-Nûri and Muḥammad. His sons Fahad and and Mišʿal were born of another mother.[3]

Saṭṭâm eben Ḥamad made a love marriage with Turkijje of the house of Eben Mhejd, from whom the head chief of the Fedʿân is descended. She bore his sons Ḥâled and Mamdûḥ. By the winter of 1877—1878 Saṭṭâm had already become head chief.[3] Saṭṭâm died in 1904 and his successor was Fahad eben Hazzâʿ, who, however, was murdered at the instigation of his brother an-Nûri.[4]

An-Nûri eben Šaʿlân

643 The Rwala give the name of *šejḫ*, and also *šujûḫ*, to their head chief or prince. One may hear the remark: "I came to the prince, but he was asleep; *ṭabbejt ʿala-š-šujûḫ w-hu čân nâjem.*"

643 651 The head chief an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân declares war and concludes peace. Under the Turkish régime he provided surety for the taxes which the Government demanded from the Rwala during their annual stay in an-Nuḳra. In 1907 he paid £T 3500 ($ 15,750), in 1908 only £T 2000 ($ 9000), because many clans of the Kwâčbe tribe migrated to Irak. An-Nûri used to increase the tax by one half and allot it among the different chiefs, who in their turn would likewise increase it and collect from the owners of separate tents their allotment according

[2] Carlo Guarmani, *Il Neged settentrionale*, Jerusalem, 1866, pp. 196—198.

[3] W. S. Blunt, *A Visit to Jebel Shammar (Nejd). New Routes through Northern and Central Arabia*, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 2, London, 1880, p. 81.

[4] Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 238—243.

1 [Errata. See p. 712, col. 116 for correction of lines 12-15 -- Analyst]

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

to the number of their camels. After a certain time an-Nûri or his son would ride out with his slaves to the different chiefs and collect the tax. Those who escaped and did not pay the tax were punished, when caught, with the loss of one camel. The collected tax was punctually conveyed by the prince to the Government, the prince retaining the half by which he had increased it. From this amount he made allotments to members of the ruling house and some chiefs; thus the following amounts were distributed:

to Ḥâled eben Saṭṭâm £T150 ($675);
to ʿAḍûb eben Meǧwel £T20 ($90);
to Fahad eben Mašhûr £T50 ($225).

He himself retained at least £T150 ($675), and in addition to this he sold annually three or four horses and twenty to thirty camels.

For each of his 30 to 35 horses the prince buys 5 loads of barley at £T1 ($4.50) per load; for his guests, slaves, and family, 40 loads of flour at 40 *meǧîdijjât* ($36) per load, 20 loads of wheat at 15 *meǧîdijjât* ($13.50), 7 loads of *burrul* at £T2½ ($11.25), 3 loads of rice at £T4 ($18), 1½ loads of coffee at 100 *meǧîdijjât* ($90), 2 loads of sugar at £T5 ($25), butter for £T55 ($247.50); at least 100 rams or sheep for food at 3 *meǧîdijjât* ($2.70) each; five camels for food at £T10 ($45) each; clothing and coverlets for his family and slaves and for gifts cost £T130 ($585). He has 80 rifles, and every year he requires at least 6000 rounds of ammunition at the equivalent of 10 to 12 cents for each round. The repair of the tents and the upkeep of the tent materials and ropes cost annually £T50 ($225). He must send gifts to the chiefs from time to time and feed an average of twenty people daily.

Insubordinate chiefs are dealt with by the prince where and as he can. Bhejder, a chief from the Freǧe, once departed with his kin when the camels were to be counted for the purpose of estimating how much tax each chief should pay. Prince an-Nûri sent word to him that he was to return immediately, but Bhejder paid no heed. Not until six months later did he come of his own accord on a camel to an-Nûri, and immediately fetters such as are worn by horses on their forefeet were placed upon him. He remained fettered for a whole month.

A weaker tribe has to acknowledge the supremacy of a stronger one and pay it a special tax, which is known as

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 651 *ḫûwa*. The Rwala collect the *ḫûwa* from all the Htejm as well as from the inhabitants of various villages. The stronger the government, the fewer the villages which pay them the *ḫûwa*. Al-Žerjitejn, Tudmor, as-Suḫne, Kowm, and aṭ-Ṭajjibe regularly deliver *ḫûwa*. Every settlement and every tributary tribe has among the Rwala its brother, *aḫ* (or *ḫâwi*), to whom it pays annually about 25 *meğîdijjât*. The *aḫ* is bound to restore to the settlement all the property which his fellow tribesmen have stolen from it. The basis of *ḫûwa* is *ḳûwa*, force. Those who are strong compel the numerous settlements to raise *ḫûwa* for them. Those who have no *aḫ* must rely only on the drawn sword, *sejf ṭâjel*. Those who receive the *ḫûwa* must protect those who give it to them, or, as the Rwala say: "He who eats a young goat must protect its mother, *alli jâkol al-ğedi jaḥma ummeh*."

CHAPTER IV

THE TENT AND ITS FURNISHINGS

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT

The tent is made of pieces of coarse black cloth known as *šuḳḳa* (pl., *šḳaḳ*). The *šuḳḳa* is usually 60 to 70 centimeters broad and 15 to 60 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 to 45.6 meters) long. The tent cloth is woven either of pure black goat's hair — both the heavy variety, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, and the light, *nôl*, being used — or else of cotton, with which only a small amount of goat's hair is blended, this being called *kumbok*. The weaving of tent material is carried on by many inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the Rwala buy it from itinerant traders, Rhejbâwijjât or Kbejsât, or from those who make it. An ordinary tent with one main pole, which is about twelve meters long and nearly four meters broad, requires at least eight *šḳaḳ*, each 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) in length. If they are of pure goat's hair, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, 1 *šuḳḳa* costs 8 *meǧidijjât* ($7.20); if they are of *kumbok*, a *šuḳḳa* costs 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70); a *šuḳḳa* of *nôl* costs 5 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50). The back wall, *rwâḳ*, of such a tent costs 3 *meǧîdijjât*; the lower part, *sefle*, of it, 1 *meǧidijje* (90 cents); 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) of a narrow strip of goat's hair for strengthening the tent material, *ṭarâjež*, costs 2 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80); two poles cost 9 piasters (40½ cents); and then there are the ropes, sold by weight: 1 *roṭol* (.56 kilograms) for 13 piasters (58½ cents). Thus the smallest tent made of heavy goat's hair costs at least 33 *meǧidijjât* ($ 29.70). Every four years, or five years at the most, a new tent has to be set up.

When a man has bought the tent material, he hands it over to the women, who sew the tent under the supervision of an experienced old woman. The old woman gives the following directions: "Draw the separate pieces, *šḳaḳ*, close together, *ṣaffenhen*; sew them with coarse threads of goat's hair, *ḥajjefenhen*; in the middle sew on the *ḳoṭb* [a small round board measuring about ten centimeters in diameter and having in the middle a circular opening cut out, through which the top

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1926 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 of the pole passes]; sew a strip of coarse goat's hair, *ṭarâjeẓ*,
286 along the edges of the tent; at the end of these *ṭarâjeẓ* sew (Fig. 3)[1] on leather loops, *ḫurb* (*l*)[2], fastened to strong pegs [about ten centimeters in length]; through the leather loops draw and hook the ropes, both those which hold the tent on its long sides, *aṭnâb* (*h*), as well as those which hold it on the short sides [of which the front rope is known as *ǯad* (*i*), the back one as *riǧel* (*k*)]; *ḥoṭṭen aṭnâb ḥoṭṭen idên u-riǧlên*. Turn down as a hem the upper edge of the back wall, *ruwâḳ* (*f*), and sew on this hem [which is about ten centimeters broad], *maḫalla*, a strong thread, *ǧerîr*, in order that it may be fastened by means of strong pins, *ḫella*; to the lower edge of the *ruwâḳ* sew on a strip of inferior material [about fifty centimeters broad], *sefle*; to both the short sides [for a distance of fifty centimeters from the edge] sew on pieces of lighter tent material [about a meter and a half long]." This border strengthened to a breadth of fifty centimeters is known as *'amâra*, and the material which is sown forms the side wall, *ruffa* (*d*).

342 When the tent is to be pitched, its owner calls out to his
284 sons, servants, slaves, or women: "Spread out the tent, *ṭellû al-bejt* (Fig. 4); extend all the ropes, *marreṭû al-aṭnâb*; drive in the pegs with a wooden mallet, *eṭebṭû* (sic) *al-awtâḍ bel-miǧema* (Figs. 5, 6); wind the ropes round the pegs; tighten the ropes, *ekrebû*, at the front, *al-meždem*, at the back, *ḳafa'*, and at the sides, *ċeser*, by loosening their ends in the loops, *ḫruba*, drawing them taut, and securing them, *'aliṭ* or *'aljeṭ* (Fig. 3, *m*); prop the poles up, *'emdân* (Figs. 7, 8), first those in the front on the side away from the wind, *esemkû al-mežâdim* (Fig. 3, *a*), then the main pole, *esemkû al-wâseṭ* (*b*), thrusting it into the *ḳoṭb* opening in the middle of the tent, and finally the two poles at the rear corners, *ċeser* (*c*); when all the poles are standing, tighten all the ropes, *karrebû al-aṭnâb*; attach the back wall to the windward side (Fig. 9) with iron pins, *rawweżû al-bejt*, and peg its lower part, *sefle*, down to the ground so that the wind may not lift it; do the same also with the side walls, *ruffa*; from the main pole and from two loops sewn on the edges of a *ṭarîḳa* strip hang a central partition, *ḳâṭe'a*." This dividing partition, 1.6 meters high,
342 cuts the tent into two compartments, the right-hand one
592

[1] This figure represents my large tent of the kind used by the 'Aḥeǧl camel traders. Its rear wall and pegs differ from those of the common Rwala tent.

[2] In the following descriptions of the tent the text letters refer to Fig. 3.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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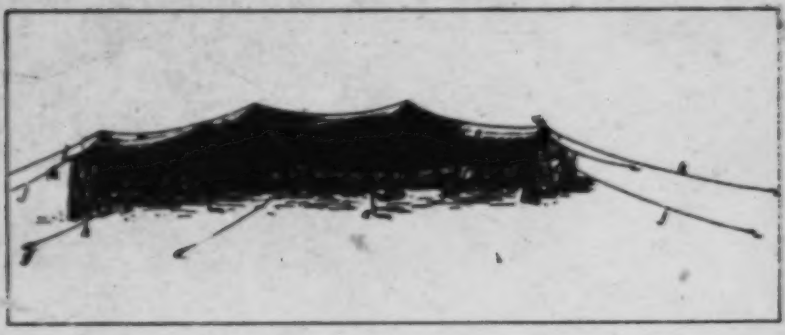

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

FIG. 5

FIG. 3—The author's tent.
FIG. 4—A tent spread out.
FIG. 5—Pitching a tent: driving in the pegs.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarim*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maraṣ*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efeḥḳû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *murtači*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meṭ'î*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥeč*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jeszčče'* (or *jisûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalli 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minǧeda'*.

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FIG. 6

FIG. 7

FIG. 8

FIG. 6—Pitching a tent: driving in the pegs.
FIG. 7—Pitching a tent: setting up the poles.
FIG. 8—Pitching a tent: setting up the poles.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *eḥefrû lan-*
[554 *nâr*." With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always
463] dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty
412 to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement
332 called *fâz*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at
354 the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *ḳaddûm* or *tubal*. The ordinary
354 Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *ḫufrat an-nâr*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are
[574] shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may
372 warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *raḍa'* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *šîḥ* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers
[462] and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the divid-
[251] ing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

against the back wall. The sacks are either black, made of goat's hair, *ḥarus*, or gray, made of wool and camel's hair, *'edel*, and there are also colored ones woven by the Rwala women and known as *ṭaffârijje*.

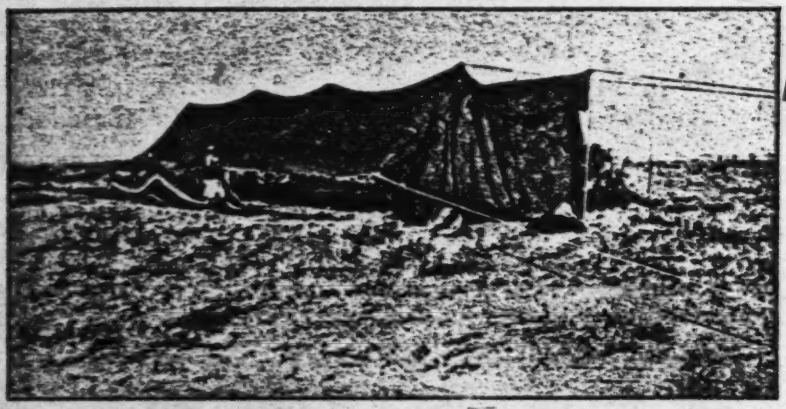

FIG. 2—Pitching a tent: attaching the rear wall.

The spindle, *merzel*, is shaped like a four-pointed star measuring nine centimeters in diameter and provided with an opening in the center. From this there projects the end of a pole, *'ûd*, 85 centimeters long, in which a small iron hook, *sunnâra*, is passed. The woman who spins takes the camel's hair or sheep's wool under her right armpit, while with her left hand she twists a thread about thirty centimeters long, ties it to the lower part of the spindle pole, and thrusts in under the hook. Then she raises her left knee and, placing the lower end of the pole upon it, twirls the spindle on her knee with the palm of her left hand, while with the fingers of her right hand she winds the thread. This, running through the hook, is now twined around the whirling pole, which once again has been allowed to hang freely. If the movement of the spindle gives out, it is set whirling again in the same manner. The women do their spinning while riding on camels and also while marching on foot. They keep the wool or camel's hair either in their laps or in their bosoms. If they wish to have a stronger thread, they weave two or three prepared threads together on the spindle.

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṣṣ*, the names of the dif-

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Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṭw*, the names of the different parts of which as shown in Fig. 10 are: *a, râs an-naṭw; b, sida'; c, ḥafa'; d, nîra; e, 'ûd an-nîra; f, minšâz; g, 'âžba* (or *leḥama*); *k, minša'; h, ḥatwa; j, ḳâ'a; l, šiṣa.*

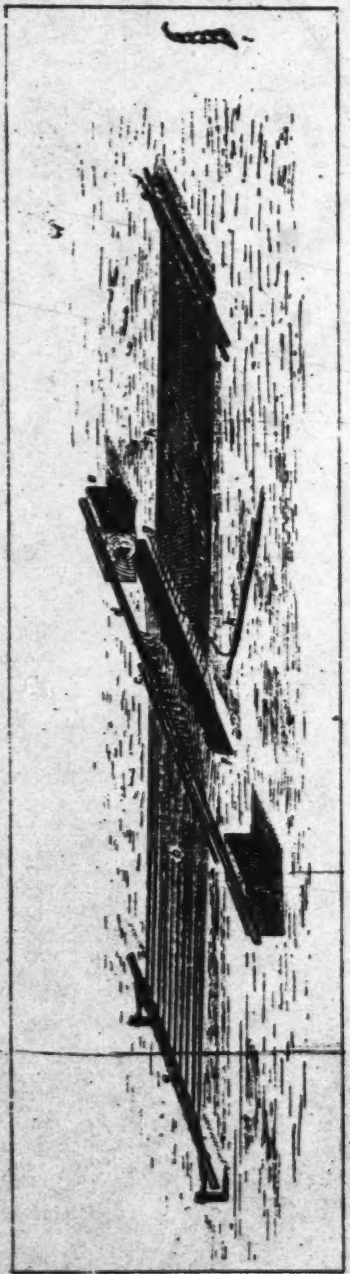

FIG. 10—A loom, *naṭw*.

The best silk kerchiefs and garments are kept in a small box, *ṣandûḳ*, which has a thin lining of tin.

By the side wall are placed the litters, either *žetab* or *ḳenn*, and the saddle bags with brightly colored trappings and long tassels, *mezwede.*

The *ḳenn* (pl., *ḳnene*) litters (Figs. 11, 12, 13) resemble rectangular cages, narrower at the bottom, and are made of wooden poles. The main poles forming the frame are called *'aṣjân* (Fig. 11, *c*), the four cross poles joining the main poles are called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*), and the vertical pole which strengthens the two back cross poles in the middle and terminates in a wooden knob is called *rwê'i* (*a*). The *ḳenn* is fastened to the saddle known as *bedd* (or *wiṭr*) (*d*).

The *žetab* litters (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) are decorated in the most splendid manner. On the back of the camel is placed a saddle known as *wiṭr*, reinforced with cushions, *bdûda.* Upon these rest two pairs of wooden ribs, *ẓlâf* (Fig. 14, *f*), each terminating in a cone, *rwê'i* (*a, j*). Two pairs of flexible poles, *'aṣfûr* (*d*) and *ža'ade* (*g*), each more than 5.5 meters long,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

are supported on these ribs and are fastened to the cones by stakes, *ḥoṣra* (*e*). The poles are joined by cross pieces, *ǧamb* (*h*) and *sâmûk* (*l*), and arched so that they form two pairs of wings, *ǧenâḥ* (*n*). These wings are drawn together in the middle on the top by means of wooden stakes, *lebad* (*k*) and *ḥani* (*m*). In the middle of the whole structure between the wings a leather seat, *soffa* (*c*), like a deep bowl is stitched to poles called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*). Of the poles which make the wings the upper parts and the outside ends of the lower parts have leather or linen twisted round them. The remainder of the lower parts, as well as the outer part of the two cones, are gaudily decorated with tiny shells. Here on a dark background there are small squares with red edges, and in the middle a blue rose with red leaves made of shells. Between the squares there are small white stars also made of shells. From the lower part of each of the poles marking the wings there is suspended a dark-red strip of cloth, *ḥwât* (*o*), about twenty centimeters broad and provided with tassels at either end which hang right down to the neck and tail of the camel. Red cloths or ribbons are also fastened to the upper parts of the wings. The *žetab* is placed on the saddle with the pillow known as *bedd* and is secured by means of straps under the breast, *ḥaḳab*, the stomach, *bṭân*, and tail, *ṭafar*.

The appearance of a number of these litters during a march is impressive. If they are seen in the distance on a pink sand drift surrounded by a blue, transparent atmospheric haze, they resemble huge butterflies swaying freely to and fro in the air. In the almost entirely flat, grayish-white desert of al-Ḥamâd, a grayish-white camel bearing the *žetab* and covered with various gaudy decorations fades from sight, while the magnificent litters project above the horizon and glide along as if upon bright and regularly rising waves.

In addition to this the women's compartment contains wooden and copper utensils. The following are made of wood: a large wooden mortar for crushing grain, *mihbâš*, with a wooden pestle, *'amûd*; a *maṛrâfa*, or small trough with an outlet, *ṭe'ebeh*, and a handle; a *ḳadaḥ*, or circular wooden jar; a *daḳḳijje*, or circular dish; a *ḳdajḥa*, or small plate from Mecca, *meccânijje*; a *ḳarwa*, or large dish which can contain enough food for ten persons; a *'elbe*, or circular vessel for the leavening of dough; a *muḫmar*, or vessel measuring sixty centimeters in diameter and twenty in height, for the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

415 kneading of dough; a *miswâṭ*, or large spoon for the mixing of foods; a *meʿûbe*, or deep vessel provided with an outlet, from which one may drink and for use in measuring, *čél*, butter.

The following vessels are of copper: *židr*, a large kettle with two rings by which it is carried and holding 80 liters; *ṭâse*, the same as a *židr* except that it holds only 20 liters; *ṭwâjse* (sic!), which holds 8 liters; *ṣallâje*, a small plate with a handle for the warming of butter; *saḥale*, a dish 20 centimeters in depth and 42 centimeters in width; *ṣaḥen* (or *ṣaḥn*), a large shallow pan for eating from (Fig. 29); a kettle always rests on three stones, *hawâdi*.

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The women also make various vessels of hide. They rub half the hide of a camel, *ṣafḥa*, with salt, *tamleḥha*, and dough prepared from wheat or barley flour, *tatmorha*. They then leave it for five to seven days rolled up in a shady place. Afterwards they scrape away the remains of the flesh and all the hair and, after stretching the hide, they lay it in a tanning mixture made of *arṭa* or *neǧîb* roots. The former is collected by the women themselves, but the latter is bought. Finally they rub the prepared hide thoroughly with the marrow of camel's bones or with camel's fat, *widak*, and from it they cut out and stitch, *teḫarrezha*, water bags, *râwije* (pl., *rwâj*).

[492]

Figs. 11, 12—Kenn litters.

415 These bags resemble large knapsacks. In the two upper corners are stitched firm leather loops, *ḫruba*, midway between which is an opening about 20 centimeters in diameter, *famm*, through which the *râwije* is filled. When the bag has been filled, the hide is stretched over this opening and tied up. At the right lower corner there is left an outlet about two centimeters in diameter, around which is a stout piece of hide, *ʿezle*. This outlet is stopped with a wooden peg, *ʿûd*, and tied round with a thin string of camel's hair. Through the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

loops, *ḫruba*, are drawn coarse ropes, *'oṣob*, by which two *rwâj* are always tied to the camel's saddle, *mesâme*. A water bag of this kind will hold as much as 120 liters. Smaller water bags are known as *ḳrab*. A *žirbe kwejtijje* is made of oxhide and holds about 80 liters; a *žirbe baṛdâdijje* is made of a

Fig. 13—Kenn litters.

large goatskin and holds 60 liters; a *žirbe šāmijje*, made at Damascus for the use of pilgrims, is likewise made of goatskin and holds 50 liters, while a *žirbe neǰdijje* (Fig. 19) of goatskin holds 40 liters. Smaller than the *žirbe* is the *ǰûd*, which will hold 20 liters of water and is carried by a single camel rider.

The *semil* is a leather sack for sour milk. The *šakwa* is a small sack in which the herdsman keeps milk. The *ṣarf* or *naḫw* is a leather bag holding about 15 liters, in which dates or butter are kept. The *'ekka'* is a smaller bag which will hold 5 to 7 liters of butter.

The women also make buckets, *delw* (pl., *dli*), of hide. A bucket for 2 to 3 liters is called *ḳalaṣ*; a *sifra* contains 10 to 15 liters, and a *delw al-čebîr* 20 to 30 liters of water, so that two men are needed to draw it up.

The water trough, *ḫawṣ* (pl., *ḫijâṣ*) (Figs. 20, 21, 22) also made by the women, consists of a leather bowl, *ṭasra*,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

415 (Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in
417 diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *šaṛûr* (pl., *šwâṛîr*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *waḏm*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *ʿarḳa* (pl., *ʿarâži*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *ʿša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

364 By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies
252 a *sâǧ*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

484 During long marches in the summer season the tents are
342 not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṭawleṭ*; with four, *mrawbaʿ*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sabʿa wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *aṭlaṭ*.

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳafa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ksûr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb šala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebûneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *ǯabbelû al-bejt ǧâna-l-hawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *rwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *rwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *rwâḳ* had previously hung.

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *rwâḳ*! *šawre'û al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *rwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *îdên w-riǧlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*.

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *mâ huna anǧas min al-čalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'ejš*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *sâǧ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampment during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the

2:Musil S-4/5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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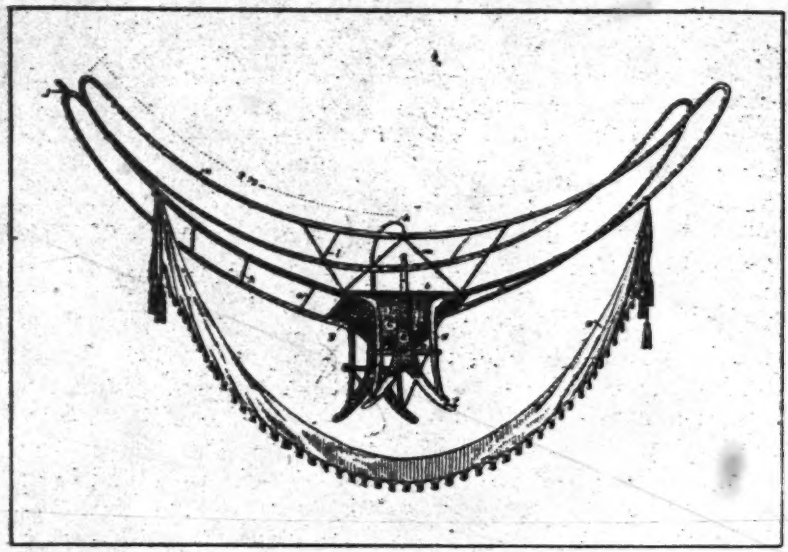

FIG. 14

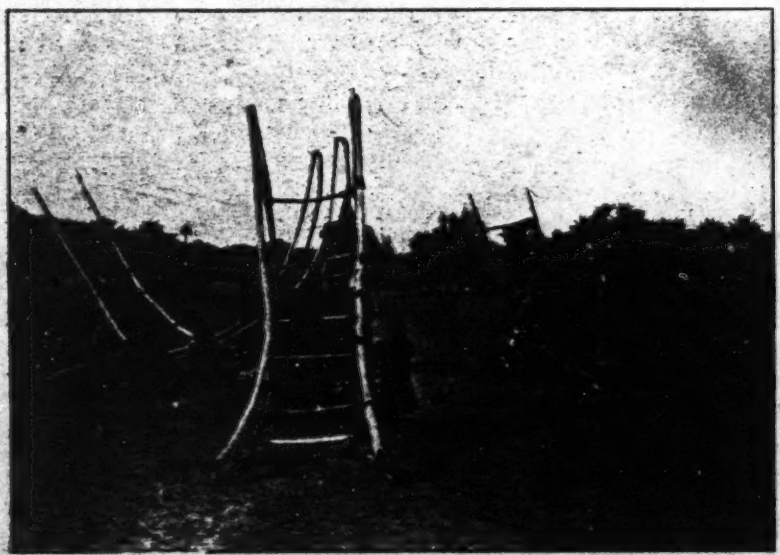

FIG. 15

FIGS. 14, 15—*Ẓetab* litters.

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FIG. 16

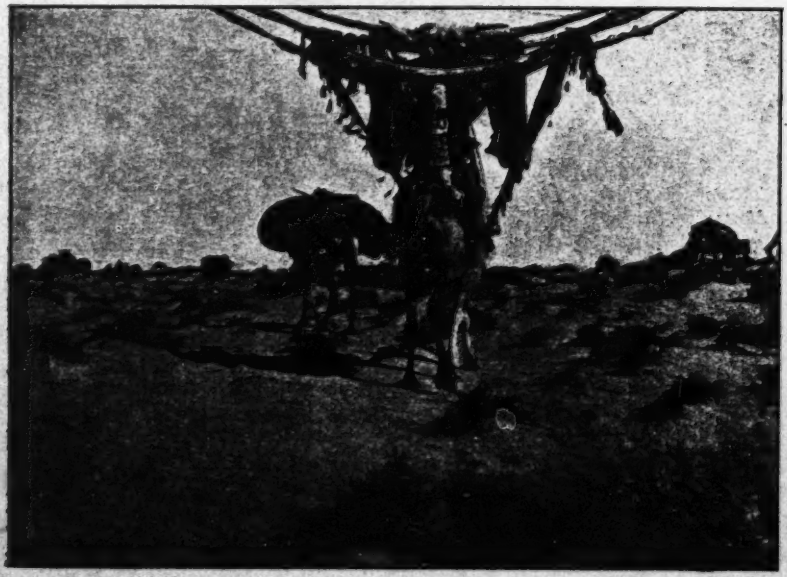

FIG. 17

FIGS. 16, 17—*Žetab* litters.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs,
492 *emeaw* (or *emṣa'û*) *al-wted.*" The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḫuḏû al-'amed*; spread the tent out, *eṣfeṭû al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *eṭwû al-bejt.*" With the large tents the ropes, which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *daraǧow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *krâṭ* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesâme* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *nawwaḫow al-ba'ir*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ṭawwarow al-ba'ir*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ǧindib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *maẓhûr* (pl., *meẓâhîr*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *salaf*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are tied to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *raḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *raḥala ǧajjede*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

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kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

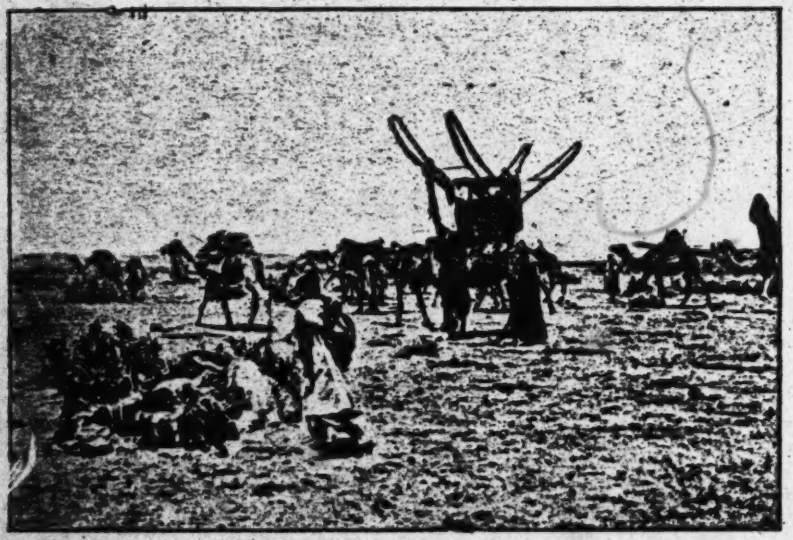

FIG. 18—*Ṣetab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'aššow*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferīž*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *neǧe'*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *ḥallaṭ leh ḥallāṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mašta* (pl. *mašāti*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥōr, of the Ḥabra 'Anka, as well as of 'Lāha. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (s = date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

someone asks the Rwala: "Where did you graze this winter? *wên šattejtu has-sene*," he regularly receives the answer: "Our winter pasture was in al-Ḥôr, *maštâna bel-ḥôr*." In the spring they prefer most of all to graze, *marba'* (plural, *marâbi'*), in al-Ǧûba and on the northern border of the Nefûd, *rabba'na bil-ǧûba*. In the region of al-Bijâẓ between al-Ǧûba, Tell 'Amûd, and the volcanic territory they find their pastures in the season of *ṣejf*, that is from about the middle of April to the middle of June, *maṣjaf*, whereas from the end of June to the end of August they graze, *makîẓ*, in the territory of an-Nuḳra south of Damascus. In the autumn their favorite resort, *maṣfar*, is in the environs of the Sirḥân depression. If there has been no rain in al-Ḥamâd and al-Wuḍijân, they make their way to the environs of Tejma or to the eastern border of the Nefûd, where it rains more regularly.

FIG. 19—*Žirbe neǧdijje*, goatskin water container.

A camping place in a dangerous region exposed to raids is called *ṣâḳa*. The greatest danger threatens the tents which are pitched on the edge of the camp, *ṭwâreḥ*.

Years afterwards it is still possible to recognize an old camping place, *marḥ al-'arab*. The fireplace hollowed out in the men's compartment; the small piles of clay and ashes; the three scorched stones by the fireplace of the women's compartment; the piles of stones or fuel, upon which the beds were laid; camel excrements, *dimne* (pl., *demân*); luxuriant annuals, which the camels avoid, as they grow on the *demân*; all this awakens memories in the mind of the solitary traveler.

Poems Relating to Camping Grounds

The Rwala have many songs in which the solitary wayfarer speaks to the old camping place.

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539x

1. *Jâ dâr jâ dâr arjaš al-ʿajn wuddi*
   ʿokob al-mahal jâ dâr ḫolli merîfe
2. *ana-nšedeč ʿan ṣâḥebi wên meddi*
   ẓâjefeč ana limhazhaz aṣ-ṣedež ẓîfe
3. *ḳâlat ʿaširak medd ṣowbi w-ǧeddi*
   dûneh dijâren lar-rečâjeb muḫîfe
4. *en taʿṭeni ʿan ṣâḥebak testeǧeddi*
   telḳaʾ maʿ al-bedwân binten naẓîfe.

1. "O camping place! O camping place of my beloved with thick long lashes!
   Thou wert deserted, and afterwards, O camping place of my darling! thou wert covered with densely growing plants.
2. I ask thee concerning my friend, whither went she?
   I tarry with thee as a true guest and shake thy right hand, that thou mayst tell me the truth."
3. The camp replied: "Thy beloved departed in the direction towards which I face, and hastened,
   So that between her and us there extend territories which fill the riding camels with terror.
4. If thou acceptest my counsel concerning thy friend, then seek a new one;
   Among the Bedouins thou wilt certainly meet a maiden without blemish."

A negro serving with one of the chiefs fell in love with a negress who was serving with the same chief. After a short time, however, he changed his service and departed to a new territory with his new master. His love did not wane and after a year he set out to seek his friend. He reached the camping place where he had last seen the negress. This camping place, which a year previously had been deserted and trampled upon, he found covered with a thick growth of plants. It had been made fertile by the ashes and camel excrements, so that after abundant rain the plants throve there. The negro dismounted from his camel, made a fire in the camping place — which was very easy to do, because on all sides there were lying piles of perennials and dry camel dung —, and acted as if he were the guest of the camping place. He tried to learn in what direction his beloved had departed.

Verse 2. Wishing to learn the truth, he seized in spirit the right hand of the camping place, took it and entreated it to tell him the truth, *mehashaz ʿala-ṣ-ṣahîl*. This is what The Bedouin does when he wishes to obtain reliable news.

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539[x] the Bedouin does when he wishes to obtain reliable news. 3. The camping place faced in one direction, and it was in that direction, *ṣowbi*, that his beloved had departed, but in haste, *ǧedd*. Between her new camping place and this old one there extended vast territories, *dijâr*, in which the riding camels are threatened with danger, *muḫîfe*, either through lack of pasture or through the raids of enemies. 4. *E'ṭeni 'an* means "listen to me, rely upon me in this matter."

1. *Jâ dâr wejn alli bič al-'âm čal-jûm*
   w-lâ ženn waḳaf bǧenâbeč nǧû'i
2. *wejn al-ǧehâm alli bič al-'âm mardûm*
   w-aẓ-ẓu'ûn beželwet salafha tezû'i
3. *ahl ar-rbâ' muzabbenîn kill maẓjûm*
   ṭwâl ar-rmâḥ muẓafferîn ad-drû'i
4. *w-en ṣâḥ ṣajjâḥ min ẓidd maẓḥûm*
   teǧîh naṭrât as-sebâja fezû'i
5. *ṣifren ji'âležen al-'anne bihen zûm*
   jid'an sakrânîn al-meǧânîn jû'i
6. *wa' ḥelw 'arẓathom elja ǧaw ji'arẓûn*
   'arfa' sbê'i mâ ḫalaṭhom fezû'i
7. *ṣâraw lena 'adwân ṣirna lehom ḳûm*
   w-lâ ẓennetti 'oḳb at-tefarrož ruǧû'i.

1. O camping place! where is the man who was here a year ago today?
   No litter of my small detachment halts by thee.
2. Where are the herds of camels which a year ago thronged upon thee;
   Where are the camels, burdened with their loads, following the tracks of the riders?
3. Here were the owners of large tents, protecting all who suffered injustice,
   Piercing the armor with long spears.
4. And when he who was threatened by the enemy shouted in alarm,
   Troops of spoil winners hastened to his help,
5. Upon white and yellowish mares, champing the bit, full of endurance,
   Urging the riders drunken with lust of battle that each should pay heed.

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6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwala numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neǧe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf ježeleddi al-mezâhîr*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arża* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: "*Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Abči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
w-aẓonn min jabči ḥaleḥ mâ jiljâmi
2. *ǧît al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḳalb maʿ'ûm*
manâzel al-ḫullân ḥom w-al-'amâmi
3. *ḥâḍa mešabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maǧlûm*
marka' dlâlen muʿabâten aš-šwâmi
4. *w-hâḍi merâbaṭ ḫejlahom dâjmen dûm*
ḥoḳb al-'ujûn mrowbaʿât al-hwâmi

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5. *ekfaw čema' ṭejren ḳalab râseh al-ḥûm*
bfeğğen 'amîḳ w-lâ jindara' wên ḥâmi
6. *adna' manâzelhom šeṭâṭa w-lamlûm*
w-aḳṣa' manâzelhom medâḥ an-na'âmi
7. *elja lefejt ad-dîre aṣḥâb min ḳowm*
ehreğ tara' ḥamṣ ar-rağâl al-'elûmi.

1. I lament for my kinsmen, O people! I am not among those who are abused,
For I think that one who laments for his kinsmen deserves not abuse.
2. I reached the spot where the herds used to rest and where my heart was light,
Where stood the tents of beloved friends and uncles.
3. This is the fireplace with the small pit half covered in,
And the spot where so often rested the coffeepots from Damascus.
4. Here always were tied up their horses
With the white circle round their eyeballs and their heads almost four-cornered.
5. They departed like a falcon whose head has been turned by yearning for flight, circling
Above a broad ravine, so that no man can tell where it flies.
6. Their nearest camping places are between Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm,
Their farthest where the ostriches are hatched.
7. If you reach their territory, bring tidings unto my friends who are amid enemies.
Behold! tidings are for men what *ḥamṣ* pastures are for camels.

The poet was a negro encamping with the 'Amârât, who fell in love with a Bedouin woman and was driven away by her relatives. They threatened him with death if he returned to their encampment. The poem was recited by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. It may be interpreted thus: the poet longs for his friends. He visits the place where he was last encamped with them, remembers and laments, not knowing when and where he will meet with them.

Verse 2. *Ḥullân* here means the negro's faithful friends and also his beloved. *'Amâmi* are the Bedouins with whom he encamped and whom he served, for every negro has among

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the Bedouins a family whom he serves and whom he calls his uncles. 8. In the men's compartment a small pit varying in shape and size is dug for the fire, so that years afterwards it shows who had encamped there previously. 4. Some clans have a preference for horses whose eyeballs vanish in a white circle; they call them *ḥowḳa'*. 6. Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm are settlements in Irak. Ostriches are hatched in the Nefûd southeast of Šeṭâṭa. 7. The plants upon which the camels thrive best are called by a single word, *ḥamz*.

1. *'Ajni ǧezat 'an nowmiha bân al-aṣbâḥ*
   w-'ajni ǧezat 'an nowmiha w-asharatni
2. *ǧît al-manâzel rab'ana w-ǧît al-emrâḥ*
   w-laḳejt marka' delâlahom ḏakkaratni
3. *jâ dâr lâ tebčin amren maẓa' w-râḥ*
   dowr as-sene jâ dâr erǧihom etni
4. *fâraḳatni jâ dâr čal-bedr w-enlâḥ*
   jowm erḥalat jâ dâr mâ šâwaratni.

1. My eyes have had enough of sleep, morning has appeared;
   My eyes have had enough of sleep and have awakened me.
2. I went into the encampment of our comrades and to the spot where the herds had passed the night,
   And I found where their coffeepots had rested, and these brought back much to my mind.
3. O camping place! mourn not for the thing which has passed away and vanished;
   After a year, O camping place! hope and wait.
4. She left me, O camping place! like the full moon when its luster wanes.
   And when she departed, O camping place! she asked not for my counsel.

The poet was a member of the Fed'ân tribe, who went on a warlike expedition against the Šammar. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and when he had fully recovered he returned after about six months. His wife, of whom he was very fond, had fallen ill and died. Having learnt of his grievous loss, the Fed'âni hastened to the camping place where he had last been with his wife and described his memories in a long poem, of which Blejhân communicated this fragment to me.

In verse 4 *jowm erḥalat* has the same meaning as *jowm mâtat* (or *râḥat*), she died, passed away.

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539x

1. *Já 'id wa' waǧdi 'ala rab'ana al-'âm*
   hâḍi manâzelhom 'ala-l-'ajn ḥelwât
2. *tesma'. ṣebîḥ neǧûrahom teḳel dammâm*
   nirânahom min kiṯr al-wuḳûd ḥajjât
3. *mislâfahom 'asren 'ala rab' ṛannâm*
   mâ jilḥaḳ al-meṭleb salafhom elja fât
4. *ḳaṭ'ânahom jir'an elja ḥabb lezzâm*
   tabra lehen sird al-emhâr aṣilât
5. *muṯhejzemîn belḳa' miṯl 'azzâm*
   čam fâresen darrabûh w-al-ḥejl 'aǧlât
6. *mâ jilbesûn illa ḳmâšen min aš-šâm*
   wa-nšâlḥen min 'amal dâûd zejnât.

1. O 'Íd, alas! my heart follows our friends of last year;
   This is their camping place, lying deserted by the fountain
2. It is as if one could hear the angry voice of their mortars, like to the sound of a great drum
   As if one could see their fires fed with abundant fuel
3. The journeys of their leading riders are burdensome for the companions of Ṛannâm
   No pursuer can overtake their advance guard if they have passed him
4. Their herds graze even when death is pressing on,
   For behind them there are armed men on noble mares
5. They are girt with sharp swords like the sword called 'Azzâm
   On how many riders have they inflicted defeat, even though their horses were the swiftest
6. They are attired only in costumes of Damascus silk,
   And they enwrap themselves in armor, the rings of which are of the best Dâûd's handwork

This poem was composed by a member of the Dahâmše clan; I record it as it was repeated to me by my companion Ṭâreš eben Melfi.

Verse 1. A troop of riders is passing across a broad empty desert and approaches a fountain, within the vicinity of which they had encamped a year previously with their kinsmen. Each kin had pitched its tents at a short distance from the others, had its pasture in the neighborhood, and met the others when the animals were taken out for water. The poet longs for his acquaintances. 2. In the opinion of the Bedouins the mortar is angry because coffee is beaten in it, and it emits

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sounds of anger and irritation, zebîh.

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sounds of anger and irritation, *zebiḥ*. A *dammâm* is a large drum, to the notes of which the inhabitants of villages by the Euphrates make merry all night. 3. The Dahâmše belong to the 'Amârât tribe. Originally they are said to have dwelt in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar. From there they were led forth by their chief, Ǧḍê' eben Haḍḍâl, together with the Ṣḳûr and Selḳa, and by swift marches advanced to the borders of the lower Euphrates. The kindred of Ṛannâm, *rab' ṛannâm*, who set out with them at the same time, returned before long to Ḥajbar, not being able to keep pace with them. The Ṛannâm were engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep, while the others bred camels. The flocks of goats and sheep cannot endure the long and swift marches which are performed by the herds of camels. The poet alludes to the feat of the Dahâmše and at the same time recalls that none of the numerous tribes encamping by the Euphrates and engaged almost exclusively in the breeding of goats and sheep could outstrip the former. All the tribes are compelled to send them gifts annually, if they do not wish to be the victims of their raids. 5. A *belḳa'* is a pliant sword or saber of Persian workmanship, covered with gray and dark strips and patches. 'Azzâm was the name of the Ǧḍê''s sword. 6. Dâûd was a craftsman of Jewish origin, who made the best wire corselets and chain armor.

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CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šab'ân 'ala-l-ğê'ân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafižak ğê'ân w-lâ ta'tih 'arijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-sema' w-al-hâsed bel-waṭa'.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ 'abdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh ja'mal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-harâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *'aša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *rada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

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portant guests do they bake fresh bread and prepare some sort of meal. If a Rwejli has a piece of dry bread, *ḥomš*, and can soak it in water, he boasts of having eaten well. Breakfast is unknown to the Rwala. In order to loosen the spittle, *fekk ar-rîš*, they eat a grain of salt, a morsel of bread, or gulp down some milk. This is their usual breakfast, *ṣubûḥ* (*eṣṭebeḥ*, take thy breakfast). On long marches they can keep going with this breakfast until evening, because they have no luncheon. The Rwala know that they will eat only after sunset and are grateful to Allâh if he gives them a chance of eating their fill at least once a week. Often there is not even a cup of cold *leben*, sour milk, for supper. Suppers of this kind, at which only a little milk is drunk, are called *ṣabûḥ*.

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MILK AND METHODS OF PROCURING IT

Milk is the main nourishment of the Rwala. In order to secure a supply of milk for a whole year they make use of various devices.

262 272

If a young camel is weak they kill it as soon as it is born, and for seven days, *samḥ lejâl*, they do not milk, *jeṣarzûha*, the female camel, so that she loses her milk, *w-hi traez*. In this way she becomes strong and can carry loads. If they have insufficient milk, they gently stroke, *jemsaḥûha*, her udder morning and evening, and after a few days the milk flows again. If they have a sucking camel, they lead it to her; in order that she may let it suck, they draw her nostrils together with a rope, *jeḥazmû ḥašmaha bel-'aḳâl*, or thrust a long, strong needle, *maḫjaṭ*, through her nostrils. Thus they deceive the female camel, *jeẓîrûn 'alejha ẓijâr*, who cannot smell the calf tied to her, becomes friendly with it, *tarâm*, and lets it have milk, *taderr*.

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Sometimes they remove the newly-born calf, *ǧarraw laha*, before the female camel notices and smells it. Then they kill it, tie up the female camel, and fasten to her an older calf, which they smear with a little blood from the calf that has been killed. The female camel licks it, makes friends with it, *râmat*, and lets it suck. In this way one calf sucks two female camels. This method is called *ǧerâr*. Often they kill five and even seven young camels, and to all the female camels they bring the same calf, and all of them let it suck. This is called *muǧamma'a*. The female camel which gives the least milk they

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234 leave to the calf, but on the udders of the rest they place thick nets, *šamle*, tied across the hip and under the tail, or they fasten to every nipple a firm peg sharpened at both ends so that the young cannot suck.

When they wish to milk, they remove the net or the pegs, *jabhelûnaha*, call the calf, and wait until the milk flows. The female camel gives most milk in the morning. As soon as her left forefoot is untied she rises and the young camel runs up; it is then possible to milk. The owner calls the herdsman from the tent: "Such and such a camel has risen yonder, milk her; *jâ flân an-nâḳa al-flâne ṭârat eḥlebha.*" The milker stands on the left side, the calf tries to suck from the right. The camel gives her milk when she sees that the young one is approaching the udder, *ʿaṭṭafat an-nâḳa ʿaḷa waladha*; this is called *taʿṭîf* or *jiḥenn al-ḳalb ʿalâ-l-ḳalb*. The milker does not hasten; he holds the nipple with three fingers, pressing with the thumb, without pulling; the pressure makes the milk spurt in a strong jet, *šuḫḫ*, into a wooden vessel, *žedaḥ*. During the milking the calf has to be soothed and the female camel appeased, which the milker does by calling her name, for instance: "*Hêj jâ ʿalija hêj jâ ʿalija.*" If the calf runs away, the female camel withholds the milk, *fawwatat an-nâḳa*.

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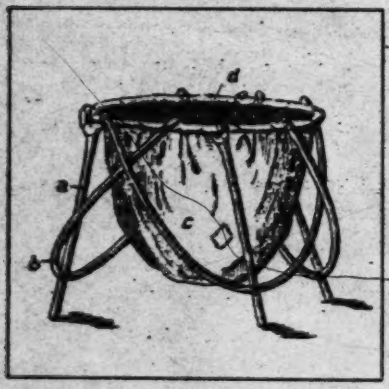

FIG. 20—A water trough, *ḥawṿ* (see p. 71).

If a traveler wishes to drink quickly, he milks into his hand; otherwise they always milk into a wooden pot, *žedaḥ*, or small leather pouch, *šakwa*. The milker takes care that the milk does not splash on the ground, which would mean an unnecessary loss. Anyone who squanders something useful or necessary is compared to a milker who lets the milk flow on the ground, and there is a saying: "The jet of milk did not splash into my hand or into the pot, *šuḫḫen ṭafaḥ lâ bîdi w-lâ bel-žedaḥ.*" From one female camel the amount of milk which can be obtained each day is from one to seven liters. The better the pasture, especially when it consists of

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good annuals, the more milk is given. The fertile camel gives milk for twelve months, the barren camel for even longer. After a year the she-camel is conducted to the male. If she conceives, she loses the milk and bites and kicks her calf when it tries to suck. 234

The calf generally ceases to suck after a year, but many wish to continue even after that. Such calves are known as *'abeṭ*. In order that a calf of this sort may not steal milk, a sharpened peg, *ḥelâl*, is inserted under its nostrils, and if it attempts to suck the peg pricks the female camel, so that she at once drives the calf away.

FIG. 21—A water trough, *ḥawz* (see p. 71).

The milk is either drunk warm immediately after it has been obtained, *maḥaz*, or is heated, *saḥîn*. The freshly obtained milk is called *ḥalîb*. If it is poured, *jeḥaḳnûneh*, into a leather bag, *semîl*, it is called *leben*, even though it may still be sweet. In the bag it becomes sour very quickly, *jeṭa'-'am* (or *mṭa"am*). The Rwala do not churn camel's milk. If they have too much, they boil it and from the curds make small cheeses which they eat either dry or stewed with bread. 262 234 272

A milking camel is called *ḥallâba*. It is not sold at any price, as it nourishes the whole family. Every Rwejli is fond of milk, either fresh or sour. Those who cannot get accustomed to it are given the nickname of *felḥ*. The Rwala woman reminds her daughter of the white *leben* as soon as she wakes her in the morning, exclaiming: "O my daughter, white as milk! why art thou idle like the gazelle, taking thy ease until the dew has departed? *jâ buṣajje jâ leben wâẓḥa' w-alrzejjel bel-menâm aẓḥa'*." The freshly obtained milk has a salt taste, because the camels are fond of grazing on salt herbs. In consequence of this it has an aperient effect, especially on the foreigner; but after a short time he gets accustomed to it, likes it very much, and suffers no ill effects. If the camel has been feeding for a long time on fragrant or strong-smelling herbs, the odor can be noticed in the milk. 551

262 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families
272 live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesažžemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

FIG. 22—A water trough, *ḥawṭ*, on a camel (see p. 71).

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

609 The Bedouins are convinced
829 that the *fellâḥin* are obliged
261 to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert,
574 *ješarrežûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for
261 sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣuʿûf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿaššini jâ ḫajje ʿaššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*,
824 bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-ḥamḥ alli baʿad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ."

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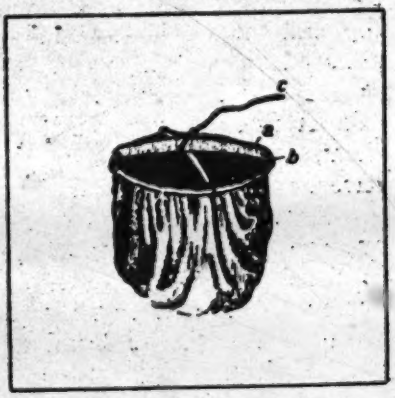
as long as it is in grain, *al-ḳamḥ alli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥîḥ.*" 252
The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mihbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *rḥa'*. These mills 412
are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt 404
or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḳalb*, and make a wooden handle, *hâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *tfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fowḳa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa' 'ala-ṭ-tfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:



[415]

[533]

FIG. 23—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'ûd ar-raḥa mâ dirah killen tâḥoḍ 'aširah.*" Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ana waǧ-'âna 'abd al-kerîm mwaṣṣâna.*"

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; 251
at the most they grind enough to leave something over for 261
bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a 252
ṣaḥn-pan (or *'elbe*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *muḫmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *muḫmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *muḫmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *tenaseef tanṣîf*. The ready-made cake she places on a *minsâf*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *sâǧ*, about

252 60 centimeters in diameter, turns it over on three stones above a fire, with a quick movement lays the cake on the convex side, and takes care that it does not burn. A cake of this kind is called *raṭîf*; if it is as thin as paper it is called *rahîf*; and if it is thick, *ǧerîm*.

For breakfast they sometimes prepare a thin batter for the guests, and this is poured into the concave side of the *sâǧ* and baked. This bread, called *maṣli*, when fresh tastes almost like our pancakes.

If bread is to be baked quickly, they knead one large cake from the dough, place it on the hot ashes, cover it with them, and light another fire above the ashes. It is turned once or twice and called *ǧamrijje*.

262 252 Leavened bread is eaten only in the cold season. They prepare the loaf in the evening, add a piece of yeast, *ḫâmer*, to the dough, and bake the bread in the morning. The Rwala prefer unleavened bread, *faṭîr*. They like to have the bread always fresh, *ǧedîd*. Bread of yesterday's baking, *bâjet*, must not be given to guests.

In the season of abundance, *rabîʿ*, they do not bake bread at all, and at other times seldom and usually only for guests. In two-thirds of the tents bread is not baked all the year round, and many of the women taste it only once or twice throughout their lives. They have an expression of praise: "This is the tent of bread; here bread is baked. So and So is very rich and bountiful; he has bread, he is the master of bread, *râʿi-l-ḫubez*."

In addition to milk the Rwala live mostly on *ʿejš*. This is boiled from crushed wheat or wheat pounded in a mill. Among the chiefs the wheat is ground into groats, *ǧerîš*. On the crushed or ground wheat water is poured, salt is added, and it is boiled into a thick paste. If they have enough *leben*, the women pour it upon the *ʿejš*, *tebajjeẓ al-ʿejš*, making *bejâẓa*. *ʿEjš* is prepared almost daily for supper. What is left over is served for next day's luncheon and eaten cold, *beride*.

[484 251] If the Rwala are proceeding on a short journey and know that they will find no tents for two or three days, they roast a little wheat on the *sâǧ*, shake it into a leather sack, and feed on it. This is called *ḫamîsa*. As the old men do not have good teeth, instead of roasted wheat grain they take a couple of handfuls of flour and eat this without any preparation. They call it *lehme*.

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Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêḍa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *ṛaẓîẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamîsa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

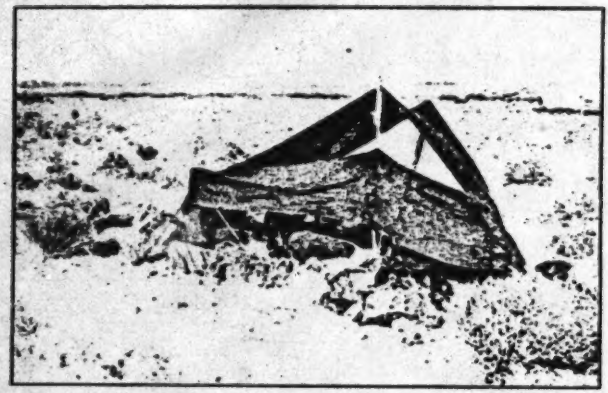

FIG. 24—A small tent, *ṭuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

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to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish. They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧḏân*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *ʿejš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the following:

ʿaṣîde, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

bečîle, a paste made from dates and flour,

basise, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmejʿa, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧîdijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *ʿažîž* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sabḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṭḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *ždaḫ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣûd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

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the nostrils. My guide, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, had drunk such water on eight occasions and there is nobody among the Rwala who has not tasted it at least once. 271

Things are more serious with those traveling on foot who have no camel to kill. Thus there were four men from the Bnejje kin of the Rwala, who were driven off during a raid. They lost their camels and their weapons and escaped with their bare lives. One of them tied a small bag, *šakwa*, beneath his shirt, in which there were about three liters of water. They made their way home through the desert, living on various herbs and always drinking a little water after sunset. On the third day they had about a quarter of a liter left. They were all thirsty and yet each one urged the other to drink, but none would drink because there was not enough water for all. At last they decided to pour it away. They sipped the dew and went for two days without water. It was in the season of *as-smâk* (March and early April). After two days they could go no farther. By the will of Allâh some Ṣlejb ṣaw them, brought them liquid butter, poured it into their mouths, and when they could swallow it gave them also water, thus saving their lives. In the seasons of *aṣ-ṣferi* and *aš-šta'* (October 1 to February 20) a man can go without water for as long as three days, but in the midsummer, *al-ḳêẓ*, only for one day and one night, or at the most for two nights and one day. On the second day his throat becomes parched and he dies.

The Rwala know very well which plants can be eaten. Often after an unsuccessful raid they wander on foot through the desert and live only on various herbs. They are most fond of eating the dark-red ripened fruit, *ṭel'*, of the thorny *mṣa'* shrub. These are very sweet and have a bitter aftertaste. The Rwala collect them and boil them into a thick syrup. From the wood of the tall *rimṭ* shrub there flows out in summer a sweet juice, which they likewise collect. *Ḳẓâma*, the ripe fruit of the *buṭum* tree, they pluck, dry, grind, and mix with wheat flour. They also extract oil from this fruit. They eat the raw stalks or tuberous growths of the following plants: *baḥatri, bṣejjel, ṭummejr, ǧirǧir, ḥârra', ḥumbejẓ* (or *ḥammejẓ*), *ḥamṣîṣ, ḥawwa', ḍa'lûḳ, rubaḥla, rešâd, roṛejla, ummu rwejs, šaḥḥûm, ṭiṭa, ẓorrêṭ an-na'âm, ḳurrêṣ, karrâṭ kṛejbre, lubbêna, laḥjat at-tejs, mša'*. 262 222

The following are baked: *zebb aḍ-ḍîḥ, ṭarṭût*, and *mḥarût*.

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MEATS

262 231 Meat is not a usual food but a luxury, like bread. The Rwala eat hardly any other meat than camel's flesh. If they wish to slaughter a camel, they make it kneel down, *jenaw-weḫûnaha*, tie all its legs, press its head to the ground, and the butcher shouts: "Lay its head on one side! *rudd râsha.*" He then thrusts a sharp dagger into its throat, *manḥar*, and cuts it through to the right and left. The camel trembles and makes a gurgling noise, *tirta'ed*, and the blood flows either into a vessel or upon the ground. The Bedouins cut off the tail of the slaughtered camel, cut through the skin on its back from the roots of the tail across the hump as far as the nape, *ṛâreb*, and then flay it, *jasleḫûnaha*. When the skin has been removed, they cut off the front legs, then the neck and the hind legs, and open the belly. The only things which are thrown away are the contents of the stomach and the intestines, *farṭ*, all the rest being cleansed and made use of. Pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered camel are sent as gifts to close friends and acquaintances. The most tasty parts are the flesh from the *ṣerâjed*, or two sides near the hump, and from the *rijâši*, or between the hump and the tail. The flesh of the forelegs is also very tasty; likewise that of the *mnêḥer*, or two sides of the throat where it joins the breast. From the chiefs the slaves and the blacksmiths always receive the flesh either from one of the hind legs or from the ribs, and the head with the throat.

252 The flesh is either boiled or baked. For boiling, *ṭabḫ*, the flesh, together with the bones, is hacked into small pieces, thrown into a kettle, covered with water, salted, and placed on three stones above the fire. When it has boiled, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take out the meat! *onẓow al-laḥm.*" They take out the separate pieces with a large wooden spoon, *meḫšâḳa* or *miswâṭ*, place them on a *ḳarwa* or *ṣaḥn* covered with *'ejš*, boiled wheat, let them cool a little, pour on them a thick gravy, *ṣafja*, skimmed from the top, and carry them to the guests, *jeḳalleṭûneh*. The rest of the gravy, *mraḳa*, they mix with *'ejš* for household use or for the less esteemed guests.

Mišwi is the name given to the salted meat baked either on a bulging iron sheet, *sâǧ*, on a slab, or else in red-hot ashes.

Habîṭ is meat roasted in fat and served on bread.

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Sahr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and roasted on the fire. 252

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into suet it is known as *maḥlû'* or *widač*. In the kettle in which the fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḥalî'*, something like swards, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into a leather bag, *ẓarf* (or *naḥw*), and kept for as long as three years. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because it is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very stingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppurating wounds. [752]

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*, between four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-camel, especially a lean one, *helîme*, cannot be properly boiled. It always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young camels less than three months old, *ḥwâr*, has a bad effect on the stomach. 262 825

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they throw away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He has a bird's heart, *ḳalbeh ḳalb aṭ-ṭejr*," means: "He is easily frightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals in the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into the men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with them together with his eldest son. 264 574

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour water for the men so that they can wash! *ṛasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A slave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *žedaḥ*, wooden vessel, with water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon the contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is waiting with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his daughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *ḳalleṭ lena-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him, saying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest is present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accompanies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it either in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of the fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take supper first, *tafwît*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

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264 574 the dish, kneels on his left knee, sits on the left heel, extends his right sleeve, *jefasser ʿan aḏ-ḏrâʿ*, and waits for the host's invitation: "Call on (God's name)! May Allâh preserve your life! *sammú allâh jeḥajjîkom.*" With the words "In the name

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FIG. 25

FIG. 26

FIGS. 25, 26—Pack camels, *al-maẓhûr*, on the march, carrying rolled-up tents and poles (see p. 76).

of Allâh" each one catches hold of the dish, rolls small pellets of *ʿejš* or bread, throws one after another into his mouth, and swallows them without chewing. If there is a pile of meat in the middle of the dish, each one tries as quickly as possible to make a trench in the *ʿejš* or bread till he reaches it. Nobody may clutch directly at the meat, as this is bad form. When the diner has worked his way underneath the heap, he may take whatever crumbles into his trench. A man who is esteemed must not gnaw the meat from the bone. He has to tear away the meat with the fingers of his right hand, without raising his hand from the dish. What he does not tear away he leaves on the bone, which he presses against the side of the hollow. Nobody is allowed to rise until all the men have finished eating supper from the same dish. Such a group of men having supper together is called *ḳalṭa*. When they have finished eating, they say: "May Allâh requite the hosts for this! *ḫalaf allâh ʿala-l-maʿâzîb.*" The host replies: "Health and good digestion! *ṣaḥḥa w-ʿâfije.*" Each one licks the fingers of his right hand, *jilḥas îdeh* (or *jedeh*), and goes to the side wall of the tent, against which he rubs one finger after the other, *jimḥaš jedeh*, and cleans his teeth, *jinḳaš*

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FIG. 27

FIG. 28

FIG. 27—Pack camels, *al-maṣhûr*, on the march; a camel carrying a *ǧindib* saddle and tent poles (see p. 76).

FIG. 28—Pack camels, *al-maṣhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

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264 *snûneh*. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al*
waṣṭa, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; i
574 by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejš* with *mraḳa* grav
and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mhelijj*
What is left over, *ṛarîme*, is received by the poor childre
who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed th
head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare togethe
with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made o
dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast no
supped; *râs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-žedaḥ bečile w-tḳû*
mâ ta'aššejt."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

252 All food is prepared in the camp by the women in thei
compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made
372 At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb an*
nâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughte
or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark
lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šîḥ*, whirls i
round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it unde
the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this als
272 catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplac
long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32
415 from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The larges
one is called *maṭbâḥa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds fro
which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several day
A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fir
The other three pots he rinses out, *ješarreb*, pours the co
tents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster mad
of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of th
fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *berî*
as well as a *žedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring abou
20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and wit
a narrow edge. From the *žedaḥ* water is offered for drinkin

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leath
canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes
handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iro
pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roaste
miḥmâse, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring th

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

beans with an iron spoon fastened to the handle by means of a long copper chain, *id al-miḥmâse*. As soon as the coffee begins to turn brown, *ašḳarrat*, he lifts the plate from time to time, shakes it until the beans jump about, blows on and continues roasting them. When all the beans have acquired a dark-brown color, he shakes them out upon a wooden dish, *mibrâda*, which is also provided with a long handle, in order that they may cool off, *jebarredha*. Meanwhile he takes the second smaller pot, pours boiling water into it from the first one, and sets it by the fire. He wipes a wooden mortar, *mihbâš* (or *niğr*), decorated with carvings, shakes, *jekubb*, into it the cold beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle, *jad* (or *mehwân*), and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes. After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it. The noise made by the mortar and pestle, *ḥess al-mihbâš*, is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not. The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done.

The coffee when ground to a fine powder is shaken out, *jelažžemha*, by a slave into his right hand or straight into the second pot, in which the fresh coffee is boiled. This pot is called *maṣfa'* (or *ṭalâje*). The slave takes the rag with which he has wiped the vessel, places it on the handle of the pot, and holds it above the fire, continually moving it farther away or nearer in order that the coffee may not boil over. When the coffee is thoroughly boiled, *ṭbaḫat*, he places the pot at some little distance from the fire in order that the coffee may settle. He then puts into the mortar a few grains of the fragrant spice known as cardamom and a pinch of saffron, beats them up, shakes them out into the third pot, which has been cleaned and warmed, and pours into it the boiled coffee from the second pot. The third pot, in which the coffee is boiled with the ground spices, is called *mabhâra*. From a circular box of wood, *ḳawṭi*, or copper, *ḳafaṣ*, the slave takes out small cups of solid stoneware, *fanâğil*, pours a little water into each one, rubs them with his thumb on a piece of rag, and puts them on a copper platter called *ṣinijje*. When the spice-flavored coffee has boiled he empties a part of it into the fourth

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272 and smallest pot, known as *delle*, and pours from it a few drops of coffee into a cup, which he empties out on the ground as a sacrifice for Šâḏri, the first one to boil coffee. Then he again pours a little coffee in the cup, shakes it round to see its color, takes a sip, smacks his lips, and savors the coffee to find out how it tastes. Having gulped it down, he takes in his left hand from four to six cups, inserting one into the other, seizes the handle of the *delle* pot with his right hand, and from above pours into the cups a stream of coffee as delicate as a spider's thread. As soon as the bottom of the cup is covered, he hands it to the foremost guest. The latter takes it in his right hand, licks it, smacks his lips, and slowly drinks; it is not becoming to drink all of one's coffee at one gulp. Meanwhile the slave pours out for the rest. When the first guest has finished drinking, the slave pours out for him again, *jeḏir ʿa-r-reǧâl.* The fourth helping the guest must decline with the word *ḥâǧe,* even though he would like to drink more. After an interval, however, he may resume drinking.

Poems Relating to Coffee

272 539r Many of the Rwala, both men and women, are very fond of coffee and describe its preparation and taste in numerous poems. Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân composed a poem which he himself recited to me, as follows:

1. *Ḳum saw finǧâlen ʿala-l-kejf jâ ʿîd*
   bedlâl jišdenn al-bṭûṭ al-ehdâfi
2. *eḥmes w-zajjenha ʿala kill mâ-rîd*
   w-estaden mâ juž'ed min an-nâs ṛâfi
3. *niǧren ʿala ḥesseh jeǧûn al-melâbîd*
   ahl as-salâm w-ḳawwakom w-al-ʿawâfi
4. *w-bhârha tisʿa min al-hejl w-tzîd*
   bez-zaʿfarân mrawwaḳa jâ-s-snâfi
5. *bṣinijjeten ṭumma derha lel-aǧâwîd*
   w-ʿoddah ʿa-lli jeṭni ḥlâf al-mežâfi
6. *alli jrawwi ḥarbeteh bel-meṭârîd*
   leʿujûn min ḳerneh ʿala-l-meten ẓâfi
7. *bint aš-šujûḫ muḫaẓẓebîn al-bwâlîd*
   ḥarîbhom lowhom baʿîden jiḫâfi
8. *w-en derhem aṣ-ṣâbûr mâ min taṣâdid*
   čam ḥâčemen ḫallow ʿaẓâmeh talâfi

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9. *mirkâẓehom jišba' bâh an-nisr w-aḍ-ḍib*
   w-jišba' bâh ẓab'an min al-ğû' hâfi
10. *w-eṭni 'ala-lli w-en lafow leh ma'âwid*
    rîf an-nišâma w-ar-rčâb al-ehğâfi
11. *jaẓḥak ḥeğâğeh low lafow al-ağâwid*
    lâ jâ ba'ad ḥaṭw al-čeḍûb al-ehlâfi.

1. Arise, prepare a cup of coffee as I would have it, O 'Id!
   In pots like to black and fattened geese.
2. Roast and adorn it even as I desire
   And let the mortar approach, which awakens the drowsy people,
3. At whose sound they will come who are idling at home,
   The people who say: "Peace! may He strengthen you, and greeting!"
4. Spice it with nine grains of cardamom and add
   Saffron. When it has settled in beautiful cups
5. On a decorated plate, then give it to the heroes,
   And return with it unto him who is a shield to the fugitive,
6. He who drenches his spear in battles
   For the eyes of her whose tresses reach below her waist,
7. The daughter of chiefs, who stain their steel weapons,
   Whom their adversaries fear, even though they tarry afar off,
8. And of them none looks around again, if they set off at a trot on their camels;
   Of so many leaders do the bones decay through their deeds!
9. If they set off at a gallop, they sate the eagle and the wolf,
   And ever the hyena which roves about in hunger.
10. Pour out once more for him who, if there come to him, returning from a raid,
    The flower of youth with camels thin and worn,
11. Moves yet his brows with mirth, especially if heroes arrive,
    (He who acts quite otherwise than) some feigning liar;
    Oh, may he be afar off.

Verse 1. *Saw,* for *sawwi*; *sawwi-l-khawa*, means "prepare coffee." The pots in which the coffee is boiled have a very pronounced bulge in the lower half, where they are almost circular, and as they are always blackened they resemble black wild geese, which are usually fat. 2. *Zajjenha*, adorn it; this is done when the roasted coffee is blown upon to free it from the loosened husks. 3. The noise of the mortar disturbs sleepers

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and calls together the idlers from all sides to utter their greetings and to reply to greetings, only in order that as soon as possible they may gain the favor of those present. 4. Nine grains of cardamom are ground together with a pinch of

FIG. 29

FIG. 30

FIGS. 29, 30—Pack camels, *al-mashûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

saffron and mixed with the boiled coffee. The *hejl*, cardamom, gives the coffee a peculiar bitter taste, and the saffron makes it yellow in color. The coffee, when it has been allowed to stand and has been strained off, *mrawwaḳa*, is poured into beautiful cups, *as-snâfi*. *Har-raǧǧâl snâfi* means "this man is handsome, perfect." 5. *Ṣinijje* is the name of the shallow decorated metal dish upon which the cups are placed; such dishes were originally brought from China and hence were known as *ṣîni*. *'Oddah* for *'odah* (or *'odha*). He who protects the fugitives is to receive an additional drink of coffee. *Akfow* means "made their escape, retreated." 6. *Trâd* is the term for actual warfare. In the midst of the most dangerous and fierce fighting the girls encourage the warriors with words and gestures. With loosened hair and bared breasts they dash on she-camels where the danger is greatest, shout to their lovers and friends, remind the former of favors received, and threaten to desert to the enemy should they be disappointed

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by their own people. 8. *Ṣâbûr* are the camel riders who during the raid ward off the attacks of the owners of the captured herds. 9. *Mirkḍahom* signifies the galloping of the horse riders who from ambush attack the enemy engaged 726 539x

Fig. 31—Pack camels, *al-maṣḥûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

with the *ṣâbûr*. 10. Most of the coffee is to go to the owner of the tent, who entertains the warriors returning from a raid, *ma'âṣid* (or *menâṣîf*), with genuine unaffected kindness. For whether the raid has been successful or not, on the return from it all are hungry, riders as well as animals, because as a rule every raid lasts much longer than was planned. 11. *Al-ǯeḍâb al-ehlâfi* is the term applied to a man who pretends to rejoice at some news, while in reality he is seething with wrath. It is used of the host who embraces and kisses the guest, but does not give enough to eat either to the guest or to his animals. [152] 272 539x

1. *Ḳum eaw mâ ǰeǧmed 'alâ-ṣ-ṣîn jâ ǧijâb bedlâl ǰeddeun al-bṭâṭ al-maḥâdîb*
2. *w-eḥmes elja min al-'araḳ ſowḳha ǧâb w-estaden mâ ǰeǧǧeb 'alejk al-ǯerârîb*

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3. *niḡrem jilâli min al-ṛuṣa dûm beḥmâr*
jeʾi ʿala dubb ad-dakr w-al-mawâḡîb
4. *já teḳel taṭla ʿaffat ap-pin beḥmâr*
warasn ṣobaṛ beîfûf biṛ ar-raʿâbîb
5. *w-ṣubbah limin ḥâd an-niâma lil-afnâb*
bemafraseh jiîbaʿ beh an-nisr w-aḏ-ḏîb
6. *w-eṭnah ʿala-lli low lefaʿ-z-zemal ṣabṣâb*
jarḥaṣ beʿomreh ʿend zeml ar-raʿâbîb
7. *w-ḡezzah ʿala-lli low lafow leh ʿala rôbb*
telḳa beîteh miṭl ḡezr al-ḳaṣâṣîb
8. *w-bâżi-l-mela eṭbeḥ leh al-wafel low ḥâb*
raṣṣâṣ al-meḡles ḥamîr al-meâʿîb
9. *alli nhâr al-koun jifzaʿ bemṣlâb*
kbârin al-anfoʿ sâheḡin al-mwâḡîb.

1. Rise, prepare coffee which stains the cups, O Dijâbi
In pots resembling black, fat-backed geese,
2. And roast it till the sweat on the beans evaporates,
And take that which will summon the drinkers,
3. The mortar shining with wrath from unceasing blows,
And bowing as bidden by custom and duty.
4. Oh! thou might'st say it paints the inside of the cup with a yellow
Color, like that which dyes the lips of fair beauties.
5. Pour it for him who led the youths abroad
To the place of attack, where vulture and wolf glut themselves.
6. And pour it again for him who, when clouds of dust envelop the laden camels,
Risks his life for the camels which bear the slender beauties.
7. And give more to him in whose tent the camel riders
Will find animals slaughtered as at a butcher's.
8. For the others visiting thee warm up the coffee grounds, even if they be gray,
For they are but people crowding into rooms for men,
like donkeys heeding only the short sticks,
9. People who on the day of battle hasten to help with stakes for stirring the fire,
Braggarts, neglecters of duty.

This poem was composed by Hâjes eben Meğlâd and recited to me by the negro Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd.

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Verse 1. *Má jefmed* means "that which adheres (sticks) and colors." The Bedouins prefer coffee which leaves dark-yellow stains on the white cups. The wild geese are called *mahádib* from their fat bulging backs. 2. The roasting is finished when the fine drops resembling sweat disappear from the coffee beans. 3. Through prolonged use the inside of the mortar becomes very shiny, as does the spot outside pressed by the knees of the person working the pestle. *Jeťi*, the mortar bows because the beater inclines it from side to side when shaking off the coffee that sticks to its sides. *Dubb ad-dahr* means "as is the custom, life long." 4. *Čaffat aṣ-ṣín* is the inside of a porcelain cup, *wers* (or *kurkub*) the plant from which the yellow dye is made. *Šúf* was explained to me as lips, but it can also mean the stuff for a dress. 5. The first cup should go to the *'aźíd*, or leader of the troop. *Mafras* signifies the spot where the enemy's horses were repulsed when trying to free the captured herds. 6. *Zabṭáb* is the term applied to the warriors mounted on horses. If the enemy attack a migrating tribe they are opposed by the *salaf*, a troop of horsemen who attempt to drive them from the camels which carry the tents, household goods, supplies, and women and children. If the enemy is numerically stronger, the troop opposing them may soon be scattered, in which case only the bravest will persist in defending the camels of the different families. 7. The owner of the tent, who sets meat before the hungry fighters on their return from a raid, is entitled to the most coffee. 8. *Wafel* is the twice-boiled coffee, which not only leaves no dark-yellow stains on the white porcelain but is almost wholly gray, *šáb*. It is good enough for such visitors, *mela*, as press, *rappáṣ*, into the men's compartment. Although they see that they are depriving the more esteemed guests and the tired fighters of their places, and that the host looks at them with an unfriendly eye, yet they do not leave the tent. At last the short stick, *miʿdáb*, such as is used for urging on and driving away the donkeys, must be applied to them. 9. If the alarm cry is sounded, a true Bedouin instantly arms himself with his best weapon and runs to help, *jifaʿ*, his attacked countrymen, but a scamp of the sort just described will only snatch up a thick stake used for poking the fire, *miṣlád*, thinking he can scare the enemy with that. *Šáhejín* (or *šárečín*) *al-mwedfíb* are those who are unmindful of their duties towards their clan and tribe and are conceited braggarts, *khárin al-safaʿ*.

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1. *Bâḳ al-'aza' jâ-dîb ḳum denn-al-awrâḳ*
ḳurtâṣ šâmi ṣâfijen teḳel ṛarnûḳ
2. *w-hâtû dwât al-ḥeber w-ednû lena sâḳ*
'ûd al-ʃarâ' bšaḏrat al-mûs mašlûḳ
3. *ekteb min al-abjât jâ-dîb mâ lâḳ*
mâ dâm ḳufl al-ḳalb jâ-dîb mafhûḳ
4. *žilen čema-d-dabwa' elja sîž w-ensâḳ*
ma' ṣaḥṣaḥen 'ânaḳ ʒefa' kill ṭârûḳ
5. *jâ mâ liḳalben kill mâ-ltamm bel-ašfâḳ*
min 'âm al-awwal beh dawâčič w-eḫfûḳ
6. *jiğâhed ğnûzen biswâmiḥ al-aṭrâḳ*
w-tekšef leh asrâren ketamhen biṣandûḳ
7. *elja ṭara li ṭârij al-ḥbâb w-eštâḳ*
ejṣa w-dakk bḫâṭri ṭârij aš-šûḳ
8. *dannejt leh min ṣâfi al-benn mâ lâḳ*
bel-čaff nâšiha 'an al-'aḍf min as-sûḳ
9. *ehmes ṭalâṭen jâ nedîmi 'ala sâḳ*
rîḥah 'ala ğamr al-ṛaṣa jifṣah as-sûḳ
10. *ijjâk w-an-nijje w-bêlak w-al-ḥrâḳ*
eṣḥa tṣir blâhjet al-ḥams maṭfûḳ
11. *elja-ṣfarr lownah ṭumm bašše bel-'arâḳ*
ḥamra' čema-l-jâḳût jiṭreb leha-l-mûḳ
12. *w-'aṭṭat brîḥen fâḫren fâṣhen fâḳ*
al-'ambar rîḥah bel-aswâḳ manšûḳ
13. *ṣubbah bniğren jisma' kill mištâḳ*
râ'i-l-hawa jiṭreb elja tdižž beḫfûḳ
14. *w-laḳḳem bdelleten mowle'en čannaha-s-sâḳ*
šâmijjeten marbûbeten teḳel ṛarnûḳ
15. *ḫallah tefûḥ w-râ'i al-kêf muštâḳ*
w-elja ṭafah bak ğowharen ṣaḥḥ lah lûḳ
16. *aṣṛar ḳmûrah čazamardağ bel-aš'âḳ*
w-akbarhen aṭ-ṭâfeḥ 'ala ṣâfi al-mûḳ
17. *w-zellah 'ala waṣḥa beha ḫamst arnâḳ*
kêlen w-mismâren bel-asbâb maṣḥûḳ
18. *w-za'farân w-šmaṭri elja-nsâḳ*
rîḥah ma' al-'ambar 'ala-ṭ-ṭâḳ maṭbûḳ
19. *elja ḫtalaṭ hâda bhâda betîfâḳ*
ṣubbah čefâk al-'awḳ 'an kill maḫlûḳ
20. *bifingâl ṣini teṛtaṣi 'anneh al-arnâḳ*
jâṣi bkursijjen ḫadânen al-ma'šûḳ
21. *en enṭalaḳ min ṣâfetah teḳel šebrâḳ*
ew damm ḳalben w-en meza' minneh ma'lûḳ

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22. *zajjah 'ala-l-finǧâl jiṣbor elja râḳ*
alli ṭṭawwer bil-ḥamâme 'ala-ṭ-ṭûḳ
23. *w-elja ḥaṣal mâ ḳilt 'endi bel-ašfâḳ*
ṛerwen temezz ešfâh w-al-'onḳ mafhûḳ
24. *ṛerwen ja'îl bḥebbeteh kill mâ lâḳ*
ḥaddeh ẓaḥâḥ al-bedr low bân beš'ûḳ
25. *čenn al-'araḳ min waǧneteh ḥossen arnâḳ*
naṛren 'ala ṣafḥât al-awrâḳ maršûḳ
26. *w-elja ẓaḥeč min mabsemeh bârẓen ḥâḳ*
'aǧlen rafîfen w-raṭṭeh al-ṛaraḳ beṭbûḳ
27. *jemši bridfen hâllen madmaǧ as-sâḳ*
jefṣel ḥeǧûlen hazzah aṭ-ṭoḳl min fûḳ
28. *w-allâh low jemši šeḳâḳen bel-aswâḳ*
min šowfeteh mâ jimṭaḥ al-ḥams maḥlûḳ
29. *mâr elja ḥaṣal lak ṣâḥebak w-ent muštâḳ*
oḳṭof ṭamar mâ lâḥ w-al-'omr malḥûḳ
30. *minn aṣ-ṣâḥeb alli kill mâ žil bawwâḳ*
'ajja jisažžîni min aḍ-ḍubbal al-fûḳ
31. *w-ḳalbi ma' ad-dellâl jeǧleb bel-aswâḳ*
'âmên 'enda sḥajjef al-waṣf mawsûḳ
32. *w-ṣalât rabbi 'adad bârežen ḥâḳ*
'ala-n-nebi al-hâšemi ḥijâr maḥlûḳ.

1. Grief descends upon me! Rise, O clerk! Pull out paper,
A sheet from Damascus, pure white as the crane,
2. And hither with the ink and the pen,
A stem of the reed split by the knife's edge.
3. Copy, O clerk! whatever verses are fitting—
As long a. the lock of my heart, O clerk! is open—
4. Word (following after word), as when small locusts drive
and are driven
And link the plain with the ridge of each enclosing slope.
5. Oh, how the heart loves best what it has stored up!
For a year past my heart has been filled with passionate
unrest and suspicion.
6. Some thoughts it conquers by peaceful forgiveness,
But secrets also come out which it had locked up as
in a strong box.
7. Whenever I think of the tokens of love, I yearn for them
instantly,
And my bosom is tortured by the remembrance
of my sweetheart.

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8. I will hand to him (the clerk) as many whole coffee beans as are needed
After I have taken from them the various impurities of the market.
9. Roast them three times, O comrade mine! on a pan with a long handle
Above red-hot coal of *raṣa*, till their fragrance reaches the market place.
10. Be sure that both thy mind and soul are in the stirring,
Be not disturbed, while roasting.
11. As soon as it becomes yellow and glistens with sweat
And is red like rubies, it will gladden the pupil of my eye,
12. And a pleasant all-pervading smell it will send forth, better than that
Of the amber, which can be smelled in the market place.
13. Pour the beans into the mortar, whose sound everyone will hear who longs for the coffee,
And the lover will grow cheerful if thou poundest with [care.
14. Then pour a handful into a Damascene pot,
Which is like a well-shaped calf of the leg and shines white as a crane.
15. Let it be covered, as desired by him who likes his repose,
And when it is full of gem-like bubbles, then it has attained its full beauty.
16. The smallest of the bubbles resemble the emerald on a dagger grip,
While the largest would be like an eye flooded with tears.
17. Then pour it off to settle into a pot into which thou hast shredded five kinds of spice,
Cardamom with powdered cloves
18. And saffron with two kinds of Sumatra spice, in the right order.
Its fragrance blended with that of the amber will remain in the closed room.
19. When these are thoroughly mixed,
Pour it out — and Allâh keep all obstacles from thee while so doing! —
20. Into a china cup, in which the drops are reflected,
And which shines on the tray always set beside the coffee lover.

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21. When emptied, there will remain streaks like reddish fringes
Or like the blood from a heart from which the artery has been torn out;
22. Its color will cling to the cup after it has settled,
Just like the band painted around the dove's throat.
23. And if my wishes could be granted, I should like best
A pretty maid, who would press her lips to mine with bent neck,
24. A pretty maid, whose kiss would embolden all, as is fit.
Her face is like the moon's reflection shining on a golden dagger grip;
25. The pearls of sweat on her cheek bones are like drops
Scattered on sheets of the finest paper.
26. When she smiles, then from the place where she smiles a flash of lightning is seen,
Soon followed by a copious rain.
27. She walks with enchanting hips above firmly built calves;
The weight of her body moves the rings above her ankles;
28. And, by Allâh himself! when she walks, the whole market place is in an uproar,
And, while looking at her, no one can close his fingers tight.
29. But if thy sweetheart permits and thou desirest it,
Pluck the fruit as long as it entices, for life will soon be overtaken by death.
30. O sweetheart! thou who, as they all say, betrayest me,
Refusing to allay my thirst with thy incisors.
31. My heart — like something banded by the auctioneer in the market places —
Has dwelt for two years captive to her whom I have in few words described.
32. Oh! that my Lord's blessing may rest as many times as he sends out lightning
On the Hashemite Prophet, who is the highest of all created beings.

The honor of composing this poem belongs to Muḥammad al-Ḳâḍi, who is said to have been a judge in the town of 'Aneẓa. To me it was recited and explained by Prince as Nûri's clerk, Ǧwâd. Its story is simple. The poet, two years

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272 before, had fallen in love with a woman of extraordinary beauty, but for the last year he had been tortured by doubts 539x as to her faithfulness. In order not to lose her, he would gladly forgive much, but again and again in the market places he has heard insinuations which have exasperated him anew, filling him with melancholy. During a moment of such mental agony, he ordered strong black coffee to be prepared for him in his house in the ʿAnejza market place and then dictated the poem to his clerk.

Verse 1. *Bâḥ al-ʿaza* (or *enkašef al-ʿaza*) means "melancholy has taken hold of me; grief is seen on the countenance too." [212] *Adîb* in the poetical language of the district of al-Ḳaṣîm, to which ʿAnejza belongs, is a man who can both read and write. [439] *Šâmi* is paper brought from Damascus. The commercial relations of ʿAnejza with Syria in general and with Damascus in particular always have been much brisker than with Irak and Bagdad. ʿAnejza, it should be known, is the center of the ʿAḳejl camel traders, who buy up camels all over Arabia, drive them through Syria to Egypt, sell them there, and on their return stop at Damascus, where they buy articles needed in inner Arabia and bring them home. 2. *Dwât al-ḥeber* [212] signifies drugs which mixed together and with water give ink; also an inkstand. In the towns of inner Arabia no fluid ink is sold. The inkstand is a small vessel made of either brass or tin and closed with a well fitting lid, into which a small piece of cotton-wool or camel's hair is placed and steeped in the prepared ink until soaked through. The clerk sits on his heels, holds the paper with his left hand, and writes with his right, dipping his pen in the inkstand almost constantly. His pens he cuts himself. Buying a few long reeds or sedges, he cuts off, when needed, a piece about ten to fifteen centimeters in length, shapes it with a sharp knife, *mûs*, into a pen, splits it, and tries it on his thumb nail, and the writing instrument, *sâḳ*, is ready. *Šaḍra* is also pronounced *šaṭra*, corresponding to *šafra*. 3. *Ḳufl mafhûḳ*. [414] The door lock in inner Arabia is more like a bolt than a lock. It is usually made of wood and both barred and unbarred with a wooden key. The iron lock and iron key are found only in mercantile booths and storehouses. *Mafhûḳ*, used when speaking of locks as well as bolts — and also of the throat — means, properly, "forced backwards or forwards." 4. *Dabwa'* are young locusts whose wings are just growing. They are so numerous at times

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that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siž*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ḫfûḳ*. *Enḫafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḍf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *ṛaṛa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

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272 and, as the cup is often as much as a meter below the pot, great dexterity is necessary in order not to spill a drop. But even the best pourer spills when jostled — whence the sayings: *"Čefâk al-ʿawḳ*, may Allâh save thee from an obstruction!" *"Čefâk aš-šerr*, may Allâh save thee from evil!" 20. *Arnâḳ* signifies anything that resembles a round grain, as, for instance, several kinds of spice, drops of water, etc. Instead of *ṣinijje* the poet uses the word *kursi*. 21. The coffee, very strong in itself, acquires through the addition of five different spices, as is the custom in the towns of inner Arabia, still more body and leaves on the cup a fine sediment, which the poet compares to red fringes, *šebrâḳ*, and to the blood of a heart, from which the main artery has been torn out, *maʿlûḳ*. 23. When he has drunk the strong coffee, he again
[326] longs for his sweetheart, *ṛarw*. 24. *Šaʿûḳ* and (16) *ašʿâḳ* signify the grip of a sword or dagger, richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. In the larger towns of inner Arabia there are craftsmen, thorough artists in their work, who make to order such handles, often of wonderful beauty. 26. The ladylove laughs at one moment and cries the next. When she smiles her white teeth glisten. *Ḥâḳ* is the name for the quick flash of the lightning. 27. The calf of her leg
[201] is well turned and firm. 28. The town dweller in inner Arabia stretches out his fingers when surprised. 30. Ǧwâd did not know whether to say *minn* or *min*, and was unable to explain what the word meant in this connection. *Ḏubbal* signifies the incisors, *min fowḳ*, of the upper row. 31. The poet's heart is agitated, as if the town crier or auctioneer had carried it about the market places, offering it for sale. *Mawsûḳ* has the same meaning as *maʾḫûḏ*, a captured or imprisoned one. The clerk Ǧwâd knew the Rwala dialect well and adapted himself to its pronunciation.

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CHAPTER VI

DRESS AND WEAPONS

THE BEARD AND HAIR; TATTOOING; BODY BELTS

The Rwala devote much attention to the body,[7] especially to the hair and beard. Almost everyone can shave and cut hair, and they render this service to one another, as they have no mirrors to shave by. Calling on his comrade with the words: "Shave me, *ḥassenni* (or *zajjenni*, or *ehlekni*)," a Rwejli sits down on his heels and patiently waits till his friend has prepared his soap, razor, and scissors. If he merely wishes the beard growing under his chin on the throat, *ǧarǧûr*, shaved, he says: "*Ǧarǧerni.*" If he wishes the back part of his head up to the ears, *ṣôra*, shaved, he asks: "*Ṣawwerni.*" Otherwise the barber will shave both the half of the back of his head and the beard under the chin, trim his thin chin beard, *ʿaḥje* (or *daḳne*), and his goatee, *ʿadesa*, shave off his side whiskers, *ʿawârez*, trim his moustache, *šwâreb*, clipping off its ends, *subaḳ*, and comb the hair over the forehead, cutting it short, *ḳuṣṣa*, at the same time. Individuals especially careful of their appearance have their front hair made into two, four, six, or even as many as eight plaits, *ḳrûn*. A man wearing his hair

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[7] The big toe (thumb) is called *bâdm*; the second and third toes, *ḥonṣor*; the fourth toe, *ḥonejṣer*; the little toe, *bnejṣer*; a finger (or toe) nail, *ṣaṣr*; the toes, *aṣâbʿ ar-riǧlên*; the sole of the foot, *ḫ'ff*; the arch of the foot, *ḥabd ar-riǧel*; the heel, *ʿaṣeb*; the instep, *ʿarḍ*; the ankle, *ʿaṣejm ab-ar-ruḫam* or *ḫa'ûb*; the ankle joint, *miṣakk*; Achilles tendon, *ʿarḳûb*; the shank, *sâḳ*; the calf, *ǧarbû'a*; the extensor of the leg, *ʿaṣa ar-rukba*; the knee-cap, *seidle*; the hollow of the knee, *mâbeṣ*; the thigh, *faḫd*; the mons Veneris, *ḥedde*; the penis, *ʿaṣr* or *zebb*; the testicles, *ḥeṣîdn*; the glans, *faṣ'a*; the groins, *ḥdera*; the hip, *wirê*; the buttock, *ḥeṭîje* or *ṣî*; the navel, *sirra*; the loins, *ǧamb*; the ribs, *ṣlê'*; the breast, *ṣadr*; the breast nipple, *ḫid*; the ensiform cartilage, *ṣaṣrêf al-ḥalb*; the stomach, *ḥebd*; the intestines, *ḥeṣbân*; the kidney, *ḥalwa*; the spleen, *ṣbâl*; the liver, *stâr*; the gall, *merâra*; the heart, *ḥalb* or *zendîḳ al-ḥalb*; the lungs, *rîje*; the back, *ṣaḫr*; the lower part of the spine, *dhejjel*; the vertebrae, *ḥeraz aṣ-ṣaḫr*; the shoulder-blade muscles, *daffa*; the shoulder blade, *ḥatf*; the small of the back, *rummân al-ḥatf*; the neck, *ruḳube*; the two fleshy parts of the back of the neck, *ʿalba*; the hollow between them, *nḳejra*; the atlas, *fa'da*; the collar bone, *turḳa*; the pit of the throat, *ḫnejra*; the external jugular vein, *werîd*; the throat, *barrâḳa*; the Adam's apple, *erada*; the chin, *ʿadsa*; the jaws, *ḫadk*; the lips, *berâjem*, or *beldâjem*; the corners of the mouth, *šidḳ*; the cheeks, *wṣudt*; the nose, *ḫišm*; the nostrils, *menâḫer*; the ridge of the nose, *ʿarnûs*; the bridge of the nose, *maṣrwa*; the cheek bone, *rummâna*; the eyes, *ʿujûn*; the pupil of the eye, *ṣbej*; the eyelids, *ǧfûn*; the eyelashes, *rimš*; the eyebrow, *ḥâdâǧ*; the forehead, *ǧabha*; the temples, *ṣuadḥer*; the ear, *idjen*; the lobe of the ear, *ḫbaṣa*; the teeth, *senân*; the incisors, *ṣenâja*; the four eye teeth, *nâbâ*; the molars, *rabâ*; the glottis, *ḥlejš el-mezwt*; the gullet, *bel'ûm*; the top of the head, *ṣâǧja*; the cranium, *ḥâmt ar-rês*; the brain, *dmâġ*; the elbow joint, *ʿaṣl*; the elbow, *bâ'*; the forearm, *ǧrê'*; the arm hollow, *daṣṣer*; the back of the hand, *mâḳ*; the palm of the hand, *ḥeff*; the thumb, *bâḥam*; the index finger, *ṣaudî*; the little finger, *ḥnejṣer*; the hand, *ʿed* (or *îd*; dual, *îdê*; pl., *îdên*); three hands, *ṣelâṯ îdêd*; five feet, *ḫamse riǧlên*. 826

302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-eṛnam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak ʿal-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for
[576 pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more
181] disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭaʿab al-ḥorr murr*."

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak ʿarâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*)
685 or mounted (*muʿajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *ḳownâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana muʿtežk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥîtak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as
302 bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭaʿ râsak*. It is much easier
628 for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

was indemnified, *jeddûn 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they

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Fig. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḫûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḫûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḫûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Ješûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣla'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *aḳra'*.

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A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with

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302 it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos,
515 refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a
825 peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids
302 it, *telemm râsah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *kuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḏâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *ḳuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *žiḏle*, *'erf*, or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ḳa'-ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

832 Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a
302 woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telaḥḥa' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧîk al-manḳûše*."

304 Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *nûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *daḳḳ al-wšâm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *min šân zerâfa*.

291 Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gazelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *rusejni*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *ma'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ṯowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in a lappet more than a meter long, *ṭowb mrawdan*. When walking or working, the man ties the sleeves behind his neck; when riding he lets them hang down loosely. On the breast the shirt is opened, *ǧejb*, to be fastened below the throat by a button or a cord sewn to the shirt. A *ṭowb* has no collar, but is sometimes ornamented with blue, red, and black embroidery around the neck and on the breast.

A well-to-do Rwejli puts on over the *ṭowb* a garment called *zebûn* (pl., *zebnât*) made of light material, never of cloth. This resembles our shirt, except that it reaches to the ankles, has no collar, is open the whole length of the front, and is provided with wide sleeves overlapping the hand by about ten centimeters. The sleeves are slit open at the ends for about fifteen centimeters, lined with dark-red material to the same extent, and then folded back, *ḳallâba*, so that the lining is exposed. The ends of the sleeves, both the slits, and the edges around the neck and on the breast are bordered with a colored cord, *ḥerǧ*, which ends below the chin in two small strings, *ḳrân*. At the tail the material is turned up to the width of about two fingers, *ḳejṭân*. On the breast and at the hips of the *zebûn* two inside pockets, *maḥba* (pl., *maḥâbi*). are sewn on. The *zebûn*, if made of white linen without a lining, is called *ṣâje*; if made of white linen with a lining it is called *zebûn bêża*; if of black half-silk with yellow stripes it is called *mejdâni*; if of pure silk with variegated stripes it is called *anmar*; and if of cotton with variegated stripes it is called *dîma*.

Both *ṭowb* and *zebûn* are fastened to the body by a leather or woollen belt, *maḥzam*, of about a hand's breadth.

A man covers his head with a round cap woven of rough wool or camel's hair, *ṭâžijje*, on top of which he lays a kerchief about 1.2 meters long and 1.15 meters wide. Folding it at first like a triangle, he throws the middle lappet, *ḏîl*, back over his shoulder, arranges the outside ones, *riǧlên*, with both his right and left hands to an equal length, and then pulls the headcloth over the middle of his forehead. Most of the time the Rwejli wears cotton kerchiefs of some dark color, *mindîl*, seldom of pure white, *ḳżâża*. A *mindîl* woven of red and black threads is called *ḥammarijje*; a black *mindîl* shot with red is a *ḥondijje*; one with variegated dots is a *stambûlijje*. *Homṣi* is the name of a *mindîl* with yellow or pink stripes; *ḥmâr*, of a blue or red checkered one. A *ḳżâża*, or white kerchief with a red or blue border and short fringe, *ḥadab*, is called

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291 *ḥâšije.* A silken kerchief is called *maḳrûna*; if interwoven with silver threads, it is known as a *mḳaṣṣaba*. Most popular of all is a dark-blue *maḳrûna* or a violet one shot with red.
[292] A pure white *maḳrûna* is worn by the chief alone and that only on festive occasions. As soon as it becomes soiled, the chief gives it to a negro. The kerchief is not tied to the head, but merely fastened with a cord about one inch thick made of wool or camel's hair and wrapped double around the forehead and the skull, *ʿaṣâba*. The lappets are crossed under the chin and pulled through under the *ʿaṣâba*, so that they project above the forehead like two small horns. A man who has the lappets of the kerchief, *riǧlên*, crossed under the chin, is known as *mutalaṭṭam*. If he does not wish to be recognized, he simply pulls them up above his chin, even over the nose, so that only his eyes are uncovered. Whoever meets a man thus disguised, shouts: "Remove the curtain, so that I can recognize thee; *fukk al-luṭma ḥatt-aʿrefk*."

The most important part of a man's dress is the cloak, *ʿaba*ʾ. It is made from two pieces, each 2.5 meters long and 60 centimeters wide. These are sewn together along their long sides; the narrow edges are folded, and their upper ends also sewn together. In the two folds at the top, which are about sixty centimeters broad, holes are cut about fifty centimeters long. The cloak is then thrown over the shoulders and the
[531] hands thrust through the holes. Around the neck and along the breast the mantle is often embroidered, or a strip woven of yellow and gold threads is added. A light-gray mantle shot with yellow is called *bišt*; a light-gray one made of fine wool is a *ḥâčije*; a light-gray one of half cotton is a *lûmijje*; one of medium weight with long white and dark-gray stripes about ten centimeters wide is a *mubaddaha*; one of the same color but made of good wool is a *rḥejbâwijje*; one of good wool with white and reddish stripes is a *saʿdûnijje*; a good woollen one with white and dark-brown stripes and ornamented at the neck and above the shoulders is a *ḥasawijje*; one of good wool or camel's hair, not striped, of a plain color (generally black or brown) shot with pink is a *mezwi*. The inhabitants of the oasis of al-Ǧowf manufacture mantles of the *bišt* (Fig. 38) and *mezwi* varieties.

In the winter time a sheepskin coat, *farwa*, is worn by the Rwejli instead of the mantle. If it covers only the breast, it is called *obṭijje*. A *ḥarrâṭijje* is a sheepskin coat of white

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

wool dyed with henna, unlined and reaching to the abdomen. 291
A *ḫajjâlijje* is made of the same material but lined with cloth, *mḳabbaba*, and undyed. A *baḳdalijje* covers the hips also, has sleeves falling fifty centimeters below the hands,

Fig. 33—A Bedouin dressed in a *bišt*.

and is made of good skins, is usually black and lined with darkblue cloth. It is also provided with clasps below the neck and on the breast.

In warm weather the Rwejli either goes barefoot by preference or ties around his heel and big toe a sole cut from undressed camel's hide, *na'al*. The herdsmen wear a low shoe made of rough leather, *serbâl*, with a thick sole, *na'al* (or *ḫeḏwa*), a stiff instep, *ḫawra*, a low and wide heel, *'aḳibijje*, and clasps, *brâm*, for tightening the shoe. The Rwala

291 wrap the feet around with rags, *ḫašwa* (pl., *ḫašâwi*). The young chiefs buy shoes, *ṣurmâje*, of the kind worn in the towns. The riders wear boots of fine red leather, *žazme* (or *ǧazme*), with high shoe irons made of rolled sheet iron, *ḥaḍw*. The best of all are the *žazme ḥalabijje* (Aleppan *žazme*); the cheaper kind is called *niswânijje* and is generally of a yellow color. *Žazme* reaching to the knees are called *rabbâṭijje*.

Those who can afford it buy a short coat, not unlike our waistcoat, made of a many-colored thin cloth, either unlined, *nuṣṣijje*, or lined, *derfil*.

291 511 The yearly expenditure of a common Rwejli for his clothing is as follows:

ḥaḍw, body belt	1/4	*meǧidijje*	($0.22 1/2)
ṯowb, shirt	1	"	(" 0.90)
zebûn, outer shirt	1	"	(" 0.90)
maḥzam, outer belt	1/4	"	(" 0.22 1/2)
ṭâžijje, cap	1/4	"	(" 0.22 1/2)
mindîl, kerchief	1/4	"	(" 0.22 1/2)
'aṣâba, kerchief cord	1/4	"	(" 0.22 1/2)
'aba', mantle	3	*meǧidijjât*	(" 2.70)
farwa, fur coat	3	"	(" 2.70)
serbâl, shoes	1	*meǧidijje*	(" 0.90)
Total	10 1/4	*meǧidijjât*	($9.22 1/2).

In addition to this his *obṭijje*, short fur coat, costs him 1 1/2–2 *meǧidijjât* ($1.35–$1.80), his *ḳṣâṣa*, white kerchief, 1/4 *meǧidijje* (22 1/2 cents), and his *nuṣṣijje*, short coat, 1/2 *meǧidijje* (45 cents).

291 In winter the Rwejli puts on all the clothes he has, thinking that otherwise he would never get warm. A proverb says: "He who does not put on heavy clothing will not get warm by carrying it, *alli mâ jeṭaššel mâ jenaššel*."

WOMEN'S CLOTHES

A woman (Fig. 34) wears a dark-blue shirt or dress, *ṯowb aswad*, with broad sleeves ending in a long lappet. The shirt fits close to the neck and is about one meter longer than the wearer. Nearly every woman sews it herself, two pieces, *bejramtên*, of cotton fabric each eight *ḏrâ'* (6 meters) long being necessary for a shirt. The ordinary fabric is called *mastûka*, the better sort *abu rwêše*. A woman's shirt is without any decoration. It is held to the body by a broad belt

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

woven of red and black cotton or woollen threads and called *šwêḥi*. At the front the woman tucks up the long shirt under the belt so that her ankles are free, forming the shirt into a kind of a skirt, *ḥṭûl*. Her head she wraps in a large dark ker- 291

FIG. 34—Rwala women.

chief, *maḳrûna*. This she folds in the middle into a triangle. Holding the left lappet to her left cheek, she throws the kerchief over her head in such a way that the middle lappet falls on her back; the right lappet she then passes under the chin, covers with it the left lappet on the left cheek, and folds it over her head again, making it hang down the right side of the face. Then she folds a *mindîl*, or dark cotton kerchief, into a band about five centimeters wide and winds it around the *maḳrûna*, or large kerchief, on her head and forehead. In place of the ordinary *mindîl* she may use a band of some fine material, such a band being called *ṣafa'a* (or *mer'ez*), or a *ḳrujja* of fabric so loosely woven that it may be stretched as if it were crochet work. The wrap made from these finer goods is called *ḥiṭfa*.

A woman's cloak is made like a man's, except that it never has the long stripes and is either black or dark-brown *mezwi*.

The wealthy Rwejlijje wears a short jacket of blue cloth 292
with narrow turned-in sleeves. This is called a *ǧibbe*. Good

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292 cloth is known in the trade as *ǧôḫ mâkûd*, common cloth as *ǧôḫ ḫafîf*. *Mezûwi* is a silk caftan worn by wealthy women over the dress, *ṯowb*. It has narrow sleeves and covers the arms down to the wrists.

301 Almost every Rwala woman goes barefoot, but all possess some jewelry. Around the neck they wear a *maḫnaḳa*, or necklace of red coral; on the breast a *želâde*, or pendant of glass pearls; on the elbows small black glass rings, *ma'âzed*; on the wrists similar trinkets, *sbat*; above the ankles small glass or copper rings, *ḫǧûl*; in the ears copper rings, *turžijje*; on the fingers rings, *ftâḫ*; and sometimes in the right nostril a copper ring, *zmâm*. The women dearly love this cheap jewelry; they save up camel's hair for a long time and often steal grain in order to buy it.

292 The wealthier women wrap, *jetalaffa'en*, their heads in a covering called *šumbar*. This is a red shawl 42 centimeters wide by 3.2 meters long. They dye it black, leaving only about six centimeters as red stripes at both ends. Next they cut the shawl lengthways down the middle and sew both parts together in such a way that a covering is formed 84 centimeters wide and 1.6 meters long. If they want to wrap their heads in this shawl, *jetalaffa'en beh*, they lay one lappet on their left shoulder, stretch the shawl over the head, throw the other lappet from the right under the chin, and cover with it the lappet on the left shoulder. Then they fasten the shawl with a folded kerchief to the forehead and skull, pull both lappets up the back, and tuck up the shawl in the front till it covers the chin. Young girls like to wear both the *maḳrûna*, or large kerchief, and the *šumbar*. Both lappets of the *maḳrûna* hang loosely down the breast, while the *šumbar* is crossed under the chin. If a girl who is fond of dress, *bint ṣawjâna*, owns a *maḳrûna* only, she will not tie it to her head with the *misdîl*, dark cotton kerchief, but prefers it to fall down a little, as then her tresses can be seen to advantage.

302 Every woman likes to dye her palms and nails, and if she be old also her hair, with yellow henna, either of the Egyptian variety, *maṣrijje*, or of a variety brought from Mecca, *makkâwijje*; the latter is the better.

302 826 Both the youths and girls are fond of dyeing their eyelids black with *koḥl*, collyrium or antimony powder, using a small sharp knife, *mirwed*, in this operation. Moistening the *mir-*

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

used slightly, they touch the *kohl*, which is kept in a tiny tin box, *mikhala*, and then rub the color along the borders of the eyelids, believing that the use of *kohl* strengthens the eyesight. Many therefore even rub *kohl* on the edges of a telescope, being firmly convinced that the instrument then gives a much better view. 302 826

The woman's dress costs: 291

barim, body belt	½	*mafidijje*	($ 0.22½)	511
tewb, shirt	2	*mafidijjat*	(" 1.80)	
hudhi, belt	½	*mafidijje*	(" 0.22½)	
makrima, kerchief	2	*mafidijjat*	(" 1.80)	
hitfa, head band	½	*mafidijje*	(" 0.22½)	
fibbe, jacket	2	*mafidijjat*	(" 1.80)	
merwi, cloak	3	*mafidijjat*	(" 2.70)	
mahnaka, coral necklace	4	piasters	(" 0.18)	
helida, pendant	4	"	(" 0.18)	
ma'dsel, elbow ornaments	4	"	(" 0.18)	
fathe, finger ring	4	"	(" 0.18)	
emdem, nostril ring	½	*mafidijje*	(" 0.22½)	
Total...	19	*mafidijjat*,	16 piasters	($ 9.72).

PEDDLERS; CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE; INFANTS; STAFFS AND CANES

Whatever the Rwala need for their finery and ornaments they either buy from the merchants who visit them when they are camping in the settled territory in the months of July and August, or from the peddlers, who accompany them the whole year through, even going to the inner desert with them. A peddler or wandering merchant is called either Rhejbâwi or Kubejsi: Rhejbâwi after the ancient town of ar-Rahba, Kubejsi after his native place, the little town of al-Kubejsa. The terms Rhejbâwi and Kubejsi have come to mean any wandering seller of textiles or general merchandise and are now applied even to merchants known to hail from other places. Thus a peddler from Bagdad is called a Rhejbâwi Bagdâdi or Kubejsi Bagdâdi. When a youth overfond of dress, *dâhi*, visits a wandering merchant to be measured for a suit of clothes, he gives his order in the words of the ancient verse: "Measure me, O merchant! for a shirt with long sleeves, measure me, O merchant! O Rhejbâwi! *Fassel li jâ tâjer gdîl ardâni fassel li jâ tâjer jâ rhejbâwi.*" 443

291 554 Some say: "The clothes are the wings of the descendants of Adam, *al-ḥdûm ǧenâḥ beni âdam*," as people always consider a well-dressed man something better than he really is. Others again claim that the clothes do not add to a man's good qualities. "A good man will be good even if on rising from bed (he has nothing on but his shirt), while a scamp will be a scamp even if he scrubs himself with soap; *az-zên zên low ka'ad min manâmeh aš-šên šên low tarassal beṣ-ṣâbûn.*"

291 832 A maiden suing for a youth's favor is careful of her appearance and dresses to the best of her ability, but as soon as she knows herself to be loved she cares no more for dressing finely and thinks only of her lover's qualities. A popular ditty says:

W-allâh jâ ǧerd larmîk w-albes ǧedîd
ajj al-ǧedîd w-ajj al-ǧerdi
ilja ḫuft az-zên 'aḳli jerdi
eḳrûn aš-šowḳ rumḥ as-serdi.

By Allâh, I shall cast thee aside, old dress, and put on a new one.
But which is the new and which the old?
If I see a noble youth, my judgment is gone,
For has not my beloved plaits as long as a spear carried by the Serdijje?

291 At home in his tent the man can leave off his cloak, *'aba'*, or his sheepskin coat, *farwa*, or he can go, as the saying is, in a dress below his belt, *behdûm al-maḥzam*; outside, however, he must not appear in that condition, for that would be an offence against common decency. If a traveler arrives without his mantle or sheepskin coat, he makes it known either that he has been robbed or has lost those articles. In dangerous districts a Rwejli will only loosen his belt in the evening and will go to bed fully dressed. Elsewhere he sleeps either in his shirt or even naked, merely wrapped in his mantle. If suddenly awakened by noise at night, he jumps out of his bed, snatches up his arms, and pressing the cloak to the body with his left hand, rushes out to see what has happened.

854 The hips of a baby are plastered with dry camel's manure, *dimne*; the baby is then wrapped in a long shawl tied with a thin string and fastened by two ropes of camel's hair to the two main tent stakes, and the cradle, *mhâd*, is ready.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The dry manure absorbs the baby's urine and excrements. In its second year the child gets a dark-blue shirt, *ṯawb*, and its little head is covered with a hood, *ḳuba'*, tied with two cords, *'elṯa*, under the chin. Likewise shoes, *ḳzejme*, are put on its feet. 854

Every Rwejli carries a stick, as staffs are generally needed for directing the riding camels. These sticks are thin and about eighty centimeters long; they are called *meḥǧân* and are as a rule made by the Rwala themselves from strong saplings, preferably those cut from almond trees. One end is perforated and a strong cord tied into a sling pulled through the hole. The hand is then passed through the sling and the *meḥǧân* hangs from the wrist. The other, or thicker, end of the stick is carved into an ibis head to the length of about eight centimeters and a width of, say, three and a half centimeters. The *bâkûr* is a stick also provided with a cord at one end, the other being bent in a semicircle. The *maṭraḳ* is entirely straight. Both the *bâkûr* and *maṭraḳ* are bought from the peddlers; they are rattan, *ḫajzarâni*, sticks. The *ḳâna'* is a heavy cane about seventy centimeters long and ending in a knob. The *maslût* is a staff 1.2 meters long, stout but not too heavy. In the first third of its length it is perforated and a thin strap forming a sling is pulled through the hole; the staff hangs from the saddle by the sling. The *maḏrûb* closely resembles a *maslût* but is much stouter, heavier, and from the middle upwards visibly thicker. All three, *ḳana'*, *maslût*, and *maḏrûb*, are properly weapons. 293 411

SMOKING PIPES

Many Rwala — both men and women — are fond of smoking. Every smoker has a pipe. A man's pipe is called *sebîl*, a woman's *ṭaljûn*. The Rwejli either carves a *sebîl* himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsi. The *sebîl* is a one-piece pipe, forming an elbow. Its thinnest part is the horizontal mouthpiece, which is about nine centimeters long and is called the *dêl*. The angle of the elbow is named *ṭiz*; the vertical bowl about five centimeters long is the *râs*, and the inside the *baṭn*. The mouth of the bought *sebîl* is enclosed by a brass ring, *ṭowḳ*, from which hangs a chain, *sinsile*, with a brass cap, *ḳab'ijje*, to prevent the smoldering tobacco from falling out. A wire, *mibḫâš*, serves as the pipe 276

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

276 cleaner. A chief shouts to his negro: "Fill my pipe, *'ammer li-e-sebîl*. Clean the pipe so that it will not clog, *ebḫaš as-sebîl lé jinsedd*." A *ṛuljân* consists of three parts: the pipe proper, *bûz*, a long wooden stem, *ḳṣuba*, and the mouthpiece, *maṣṣe*.

276 415 372 Both the tobacco and steel and tinder for lighting it the Bedouin carries in leather pouches known as *sfara* and *ṣifeu* respectively. The flint is called *ṣalbûḫ*, the steel *zenâd*, and the tinder *ǧadḍa*. The last the Bedouin either prepares himself from dry, powdered *ilḥ*, or *ḳwṭeja*, or buys from a merchant.

Poems Relating to Smoking

276 539* The pipe and the effects of smoking are mentioned in more than one poem. The first two verses of the following poem composed by Nimr eben 'Adwân are universally known, while the rest could be recited by a few only:

1. *Já šama'at aṣ-ṣubjân 'ammer lena-l-bûz*
   w-emlih min at-titen al-ṛucejri w-nâseh
2. *aḫejr 'endi min ḳebb kill mambûz*
   'aṣmen ṭwâl al-lejl jiṭred na'âse
3. *ma' delleten je'abba leha-l-ḫejl w-al-ǧowz*
   w-'aḏrin 'ûden 'ârefin žijâseh
4. *ma' šât muṣlâḥen leha-l-'atel markûz*
   w-mzajjenen ḳabb al-leḳejmi elbâseh
5. *ja'ben ad-dasmin aš-šwâreb ḫal-ar-rûz*
   fakkâkt al-maṣhûr jowm eḫtwâseh
6. *rab'i ḫal ar-raddâd má ṣarbehom ḫûz*
   ḍam wâḥeden min fe'lihom jâḥ râseh
7. *w-lá ḫom mâšwert al-'aǧâjez ḫal al-kûz*
   alli maḥâčkhom drûb an-neḳâṣe
8. *já rabb jâ-lli tenbet al-'šeb 'ledrûz*
   lá teḫma' al-fuppa al-bâli naḥâse
9. *ḍam ḳâleten rollah wara-ṣ-ṣadr maknûz*
   w-tampi w-ki bil-ḍabd miṯl al-ḫalâṣe.

1. O, merry youth! fill the damaged pipe for us,
   Fill it with tobacco from Rowr and give it here,
2. For dearer to me than the kisses of any full-hipped maid
   Is that little bone which in a long night drives away slumber.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. And, likewise, fill the pot into which cardamom, nutmeg, 539 x
And twenty fragrant stalks in the proper quantity are put. 276
4. Bring also a fat sheep, to hold which a caldron is put
on the fire,
A sheep to be wrapped in a garment garnished with
mouthfuls of grain.
5. Then with fat shine the mustaches of grave men,
Liberators of chattel-burdened camels found in the midst
of fighting.
6. My comrades can parry well, their blows are not feints,
How many have already lost their heads through their
deeds!
7. They consult not old women, nor are they engaged in
selling butter;
They are not men who talk only of satisfying carnal passion.
8. O Lord! O Thou who causest plants to grow also for Druses!
Take not the silver to thyself, leaving the world nothing
but worthless copper.
9. How many a calumny, causing pain when treasured up
in the breast,
Will vanish, and yet it dwelt in the heart as if it were
pure truth.

The reciter was Ğwâd al-'Âni.

Verse 1. A short pipe, *sebîl*, often breaks at the elbow. If the peddler has no pipes for sale, the smoker provides for himself. The broken mouthpiece is replaced by a small thin bone which he fixes into the remnant of the pipe, tying it with leather and sewing it firmly together to prevent the smoke from escaping. A pipe thus repaired is called *bûz*. But the same name is given to the pipe bowl, while the small bone held in the mouth is called *'aẓm*, or *bizz*, or *bezz*. 2. *'Aẓm al-bûz* is the bone piece held in the mouth. *Al-mambûz* is a woman broad in the hips and shoulders and with a slender waist, *umm ar-rdûf w-al-ktûf ketâjâha mambûzât*. 4. *Muṣlâḥ* is a conscientious herdsman whose flock does not suffer from hunger, therefore *šât muṣlâḥen* signifies a fat sheep. *'Atel* is a poetical expression for a large kettle, or *šidr*. *Markûz*, placed, because a kettle is placed on three stones over the fire. *Ḥabb al-laḥṣmî* is the dish of *'eṣî* prepared from grains of wheat; the eater takes small bits, *loḥm*, in his fingers and wraps it around small pieces of meat. 6. *Hûz* means a jest, a feint in [264]

2;Mosul S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

276, 539[2] dueling. 7. *Kûz* is a pear-shaped earthen vessel, used for measuring butter. The men who sell butter are misers. The butter should be consumed in the tent.

Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd knew the first two verses. According to him, the second one runs as follows:

aladd w-aḥla min naba kill mambûz
'aṣmen towli jeṭred na'ase.

More pleasant and sweeter than the word sent by a full-hipped maid
Is the little bone which pleasantly repels slumber.

[824] Tumbac, *Nicotiana persica*, Lindl., is smoked in a water pipe by certain chiefs only. The common Rwala think that tumbac is injurious to the health and also stupefies the powers of observation. Often have I heard the verses:

Jâ ŝâreb at-tumbâk ŝârebk lâ ṭâl
ajjâk w-ajji wâḥeden ḥâl dûnek.

O thou who smokest tumbac! if thou smokest long,
Woe to thee and woe to me, for there is one who is drawing near.

Thus spoke a woman of the 'Aǧmân tribe, who camp on the Persian Gulf, to her husband, who could not, even at night-time, part with his water pipe, *narkîle*. Angered by this habit, she reminded him by that verse that she might find some one to take the place of the husband who loved nothing but his tumbac. No sooner had the Bedouin heard these words, than he threw the water pipe on the ground, seized his saber, and asked the woman to explain the verse. She hesitated at first, but, realizing that the husband was greatly excited, she said:

Ŝurrâbt at-tumbâk ma'hom fuṣa bâl
elja ṭâl ŝâreb wâḥeden jeḥaṭrûnek.

Those who smoke tumbac have a big heart,
If one smokes too much, he must be warned.

The man pondered over her words, became calmer, and promised not to smoke as much as before.

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala add to the last verse: 539x 276

Jistâhel at-tumbâk miṯl eben ḥaḏḏâl
alli jaṣurreh bimṭâni redûneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Haḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḏḫar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧudd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *bzim*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧuʿ'*, of a dagger, *ḫibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *ṣpîb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṭ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *rušš*, and caps, *kubsûn*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḫarn eṣ-ṣaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ǧanṣe*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks. 224 463 293 411

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *ep-ppaw'*, *el-libbâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *ppaw'*, an old English military gun, was the most 913 435 439

713 popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$40.50)
435 and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *taǧǧâ-*
139 *rijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧidijjât*
($25.20-$29). The *šêhâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini
the *umm sunḍi* kind of *šêhâni* could be bought for 50-60 *meǧi-*
dijjât ($45-$54), the *umm ḳufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧidijjât*
($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Be-
douins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the
rifles fitted with breechblocks, *umm-ṣ-ṣbaʿ*, are less sought
after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the
Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations
taǧǧâri, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18) less.
All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt.
During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six
trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans num-
bered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with
many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead,
401 gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an
463 expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and
manufacture cartridges.

702 From time to time both the sons and negroes of the
chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *nišân*, generally is a
black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old
piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the
713 chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramj*
(pl. *rami*) signifies a report, a shot. *"Bârûdi ʿaraft ramiha"*
means "I know the reports of my rifle; *"w-allâh ramih-*
zên," "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with
flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Maʿ binduḳen laf̣ât fammiha-jeṣebni
laha ʿala ḫaf̣ro-l-muḍammaḳ mardmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi, rbâʿi, ḫmâsi, stâti* — the
last being of the largest caliber. *Šišḫâne*, or *šišḫân*, are old
rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If
the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḫamri*.
Binduḳijje are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

411 Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and
713 dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

iron blade sharpened on both edges and a wooden shaft, *'ûd*. The blade is either broad, in which case it is called *šalfa*, or narrow, *ḥarba*. The *šalfa* either is brought from Persia, *'aǧamijje*, in which case it costs 2 or 3 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$2.70), or is a common one made by a blacksmith from iron for half a *meǧidijje* (45 cents). The *ḥarba*, manufactured chiefly in the town of ad-Dejr on the right bank of the Euphrates, is also called *'arejnijje* and sells for a quarter to a half *meǧidijje* (22½–45 cents). The sharpened edge of the *šalfa* or *ḥarba* is called *'asla*; the lower end driven into the wooden shaft, *ǧibb*. For the shaft, *'ûd*, either a thin but strong piece of wood, *'erč*, or a thick piece, *šâčri*, is used; shafts are also made from a hollow bamboo-reed, *ḳṣuba*, costing generally 1 *meǧidijje* (90 cents). The lower end of the shaft is provided with an iron point, *kunṭâr*, so that the spear can be stuck in the ground. Sometimes the spear is ornamented with ostrich feathers or thin chains fastened to the *ǧibb*.

The sword, *nemeša*, is either a *moṛrebi*, with three long grooves, costing 2-40 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$36); a *šentijân*, very flexible, costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$9); or a *ḥsênijje*, with a single long groove, also costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât*.

The sabers, *sejf*, are as follows: *dâbân*, 5-10 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$9); *hendi*, made of black steel, 40-150 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$135); *'aǧami*, of gray steel, 5-40 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$36); or the *ǧauhar*, made of cast steel from Ḫorâsân, 150 *meǧidijjât* ($135). The grip, *ḳtuma'*, of the sword or saber often extends up to the *šubbâk* guard, where the blade begins, and is richly ornamented with gold and silver. The scabbard, *ǧefîr*, is provided with two metal rings, *ḥwâmel*, to which the cord used in hanging up the sword or saber is fastened.

The dagger is either short and narrow, *šibrijje*, or broad and long, *ḥdejwi*, or broad and short, *ǧanǧar*. It costs as much as 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70), but if the handle is ornamented with gold chains and precious stones it may cost 50 *meǧidijjât* ($45) and even more.

Spears are carried mainly by the poorer Bedouins, the sword and saber only by the more important men; but every one is in possession of firearms, be it a revolver or a rifle.

The revolver, *redâwi*, is either the old heavy kind, *haredâr*, which was formerly used by the Montenegrins and is sold for 12 to 14 *meǧidijjât* ($10.80-$12.60), or the Mauser, either of the *sibutâtin* or *sabbâni* variety. The original *sibutâtin*, from

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *mejidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-1
435 *mejidijjât* ($3.60-$13.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *šnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, manties, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freği from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aṣi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Sḳûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

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CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

It is the duty of every Rwejli capable of procreation to marry. This duty is laid upon him by his connection with his kinsmen. The more numerous these are, the more power and influence they possess. The individual who refused to defend the rights of his kin would be expelled, and whoever deliberately declined to multiply its defenders would meet the same fate. Without his kin, *ahl*, the Bedouin would be the most wretched of beings. 581 602 183

To marriage the Rwejli is led by mutual inclination or love. A boy of twelve has a liking for a girl of the same age, and it is generally recognized; no one objects. It is said: "Love comes from Allâh, *al-maḥabbe min allâh*." The boy calls on his beloved in her tent, talks with her there, helps with the work, and the parents recollect the time of their first love. An older boy may join his sweetheart where and whenever he wishes to. He helps her water the camels, draw the water, strike and pitch the tent; he attends her on the march, and pays her a visit in the evening. Usually they meet in a tent that is either vacant or little visited. The Šarârât women whose husbands are serving as herdsmen or who are widowed gladly lend their small tents, *ḫarâbîš*, for the lovers' meetings. There in the cold seasons of the year they sit all night by the fire, parting only when the morning star makes its appearance. In the warm season, especially when camping in the Nefûd, the lovers sit down on a sand drift in the shade of a tall *rḍa* bush to talk of everything and nothing. Their love they declare to each other in these words: 584

"Thou art the slumber of mine eyes, *enti nowm 'ajni*; thou art my desire, *ent murâdi*; thou art my food and drink, *enti akli w-širbi*; thou art my creed, *ent dini*," and so on.

The enamored Rwejli likes to say: "I wish to fast and pray, but only in honor of those with loosened hair; in honor of Allâh's countenance I shall not pray; *ana-ṣûm p-palli lâ-ǧâṭ al-'uḏâri w-illa lwaǧh allâh mâni mṣalli*." Or: "I will not

2:Musil 8-4-5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ẓâfi ar-rdân ṣallejt*.

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor his daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭijje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭijje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḳuṣara*, or protected neighbors.

619 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem
554 al-Fhejğât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called
582 Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization;
565 they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫwân*, they pay *ḫwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors *ḳuṣara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje* free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith
326 *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣunnâ'* that they are no *aṣîla* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves. 582 326

Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *ahl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin. 582 567

Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the 'Aneze group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks: 619 554 582 565

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-'Amm

The children of parents descended from the respectable old 'Aneze families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-'amm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-'amm* occasionally claims the girl, *jehağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *'oḳdha w-ḥallha bjad eben 'ammiha* (sic!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha lnafseh*, is the *eben al-'amm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-'amm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation. 582

If the *eben al-'amm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-'amm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥağğir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee 582 584

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

582 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away;
584 *ana abûj râḥ abṛîk teğûz min ruḳubti abṛîk tedaššerni ʿawâẓ abûj râḥ.*" The *ḥağğîr* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl
684 but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe;
583 there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful chief, *jinḥâšûn jamm al-ʿarab jetazabbenûnhom*. They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-ʿamm*. An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

ʿAğâğ al-Msêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-ʿamm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutahâwin hw w-ijjâha ṭalâṭ sinîn*, ʿAğâğ fled with his sweetheart to the Ahl aš-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *innahom minḥâšîn*, the *eben al-ʿamm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab*. But ʿAğâğ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of ʿAğâğ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of ʿAğâğ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *šemâṭa*, is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-ʿamm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meğwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A single Rwejli of the 'Abdelle clan eloped with a white slave girl. The search for him proved useless — he disappeared without leaving a trace. Should he ever return, he would be killed by his own kin.

When a youth wishes to marry a certain girl, he confides his secret to some older friend, begging him to find out from his father whether he agrees to his wooing or not. It is considered bad form, *'ajb*, for the son to ask his father for this permission. The father, who as a rule knows all the time which girl the son has chosen, says after hearing the news: "If it is Allâh's will, it will be good. Be it blessed. This day is already gone; to-morrow we shall realize his wish; *al-jowm fât bukra nakẓi ṛaradeh.*" Next day the father goes with some prominent man to the father of the girl. They sit down, exchange greetings, talk about various matters, and finally say:

"We want thy daughter X for the youth Y, *nabṛi minak bintak al-flâne lil-walad al-flâni.*"

"All right. Salt cannot be increased except with salt again. *Ṭajjeb mâ-zûd al-meleḥ il'a-l-melâḥ.* I am satisfied. Let them beget children together. Speak with her cousin, *eben 'ammha.*"

Then they go to the *eben al-'amm*, sit down, salute, and converse a while. The youth's father rises, beckons to the cousin or the second cousin, leaves the tent with him, and they squat down at some distance from the tent, where nobody can hear them.

"We give thee good evening, *numassik bel-ḫejr.*"

"Oh, good evening to you both! *jâ masa-l-ḫejr.* You surely did not come to me without desiring something, *mâ-ntom bela ja ṛaraẓ.*"

"Yes, we come with a certain desire; *na'am ǧâjin bel-ṛaraẓ.*"

"Then speak! *ehreǧû.*"

"May Allâh add to thy days! We want her for him, and what thou desirest we hold ready for thee."

Now if the *eben al-'amm* agrees to the girl's marriage, he says: "I want this and that." If he does not, he answers: "She is destined to be my wife. I will not give her." But if he has no intention of marrying the girl himself and wants no compensation, he ends the parley with the words: "I wish you well."

The dowry or price demanded for the bride is expressed by the word *sijâḳ*. This means only the value put on the bride

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

583 or on a mare. The *sijâḳ* is not strictly stipulated. If the *eben al-ʿamm* asks much, much must be given him. It is always to him that the *sijâḳ* is delivered. Only when he dies and there is nobody else to care for the girl, the whole *sijâḳ* goes to her father as soon as the wedding is over, *aʿras ʿalejha*. The usual compensation for the bride is one or two she-camels and the first mare captured after the wedding. One she-camel always goes to the mother of the girl for having nursed the bride. This animal is called *baʿîr al-kûʿ*, elbow camel, because the mother used to lean her elbow against the ground when suckling her daughter.

LOVE DITTIES AND POEMS

831* 539* The delights and sorrows of love are expressed by the Rwejli in short ditties known as *heğejni* or *taṭwîḥ*. Some compose their own, others borrow and adorn them with their own name, as if they were the authors. It is said in this respect:

Heğejnijjeten ḳalladawha-l-ʿaḳâl
ḳalladawha-l-brijjesem w-riš an-naʿâm.

The *heğejni* ditty they adorned with a head rope,
Adorned it with silk and ostrich feathers.

[727] When a warrior pardons his enemy, he lays his head rope, *ʿaḳâl*, around the latter's neck as a sign that this particular enemy belongs to him with all he may possess, and then he throws himself into the fight again. The composer of a *he-*
[424] *ğejni* song adorns it not merely with his head rope but with silk and ostrich feathers as well, so that nobody can steal it from him — but all this without avail. There are many who like to appropriate a pretty song, although it does not belong to them.

In Praise of Lovers; The Delights of Love

Jâ ʿammi waʿ bint al-ṛarâwi
tabṛîni w-ana-ṛidaha
w-elja taḥaṭṭat bel-ḥazâwi
aḥaḍat ḳlejbi bidaha.

Oh, uncle, Ṛarâwi's daughter
Wants me and I long for her;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When she goes by in her fringed kerchief, 831×
She takes my little heart away in her hand. 539×

Al-Ṛarâwi was a Rwejli whose daughter was famous for her beauty. *Ḥaẓâwi* means the long elaborately twisted fringe of a silk kerchief, *maḳrûna*, with which a belle covers her forehead and face. [291]

Hâḏi ṭwâref ʿarab ḫelli
jâ marḥaba jâ ʿarab šîḥa
ʿaḏrûb aḫûha jiǧib aš-šowl
čam râʿijen ʿawwadeh ṣîḥa
jâ ḫdejdeha bwêrež al-hemlûl
min miznċten bass laha ẓîḥa.

These are the borders of the Arab camp where dwells
Hail, O Arabs, with whom Šîḥa camps! [my darling.
ʿAḏrûb, her brother, brings sumpter camels as booty.
Oh! how many a herdsman has he taught to utter the warning cry!
Her cheeks are like flashes of lightning from a rainy belt,
From a cloud which appears full of milk.

Aḫûha is the lover of Šîḥa. *Jiǧib aš-šowl* means "brings, or leads, in from a raid camels able to carry heavy burdens." When the tents are being moved, all supplies are loaded by the women, who therefore like strong camels. The herdsman is not in a position to defend his herd; he merely gives the alarm cry. *Hemlal* is a long, narrow streak or belt of rain coming from a cloud where there is constant lightning which gives the cloud the appearance of being filled with milk. The milky white luster issuing from it reminds the poet of the white, rosy cheeks of Šîḥa. [462]

Jâ wenneti wennet aš-šenne
rabâbaten bjad laʿâbi
rîḥat ʿašîri leha beṇne
jâ ʿambaren bjad ǧallâbi.

My sigh is like the sigh of the hide stretched
On a rebec in the hand of the player.
The fragrance of my beloved is as pleasant
As amber in the hand of the hawker.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Šenne is the piece of an old, thoroughly dried hide which is stretched over the round hole of the violin-like rebec. It forms the sounding space and vibrates whenever the bow is drawn across the strings. *Rîḥa* means, properly, a vile and *benna* a pleasant odor. *Ǧallâb* is a merchant who does not sell for money but furnishes the women with perfumes and ornaments, taking from them camel's hair, traveling bags, *mezâwed*, fancy saddle bands, *sefâjef*, etc., in exchange.

Jâ hêh jâ râčeb al-ʿaṭli
sallem w-rudd as-salâmâti
sallem ʿala-lli nwa žatli
ḳul lâ lâ ḥajjen w-lâ mâti.

Hail to thee, who ridest a bony camel,
Salute and the salutes return!
Greet him who has resolved to destroy me,
And say I neither live nor am dead.

ʿAṭli (or *ʿaṭel*) is a bony camel. *Rudd as-salâmâti*, return the salutes—the visitor first salutes all present and is in turn saluted by each of them separately; he again answers every salute. To the ditty just cited the Rwala add the following:

w-ṯnejn ʿâteh teḳel šatli
w-nhejdeh bêẓ al-ḥamâmâti.

Her teeth are like grains of rice
And her breasts round as the eggs of a pigeon.

Judged by its content this verse does not belong to the ditty; it may be a fragment of another with a similar rhyme.

Šatli is the same as *ḥabb ar-ruzz* or *ḥabb at-tummen*, grains of rice or of *tummen*.

Al-waǧd waǧdi ʿala dbajje
waǧd al-abkâr al-maʿâṭîši
dâǧen w-lâǧen ʿala-ṭ-ṭajje
w-al-maʿ baʿîden w-lâ nîši
jâ ḳrûnaha jâten al-mijje
miṯl as-sefâjef ʿala-l-ǧîši
jâ nhûdaha bêẓ ḳudrijje
taẓfi ʿalejh al-ʿaḏâriši.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831×
539×

Pain, my pain because of Dbajje;
A pain like that of thirsty young she-camels
Who stagger from side to side at the well's mouth —
But the water is deep down, and there is none to draw it.
Oh, her tresses! they may be a hundred,
Resembling the fancy bands on riding camels.
Oh, her breasts! they are like the eggs of the *kudrijje*,
At which those whose hair is loosened warm their lovers.

Young she-camels, especially when fully grown, suffer much from thirst. *Niš* is the name given to a person drawing water, *jenšeh*. *Kudrijje* is a bird resembling the *ḳaṭa'*, sand grouse, except that it is slightly smaller and has black feathers in its wings.

Já-lláh já ḫallák laṭ-ṭejr riše
jáḫoḏ murádeh brehárik semáha
wa'-'ajni alli brumad mustaṭíše
'ala 'aššri daffaḳat bird máha
wasṭen hafa' w-rḳejben teḳel Ešše
w-rdájefen subḫán rabbena wazáha
w-elja-ḳbalat teška libint al-kbejše
w-ḥelw zowlah jowm tadni ḫaṭáha.

O Allâh, who for the falcon created his feathers
So that he can fly to the bright heavens at will!
Alas, my eyes, struck with blindness,
Have poured their cool waters over my beloved.
Slender is her waist, her neck like that of a glass vessel,
And her hips, Allâh be thanked, how shapely!
When she walks towards thee, she steps like the daughter of the *kbejše* mare,
And sweet she appears, when her step comes near.

Já mḥejmed w-al-bala' ǧáni
já 'aššri čejf asawwi bek
máhaz al-maḳrún w-arwáni
béṭat al-kudri ḫadar ǧejbek
ḳdalaha šerṭán ǧahbáni
manwet al-'aṭšán jadli bek
'ajúnaha já mowj rudráni
páfijen ṭábat moššribek
nehdaka finǧán dlodni
ṗijer al-'aǧemi lá wáli bek.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831*
539*

O Mhejmed, what torment has come upon me!
O sweetheart, what must I do?
She opened her hooked dress revealing to me
A *kudri*'s egg below the slit at her breast.
She has plaits on her temples like cords of gold,
A thirsty one may wish to let down the bucket with them.
Her eyes are like the waves of a pure pool,
Where those fare well who drink from it;
Her breast, a coffee cup like one used in the chamber of the lord,
A Persian jeweler could not make such a one.

The lover complains both to his comrade, Mhejmed, and to his sweetheart, to whom, captivated by her charms, he has promised to perform a dangerous deed.

[291] *Ṯowb makrún* is the woman's garb when closed below the neck. *Náḥaṣ al-makrún* means to lift and open this part of the woman's garment on the breast. *Ǧejb* is the slit from below the neck down to the stomach. Farther down the garment is sewn together in the same way as our shirt. The slit of the woman's garb has only one buckle, immediately under the neck. When the garment is lifted, the slit widens, and the woman can nurse her child. *Ṣadír* is a pool of water in a [574] valley channel. *Díwán* is a drawing-room of the rich, where coffee is presented in cups often artistically made and expensive.

Já ṯemánen 'ala ṣáḥebi low jabí'
miṯl hal-barad bilejáli-r-rabí'.

Oh, if the eight teeth could be sold to the lover!
They are like the dew crystals of the frosty spring nights.

Barad signifies crystals of frozen dew.

Já ranél ed-duḫul
já ḫaṣíb el-ejdejn
ja'lam alláh
ju'azzi 'an al-wálidejn.

O thou gazelle from the Nefúd!
O thou with the dyed hands!
Alláh knows that a glance from thee
Will comfort me in the loss of my parents.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Daḥal stands for the Nefūd, the numerous funnel-shaped hollows of which resemble *daḥal*, or dolines, and are favorite resorts of the gazelles. The maiden has dyed her finger nails and palms yellow with henna. 831x 539x

Já ṛazāl jeǧurr aṯ-ṯowb
w-aṯ-ṯudjeb raššennah
rīḳ já 'asal jaḏowb
w-ḥanī min riwī minnah.

Oh, that gazelle! she trails her dress after her,
While her tresses strike against her.
Her spittle is like melted honey itself;
Blessed is he who may drink of it.

Já ḥowḳ 'aṯni ḥebbetah malkūš
ṛaṯṯen twaḳḳa' leh ḥarīr
já-bu ṯamānen miṯl darr el-būš
w-al-ḫadd beh rīḥ aṯ-ṯarīr.

Darling, give me a kiss, one as light
As when silk clings to the twig that catches it.
Thou hast eight teeth as white as the camel's fresh milk,
And thy cheeks give forth a fragrance like *ṯarīr*.

Malkūš signifies a thing which, although but slightly connected with another, cannot be easily parted from it.

Az-zejn low ḫu wara-l-bāb
lāzem en 'aṯūni jarā'ennah
'aslūfeh ḫaṣr aṯ-ṯijābi
w-en-nhūd laṯ-ṯowb ḫallennah
já má ḫala naz' aṯ-ṯijābi
w-erkāj sewwī 'ala sennah.

On a beauty, even if she stands behind the door,
My eyes must dwell.
Slender she is and yet fills her dress,
And her breasts lift up her garment.
Oh how sweet she is while undressing
And while my teeth are pressed against hers!

'Aslūfe is a woman neither thin nor too fleshy, but of slender waist, tall and yet with broad hips which stand out under her dress, *ḫaṣr aṯ-ṯijābi*. [832]

831*
539*

Ḥarrán já lábes el-mezwi
lá já ba'ad man nazel Ǧubba
ḫalaft má ḫiltaha ḥazwi
jista'hel el-ḥoṣen w-el-ḥubba.

Ḥarrán, dressed in a light black mantle,
Oh, that he who has dwelt in Ǧubba may live long!
I vowed earnestly
That he deserved both my bosom and h

The loving maiden promises to reward Ḥarrán, who has returned from a lucky raid to the vicinity of Ǧubba, a settlement in the Nefúd.

Aḫíl dirat mselli
w-en ḥál dúnaha 'aṣáma
já ṣámer el-baṭn já-lli
má ṭáḳ ṭa'ámen w-lá ma'
já 'ejál 'elwa ḫalen li
elja já nahár az-zaḥáma
bárúdahom mustaǧilli
jaḳṣom metín el-'aṣáma
já nijmet aṣ-ṣubḥ já-lli
háṣaw 'alejh an-niláma.

I wish to see the land of Mselli,
Even if scorched deserts divide it from me.
O thou with a sunk-in belly, who
Tastest neither food nor water!
O sons of 'Elwa, of my kin!
And if the day of horror comes,
Their gunpowder will be famed far and wide,
For it breaks the bones of the spines.
O morning star! O thou
About whom the flower of the youth gathers!

821 The lover was dispatched by his chief to look for pasture in the direction of brilliant lightning. On clear nights lightning can be observed even on the distant horizon. The old men among the Bedouins then judge whether it lightens from rain clouds or not and in what territory. "Where do you place this lightning? *wén tḥíl ḫal-barḳ.*" "I place it, I judge that it lightens, *aḫíleh* (or *aḫajjeleh*), there or there." If they wish to be perfectly sure, the chief sends out men mounted

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

on camels to examine the region in question. This is done especially in years of little rain, when both the Bedouins and their herds are threatened with want. The lover approaches the territory of Mselli of the 'Elwa kin, to whom he is related. Mselli means, according to 'Awde al-Kwêčbi, a sweetheart; according to Ḥmâr, a region in Neǧd. *'Asâma* is a sunburnt desert without pasture or water. The lover, desiring to be near the girl of his heart, must cross this desert. *Niǧmet aṣ-ṣubḥ*, the morning star, signifies in this verse the beloved girl, excelling all others in beauty. In the moment of greatest danger she throws herself against the enemy. Then the flower of the youth gathers around her and, encouraged by her, beats back the enemy.

Al-waǧd waǧdi 'ala ḥurma
low hi 'aǧûzen w-maǧnûna
w-al-faḥaḍ minha čennaha-š-šelfa
w-teṭajjer al-ḳalb be'ajûnah.

Alas, for my grief for a woman!
Even if old and foolish
And with a thigh as lean as a spear blade,
Yet she sets the heart in motion with her eyes.

1. *Já râčeben malha' tebûǧ ašhab al-âl*
   ejṣa w-lâ 'alejha radîfen maḥanha
2. *awwal nahârha bass mašjen w-ḍowmâl*
   w-tâli nhârha ṭajjer ar-rabḥ 'anha
3. *w-ekṭa' leha min ṣâjet al-lowz miḫǧân*
   w-estadniha bin-nâjfa min šaṛanha
4. *telfi-l-bejt rab'ateh čannaha-l-ǧâl*
   low ǧit bejt aṣ-ṣwejḥbi fekk 'anha
5. *fkûk rîžak ṭaṛ'at aš-šams finǧâl*
   w-ḥâjel ṭemân ijâm jenda' ṣaḥanha
6. *čejf riǧlak já ḍera' kill miśwâl*
   elja ṭâr 'an serd as-sebâja jaḳḳanha
7. *já lejt šarrak jinžezem bên al-enḍâl*
   já rabb riǧl ṣwêḥbi 'ef 'anha.

1. O thou who rides a black she-camel which examines the gray quivering air
   On the march and is worn out by no second rider,
2. In the first hours of the day keep her at an easy pace,
   But at its end let pebbles and sand fly from her.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x 539x

8. Cut for her a *miḥǧân* stick from the best almond tree
And tickle her with the longer prong under the tail.
4. A tent thou wilt reach, whose men's compartment
resembles an escarpment,
And before the tent of my beloved put off the saddle.
5. A cup of coffee thou wilt get to loosen thy spittle,
And for eight days the platter will be moist with fat.
6. How does thy leg fare, O shield of all animals that
raise their tails?
When from the group of raiders he emerged all were
afraid.
7. Would that the evil thou hast met had been destined
for cowards!
O Lord! take pity on my darling's leg.

A girl of the Durmân clan had a lover whose leg was shattered by a bullet during a raid. They brought him to the tent of Eben Haḍḍâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, where he was attended to. His sweetheart composed and sent him this poem. The reciter was Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Buǧ lena hal-bilâd* means "examine, scout this country for us." *Âl* is the quivering of the air on a hot day. The nearer the ground, the stronger the vibration. Grasses and bushes seem to be in motion and assume large dimensions. It is impossible to distinguish a rider from a bush at a distance of two kilometers. 2. A good female riding camel is [492] at her best speed before and after sunset. The rider should not hold her back. *Rabḥ* are the small stones scattered by the hoofs of a galloping camel. 3. To make the she-camel go at the utmost speed the rider thrusts the two-pronged head of his stick under its tail, *jistadwiha*. Some riders even dig the prong in deeper than necessary, making the poor [574] beast run madly. 4. The tent is pitched for male visitors only, whether strangers or natives. *Ǧâl* is a long steep scarp by which a high plateau falls off to lower level country. 5. *Fakk ar-rîḥ* is the breakfast; the real meal is the supper. With Eben Haḍḍâl a guest may stay not three but even eight days if he wishes, and during all this time he gets meat from fat, sterile she-camels. The *ṣaḥn* — a large flat pan — is always moist with the fat. 6. *Miswâl* is a fast mare or she-camel which raises her tail high when galloping.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Mâ-rîd ana nâzel aṭ-ṭaffa 831[x]
w-lâ-lli saken 'aḳlat al-wâdi 539[x]
la' mâ ḥala mḳâbel aṣ-ṣaffa
w-al-ṭaimeri ḳarm al-awlâdi.

I desire not him who camps on the plateau,
Nor him who lives at the well down the valley.
How sweet is he whose tent is pitched on the opposite side,
For he is the subduer, the flower of all youth.

It is the maiden's wish that her lover may pitch his tent on the other side of the valley. *Ṭaffa* is a plateau intersected by a deep valley. In a territory where no hostile attack is feared the clansmen pitch their tents where it suits them. Many choose the plateau itself, where their camels can graze freely; others prefer to be near water and therefore pitch their tents near the *'aḳla* well; others again — and these are the most numerous — select some wider and more level part of the channel bank, protected against the wind and sand and where they are also safe from the herds crowding down to the water. The tents are generally pitched in two rows separated by the channel. The sides of these tents as a rule are closed towards the wind, so that it is impossible to look from one into the other. But the women like to lift the canvas in the back of the tent and to peep through the chink at what is going on in the tents on the opposite side. To the last song they add: [484 342]

Alli ḏelûlek leha ḥaffa
min ſowḳeha-l-ḫurǧ w-ôdâdi
já má ḥala lam'at aḍ-ḍaffa'
čân al-ṭaṣi jammana bâdi.

Whose she-riding-camel is swift as a tempest
With a bag and a saddle on her back.
Oh, how sweet is the glitter of his mantle,
When the desired one rides hither in the evening!

Ḥâffa means a gallop as fast as a gale or tempest, an unsurpassed speed, during which the wind resounds in the ears. *Ḫurǧ* is a double bag that can be thrown across the camel saddle and also a smaller bag of the same kind to be put on the horse saddle. A *ḍaffa* is a heavy winter cloak. Men 000

A daffa is a heavy winter cloak. Men
831[c] fond of dress buy mantles embellished between the shoulder
539[a] blades with a broad ornament of glittering silver, or at least
[291] copper, threads. The hem made from these threads reaches as far down as the abdomen. Such an ornament glistens when the night is bright. *Bádi* (for *sâjer*) is one paying an evening
[574] call; *bádi 'alejna* (or *musajjer 'alejna*), he is coming to spend the evening with us.

Já-bu ḫalâḫel w-zmejjem
w-al-ḫadd barráḳen jelúḥ
já má ḥala' ḳazb al-brajjem
w-al-'omr ṣajjúreh jerúḥ.

Oh, she with rings above her ankles and a little ring in her nostril,
Whose cheeks glisten like lightning,
Oh, how sweet to take hold of a little body belt of [leather.
For, as for life, its end is sure.

[291] *Brajjem* (dimin. of *barîm*) is a thin belt of leather strips worn by the women on their bare bodies.

Rá'i-l-ḳa'úd al-meḥaddar
ma' wádi-s-sidr jinḥa'
ḳum ḥebbini lâ te'aḏḏar
w-al-'aḏr má-ni bṭerijjah.

The rider on an unruly camel
Has turned into a valley overgrown with *sidr*.
Rise, kiss me, and excuse not thyself,
For an excuse I will not brook.

[837] A lover during the march asks a kiss from his beloved, whose husband has just ridden out of sight, for his camel nibbles at every patch of good grass or woody plant. He turns into a valley overgrown with *sidr* trees and full of thorns. If he had to watch his unruly camel before, he must now among the *sidr* be even more careful and is thus prevented from watching his wife riding in the rear.

1. *Já bark já-lli táli al-lejl lawwâ'*
   ḫuftak w-ana bheṭ'at an-náṣ wâ'i
2. *min rús 'álem ḫummaḫen čeḍḍ biken fâ'*
   biljál ṛurren biz̲'aḏelen ḥe'á'i

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831 K
539 K

3. *ḳum šidd w-erḥab fi ḳara' kull maṭwa*
w-eb'ad zôreh 'an malâwi-ḏrâ'i
4. *hawwâ' bawwâ' lid-daww maḍḍâ'*
ḥorren trawweḥ ma' reḳâriḍ ḳâ'i
5. *w-elja šibaṭṭeh bar-rasan hâ' w-eltê'*
čenn aš-šeḍa' 'ala ǧenâbêh fa
6. *ar-râs râs alli semek ba'ad al-ḫzâ'*
bisemeḳteh šâf al-leǧâǧe w-zâ'i
7. *jâ šibeh hêžen ḥâderen ba'ż ar-rijâ'*
w-melḥ aš-šefa' 'ala ǧenâḥih ṭâ'i
8. *neheǧ selem ḳwâjmeh jiṭroḳ al-bê'*
ǧinḥân zôden al-ḫariš eḫtirâ'i
9. *čaṣf zâ' mzawwa'en jowm jinzâ'*
ḥorren su'a' biṭard min ḳabl jâ'i
10. *ḳult âh min 'elmen lefa'-l-ḳalb w-elṭâ'*
saḳa' šerîč ar-rûḥ samm al-efâ'i
11. *min al-jowm awma' li nôbtên bel-aṣbâ'*
miṭl al-bedr jowm entahaz bertifâ'i.

1. O lightning flashing at the close of night!
Awake while others slept, I saw thee
2. Appearing from summits high, hard of ascent,
On clear white nights in which the rays of light
quickly spread.
3. Rise, saddle and mount the obedient (camel),
And see that the chin of the foreleg rube not against
the breastbone,
4. So that she may take life and, with a stride a fathom
long, hurry over the plain,
The pure-blooded beast, hastening to her night's lodging
over a plain strewn with coarse sand.
5. And if thou pullest the rein, she roars and prances
As if a spook were crawling along both her flanks
6. Towards the head; then she lifts her bowed head
And, seeing what haunts her, takes to flight.
7. Oh, how like she is to the male ostrich descending
through some defile,
At whose wings men have fired from the upland.
8. To save himself he flees. His legs measure fathoms,
And both wings increase the fright of the mad bird.
9. He runs like one driven or driving, when he hurries
under the impetus of flight;

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The pure-blooded bird knows how to trot both in defense and attack before he is able to use his reason.

10. I said, 'Ah! What a word has reached my heart, which has rebelled,
For my soul's mate has given me to drink snake poison.'
11. But since the day when she beckoned twice to me with her fingers
The full moon [of my bliss] has reached its zenith.

The poet was an unknown Šarâri; the narrator, Mas'ûd aṣ-Ṣbejḥi, who accompanied me on my journey toward the oasis of Tejma'. The poet wakes up towards the end of the night between the twelfth and the eighteenth days of the lunar month; noticing lightning above the high hills jutting in the horizon, he asks his comrade to saddle the she-camels, and both then ride as fast as possible over the plain. The fast gait of his animal he compares to the mad gallop of a terrified ostrich and thinks of his sweetheart, who caused him much grief at first but later much gladness.

Verse 3. *Zôr* is the spot in the middle of the lower part of the breast, on which the kneeling camel leans against the ground. When kneeling, the shins of the forelegs touch the *zôr*. To "remove the *zôr* from the shins of the forelegs" means to induce the camel to rise and start. 4. *Reḳâriš ḳâ'i* are plains [133] covered with coarse sand, where mirages may often be observed, mostly at noon. *Reḳrâḳa* is a plain covered with weather-worn débris; *ḥamâd*, a plain covered with hard gravel and much [825] flint. 5. *Śeǧa'* means any kind of a spook; it is frequently seen by the animal alone and is supposed to be especially fond [231] of the taste of brains. 9. *Ṭard* are the movements of attack and defense of a horse in a fight. It takes some time to train a horse to the *ṭard*, while a pure-blooded male ostrich knows it long before he can use his reason, *ḳubl ǧâ'i*. 10. *Śerîǧ ar-râḥ* is a sweetheart. 11. The poet's soul was comforted when his beloved gave him the longed-for sign.

In Praise of a Sweetheart's Kinsmen

Hala hala ǧâ 'arab farḥân
ǧâ marḥaba bǧâbel ar-riḥi
w-aḥl az-zêne mâ hom ḥerdân
ḥamdjeten lil-meaduiîi

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831 x
539 x

w-elja tlâḳaw maʿ al-ʿaḏwân
ḫallaw ʿalejhom teḥâriši.

Welcome, welcome, O Farḥân's Arabs!
Hail to her, who dries up the spittle!
For the kinsmen of my beauty take not to flight;
They are the protectors of those who drive the booty,
And, when encountering the enemy,
Discharge weapons spitting fire.

The lover welcomes and praises the relatives of his sweetheart. *Hala* for *ahla, ahlan, jâ-hla, jâ hala. Dâbel ar-riš* is a charming beauty, with whom one immediately falls in love so passionately that the saliva of the mouth dries up as if one were in a fever. The *meśâwiš* are warriors driving the captured herds. As they have to prevent the animals from escaping, they are unable to defend themselves properly and could easily be killed by the pursuing enemy. 826

1. *Jâ râčeb alli ber-redef teḳel marži*
   azwâl rebden muḫaffalen maʿ az-zeráži
2. *w-lâ ḥamâm mraawweḥen leh al-berǧi*
   ʿoḳb al-meśâl mraawweḥen binzeʿâži
3. *jâ resal jâ-lli lal-maʿâzib terži*
   lâzem tḫûf an-nâr miṭl az-zerâǧi
4. *jadʿîk bejt beh meǧâles w-herǧi*
   râʿih má ḥâšat jammeh ḫaráǧi
5. *.emi marṣûf al-ḫadam jâ-bu marǧi*
   salab ʿadîli min ṣamiri w-má ǧi
6. *salab ʿadîli salab ḳâbûn serǧi*
   w-ʿajni tekubb ṣurûb majjen hamâǧi
7. *ʿalejh min râli-l-eṭâmin derǧi*
   ṣâfen ʿala aḳḥen teḳel ʿaṣm ʿâǧi
8. *alli banat bel-ḳalb ḳaṣrun w-berǧi*
   banat beḥamʿen loun ḳaṣr al-ḫafâǧi
9. *ʿaǧrûb aḫûha surbetek teḳel ʿarǧi*
   jaṭni-lja ṭîrat ʿajân al-harâǧi
10. *jâ lâjmen maḳṭûʿ má ʿâd jarǧi*
    jowm al-ḫarc' má ʿâd ʿendeh jidâǧi.

1. O thou who ridest a she-camel whose back has almost to be climbed by a ladder,
   [Whose speed is] like clouds of dust in the blue air raised by startled ostriches,

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831* 2. Or like pigeons longing to roost in the castle,
539* Who hasten thither after the noon heat has passed.
3. O messenger! O thou who speedest to the hosts,
Thou canst not help seeing a fire like a big lamp.
4. It is a tent that calls thee, where sit and talk the visitors,
And to whose owner no one comes to collect a tax.
5. The name [of my beloved is] 'Woven from metal rings,'
O father of the 'Son for whom thou yearnst';
She it is who has stolen the fat of my heart and entrails,
6. She has stolen my fat and the soft cover from my saddle,
Making my eyes shed full basins of salt water.
7. She is dressed in clothes of costly stuff,
Which cling to her ivory calf.
8. She, who has built a manor and a castle in my heart,
Built with mortar like al-Ḥafâǧi's castle.
9. Shame on her brother? As if his troop were lame!
Why, he still resists when the eyes of the babblers
look around in flight.
10. Oh, may he who reviles him be parted from all that he
longs for and
On festive days may no one accept gifts from him.

The poet was Muhammad eben Mhelhel.

Verse 1. *Zoul* is the indistinct outline of a man's figure observed from afar. *Azwâl rebden* are the clouds of whirling dust enveloping fleeing ostriches. 2. Pigeons prefer to nest in old ruins, especially if they lie far from settled countries. After sunrise they fly to the cultivated regions for their food and drink; after noon, when the heat is most oppressive, they hide somewhere in the shade, later feed and drink again, then return about two hours before sunset at the utmost speed to their ruins, often more than thirty kilometers distant. The fast gait of a she-camel reminds the poet of a fast disappearing dust cloud whirled up by ostriches, or of flocks of pigeons hurrying to roost, *murawwaḥ*. 3. A brightly blazing fire in an open tent indicates a generous host. A miser will build his tent in valleys and gullies, so that it may not occur to any one to appeal to his hospitality. 5. The girl sung of by the poet is called Der', which means a short shirt of metal rings. Instead of naming her plainly he uses a periphrasis for her name, which is dear to him, *semi*, the words *maryûf al-ḥadîd*, meaning a coat of mail. *Abu marǧi* is the father of several

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girls, who wishes for a son. Here a friend of the poet is meant. *Mâ ǧi*, for *mâ ǧwa'* or *mâ ǧwî*, means "what is in my heart." 6. *'Adîl* is fat or flesh; *'adla'* is a fleshy, fat she-camel. *'Arabna mu'addelîn abâ'erhom 'âǧifet aš-šaḥm* means "our Arabs are satisfied because their camels are covered with fat." *'Adel* has the same meaning as *simen*, fat; hence *'adla'* is synonymous with *semîne*. *Smân abâ'erhom* means "their camels are fat." *Kâbûn serǧi* is a very soft cover for a horse saddle. Love has deprived him of both his fat and soft flesh to such an extent that his saddle galls him as if the thick, soft cover were not there. 7. *Derǧe* (pl., *deraǧ*) is a piece of cloth cut for one person. 8. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥafâǧi is the name given by the Rwala to Ḳaṣr eben Aḥejẓer or âl Aḥejẓer, southwest of Kerbela. The better the mortar, the stronger the building. The Rwala admire the firmness with which the mortar has cemented the stones and bricks used in building the al-Ḥafâǧi castle, making it impossible to demolish it. 9. The brother of the girl Der' was often publicly insulted with the taunt "*'Aḏrûb*, shame," but the poet defends him. The troop led by him does not limp but merely rides slowly in order to protect its comrades fleeing in fear. 10. *Jowm al-ḥara'* is the day set apart by the Rwala for visiting, entertaining, and bringing small gifts to each other.

Meetings, Greetings, Good Wishes

Fâṭeri rawweḥi 'an ḥamw ḳeiẓaḥa
'aḏḏeti ṭâlije mâ-ḥmal reiẓaḥa.

Hurry, my old she-camel, for a night's lodging from the heat of the mid-summer,
My beloved is dear to me, I could not bear her anger.

The warrior returning from a raid in the *ḳeiẓ* season, mid-summer, longs for his sweetheart and urges his tired animal to greater speed.

Ẓa' Ǧubba zemaḥ The rugged hill at Ǧubba begins to appear
miṯl rás eṣ-ṣaḥâb Like the border of a dark cloud!
marḥabâ yâ nwa' Hail, O Nwa',
yâ 'anûd al-banât. O thou wilful maiden!

The settlement of Ǧubba lies in the Nefûd, lat. 28° 2' N., long. 40° 40' E. Close by rises a tall, dark, rugged hill, visible

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831 539 from both the north and south for a great distance. In this neighborhood the sweetheart Nwa' was camping.

Marḥaban jâ-lli ṭûleh w-ṭûli suwa'
jâ-lli ḥabbet fwêha burûd aẓ-ẓuma'.

Hail to her, who is as tall as I!
The kiss of whose mouth refreshes like cool water in thirst.

[271] *Ẓuma'*, thirst, is a word commonly used by the Bedouins. Thirst tortures travelers. Dispersed raiders often perish of thirst; the lack of water makes both the women and children in camp lament. Often a woman with parched lips goes from tent to tent begging with dumb gestures a drink of water for her child. If a mere mouthful of even tepid water refreshes one when thirsty, how much greater the relief from a drink of cool water. A person tormented by love resembles a thirsty man.

As-salâm 'alejkom	Salutation to you!
w-ḳûlû hala'	And answer: Welcome!
já ferîżen 'alejkom	You in the little camp through which
ṭarîż al-ṛala'.	Leads the road to my sweetheart.

The lover going to call on his sweetheart greets the small camp through which he is passing. *Ferîż* is a group of no more than ten tents.

Elja ǧît mazbûr an-nahad
já m'ejdi sallem li 'alejh
abu ṯamênen mǧellijât
w-al-ḳalb malḳû'en 'alejh.

Shouldst thou come to her with the full, firm bosom,
O M'ejdi! give her my greetings.
She who has eight burnished teeth
And to whom my heart clings.

Já-ḥal al-'ajrât sirau já ḫafâti
'an sma'hen lâ t'ûǧûn al-maṭijje
elja lifejtom ṣwejḥebi ṣallaw wapâti
'allenaw be'ulûm rá'i-l-arîżijje
'end abûha delletên mu'abâti
rîf ha'l haǧnen mezâhebhen ǧalijje
we' hani min ḳâżebah ǧejb al-'abâti
w-enṣawe' bḥoṣeja mambûz aḥ-ḥaṭijje.

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O riders on hardened camels! ride, my friends,
And in your course delay not the long-paced ones.
When you reach my darling, give her my message,
Bear tidings to her who is kept well informed.
At her father's, two coffeepots are in continual use;
With him is the usual pasture of riders on white camels,
whose bags are empty.
Ah, blessed be he, who grasps the cloak on her breast
And he who may rest in the bosom of the maid of full hips.

Sen' is the fast gait of the she-camels at night time. They do not graze, do not suffer from heat, and speed along at a measured pace. *Râ'i-l-aričijje* is supposed to mean one who is well posted in all affairs and who therefore can tell truth from exaggeration. *Delletên mut'abâti*, two fatigued pots: in the one pot coffee is steadily boiling and from the other just as steadily poured out.

Já 'amm ǧanna ṯalâṯ erôâb
ḳum sdjel al-'elem 'an henna
ǧowwi w-ena-ṯahžer al-ḥejrân
bel-ǧowri w-al-ḳafr jer'enna.

Uncle, see! three female riding camels come to us;
Rise, seek news of them!
They have come to me, and I drive away the young camels
From the depression, so that [their camels] may find
their pasture untouched.

The maiden rightly guesses the matchmakers sent by her lover have arrived and asks her uncle to find out their errand, while she takes their camels to the fresh pasture, *ḳafr*, as yet untouched by any herd. *Aṯahžer al-ḥejrân* means: "I run here and there behind young camels, driving them away." *Ǧowr* is a depression without an outlet, containing abundance of grass.

Hala ḥala bildbes al-merwi
lê jâ ba'ad kill sinǧâra
allâh jaǧlbak ma' al-ṣazwi
allâh jafukkuk ma' al-ṣdra.

Welcome, welcome, thou who art dressed in a light
black mantle!
Oh, mayst thou live longer than all the Singâra!

831x
539x

May Allâh bring thee back from the raid!
May Allâh rescue thee in the attack!

The maiden wishes her lover, who is taking part in a raid against the Sinǧâra, all success. *Mezwi* is a light woollen mantle of black color shot with red. *Lâ jâ ba'ad* means: "mayst thou not depart." The Sinǧâra is one of the four main tribes of the Šammar.

Jâ ḥablbi jâ-l-ḥebbe
w-ḥelw ṭari an-nakâjef
fowḳ aḏ'alen muṭlaḥebbe
jeǧǧel min ẓell an-seſâjef.

O darling! Oh, that kiss!
Sweet is the news of their return from the raid.
He is mounted on a broad-breasted dappled camel,
Which shies at the shadow of the gay ribbons.

Nakâjef are returning raiders. *Muṭlaḥebb* is a camel broad of breast and bony. *Seſâjef* are long multicolored ribbons, hanging from the back of the saddle.

Elfen ḥala beḍ-ḍaḳra
w-elfên ḥala brû'iha
en ôân 'aṭâdne ḍaḳra
bedmû' 'ajn eḍḍiha.

Welcome a thousand times, O sorrel mare!
And two thousand times, thou who ridest her!
Should the sorrel be thirsty,
I will water her with the tears of my eyes.

Jâ-ḥal al-'aḳla	O you who tarry by the well,
jâ-lli ǯell'en maddâ	Which is so far a journey,
lâ ta'ezlûn nafsen	Drive no one away
ǧazaf 'an ḥawâ.	Before he has satisfied his desire.

[312] *'Aḳla* is a well in a valley or dry river bed, which must be cleaned after every heavy rain. *Ǯell'en maddâ* (or *be'iden maddâ*) refers to a long road or journey leading to the well. *Ḳalu'na maddâ* (or *ab'adnâ*) would mean: "We moved it farther, extended the distance between it and ourselves." A man comes from afar for water to an *'aḳla*, and it is a sign of cruelty to drive away such a person, *nafs*. *Hawa'*

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means lust and passion of love. If the separated lovers meet at last, no one should hinder them. 831x 539x

Lovers' Parting; Sorrows of Separation; Pain of Love

Já ṣweiḥebi 'ajn rimijja
lá já ṛazi lá tensáni
low 'ajjarowk al-'arab fijja
w-eṣber ala-l-'ajb min ájni.

My darling, like a white gazelle's eye,
Mayst thou, O desired one, mayst thou not forget me!
And if the Arabs revile thee for me,
Suffer the abuse for my sake.

Hawijjeti ḥáberah ḥarfúš
já 'ajn rimijjet al-wádi
ǧaffalowha ra'ján al-báš
já lejtaha-l-jowm tenṣádi
já-rásha já sebáb ekrúš
w-tenasse/eh al-ḥakra bejrádi.

My beloved — but Ḥarfúš knows her —
Has eyes like a white gazelle in al-Wádi,
Terrified by the shepherds of clamoring herds.
Oh, that I might catch her today!
Oh, the hair on her head, as long as curled horsehair,
Which in the fight streams along the back of the sorrel.

Al-Wádi is the name given by the Rwala to the depression of Sirḥán. *Báš* is the same as *farí*, herds of camels. *Rás* is the hair on the head. *Sebáb ekrúš* is the hair from the horse's tail curling naturally. *Tenasse/eh* means a mare which, while trotting and making short abrupt jumps, lifts her tail so that its long hair streams over her back, covering even her flanks.

Já ḥajji bel-lejl lá tsiri
lá tesleǧem já ba'ad 'mi
ána enna ḥlejbah 'alajj ǧseri
bey-ǧow teṭnáfi ed-dísi
kannejt ana bénij al-ḥajri
hill jowm w-ahlah mušámsi.

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831* 539* Dear brother mine, do not set off on a visit in the nighttime,
Do not put on the bridle, O thou paragon of mine!
If thy heart longs passionately for me,
Carry away that which I owe thee in daylight.
I bless him who has built for himself a strong house,
For his kinsmen dwell in the same place every day.

[342 592] *Ḳaṣr* is the name of any house built of stone or mud bricks. A desert *ḳaṣr* forms a square courtyard enclosed with a high wall, against which abut the dwellings of the several families. Thus the whole kin lives together. In the desert the members of one kin also usually pitch their tents together, but sometimes one or another joins another kin, so that the lovers become separated. The maiden fears lest some one attack her lover at night and asks him therefore to call on her in the day time.

Hala hala jā daḫīlallāh
jā-lli 'ēlūmek te'azzini
wuddi bikom mār ḫalḳ allāh
čaṭrat 'ēlūm all farrāšini
oḫtak lja rčebat aṣ-ṣalla
jā 'ejn nāder šijāhini.

Welcome, welcome, O Daḫīlallāh!
O thou, to hear of whom so gladdens me!
I would fain go to you, but Allāh's creatures
Have spread reports which prevent me.
Still thy sister, when seated in a shaded litter,
Looks like a noble falcon.

Daḫīlallāh, a Šammari, falling in love with a Rwala maiden, was frequently a welcome guest with her parents. Unfortunately a near relative of the maiden was found killed with his herds, and the murderer could not be discovered. The kinsmen suspected Daḫīlallāh of having killed his rival from jealousy, and pressed the girl to refuse the stranger. But she remained faithful and sang these verses. *Aṣ-ṣalla* is the *šeṭab* litter with a covering thrown over its upper horizontal pole, so that the woman is shaded. She speaks of herself as sister, thus a blood relation of Daḫīlallāh, as a proof that she will not give him up. She contemplates the threatening faces of her kins-

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folk with the look of a noble falcon, whom even the largest beast of prey cannot terrify. 831* 539*

Já dîč arîdak ma' al-amwât
má tekṭa' al-ljaz já šêni
ṛada beh msammeḳ al-ḳálât
mu'ṭi al-'efún al-ba'árîni.

O cock! I would thou wert among the dead.
Why disturbest thou my peace, thou wretch?
He has given himself to rest, he who never pays heed
He who gives camels even to loafers. [to gossip.

The maiden is vexed with the cock for reminding the lover visiting her that it is time to return. *'Efún* is the name given to the fat loafers who take no part in raids. The booty captured by her lover is so considerable that he can bestow she-camels even on such a fat loafer, especially if he is related to his sweetheart. [461]

Já nejûm as-sema
'aḳubenna sdrijât
wé'adenna-l-ḳamar
w-aḳlafenna al-mabât.

The little stars of the heavens,
When beginning their night journey after we parted,
Gave us a tryst for the moment when the moon showed itself,
But did not keep their word all the night through.

The lovers agreed to meet at the rising of the moon. But the sky became clouded, so that both the stars and moon did not appear until early morning.

Já ḫajji má ǧá-l-'arab ṭurâdn
hom má lefdkom 'an al-ṛdli
w-ḳalbi jé-lli ṛada ḍeṭṭân
w-kasmi jé-lli sîruḳ ḫdli.

O little brother of mine! have no travelers come to the Arabs?
Has no one arrived from my darling?
For my heart belongs to him for whom it wears away like soft rock,
And my fears are for him who has robbed me of my peace.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831* 539* *Ṭâreš* (pl., *ṭrûš* or *ṭurâš*) is a native traveler. *Čeṭṭân* means a rock or stone that is falling or crumbling to pieces. The maiden's heart dries up or crumbles with passion.

Min 'aḏḏar waǧhi elja rommad
min ba'adakom jâ-l-kawâčibi
w-aḳfejtu w-slejfakom 'ammad
w-ani nahart at-taṛâribi.

Who will excuse me if my face is covered with ashes and dust,
Because of my parting from you, O you Kwâčbe!
For you have turned back, and a troop of your warriors proceeds on a straight course,
While I go to the settled territory.

The maiden is sad because the Kwâčbe, kinsmen of her lover, are going to camp far in the rear, while her relatives [765] have started for Syria. If a woman loses a near relative, she throws dust and ashes on her head and face. The loving maiden would like to do the same but fears to be chidden for it. *Slejf* [484] (dimin. of *salaf*) is the armed troop at the head of the migrating clans, which does not ride now to the right, now to the left in search of good pasture but follows in a straight course. *'ammad*, because the grazing grounds have already been found by men sent out for that purpose and even the camping place has been decided upon. The verb *ṛarrabow* is employed with reference to Bedouins going to the settled territory in whatever direction. The maiden was to camp in Syria, the youth in the inner desert.

Já jumma ǧâni beli' muḫlef
wai ḫlleti wai ana sâwi
dam'i 'ala wuǧuti jaǧraf
w-ajnub ǧanib aṣḥab al-wdwi.

O little mother of mine! a sorrow has come upon me
What shall I do now? [without warning.
A tear flows down my cheek,
When I dwell in the neighborhood of a wolf howling.

Ǧanib is a neighbor whose tent ropes, *ajnâb*, touch the tent ropes of another. The maiden or woman has either lost her lover in a fight or he has proved unfaithful. She must

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

not cry in the tent, so she goes behind the camp and there cries and laments to relieve herself. *Aṯḥab* is a wolf, who also wails and laments and is therefore called *al-wâwi*, the wailer. On the border of the desert the jackal is called *wâwi*, in the inner desert there are no jackals. *Wâwi* is a word imitative of the jackal's cry.

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Lâ wa' bi wawwow jinḥown
jamm ǧirat allâh já 'arab ḫelli
jiḏkor 'âṯiri waḥdr al-kown
jeruddeha w-ar-radi ḏelli.

Alas, my sorrow! They are to set out in another direction.
Oh, may you camp in the neighborhood of Allâh, O Arabs of my friend!
My beloved on the day of the fight will remember
And turn his mare, while a scamp will flee like a coward.

Lâ wa' bi or *lâ wa' b'ejni* signifies much the same thing as *já ḥasreti*; it is the usual expression when something dear is lost. According to our song the lover's kin have moved in company with the kin of his sweetheart, who fondly hoped that they would also camp together. But her lover's kinsfolk have unexpectedly turned aside. Then she comforts herself again with the thought that her youth will not forget her and will come to her aid if her camp should be attacked. And even if the stronger enemy should force him to retreat, the thought of his sweetheart would make him turn round and begin the fight anew. *Jamm ǧirat allâh* (or *wa' ǧirat allâh*) has the same meaning as *wa' ḥafeẓ allâh*, under Allâh's protection.

Ṭall ar-rubî' w-diḫeln bel-ḫejr
w-al-ṣarw mâ waḳna 'alejh
já-bu ṯnâṯen ḫamsaḫṣr al-ḥejr
w-al-ḳalb maltî' 'alejh.

The season of plenty is gone and midsummer begins,
And yet my sweetheart and I have not met.
Oh, the maid with the egg-shaped breasts,
To whom my heart so firmly clings.

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539x

Ẓáll ez-zabí' w-ḥawdarow lal-ḥejr
w-el-ǧarw má wuḥna 'alejh
ǧá-bu xháḍ ḍannaḥen el-bejr
w-el-ḥalb waǧlínen 'alejh.

Gone is the time of plenty, and they have departed to
the pastures of the midsummer
But the beauty we nowhere saw.
Oh, for her with breasts like eggs!
My heart is grieving for her.

[484 221] In the time of the sultry heats of midsummer, el-ḥej the Bedouins camp in the lowlands, where water is found i abundance; therefore they have descended, ḥawdarow, fro the plateaus.

Abṛi ataraffa bel-mandíl
w-el-'ajn má hi wájime
'eddi ṣawwében bel-mandíl
má ḥawwedú ḥandíjmeh.

I desire to cover myself in my bed,
But my eyes cannot close in sleep;
I feel like one lying wounded on his couch,
Whose bandages they have failed to renew.

[752] *'Eddi or ḍawwi* means: "I feel [illegible]." *Ṣawib* signifies t be wounded seriously, but not fatally. *Ḥandjem* are poultic and bandages. If not applied well and renewed, *má ḥawwed* they cause still greater pain.

Ḳilt a'arḍíni 'ala-s-carḥa
ḍamm-ar-ramad ṣíjeben 'ajni
ḥubb el-ǧaṣi bel-ḥaḍe jarḥa
maḥḍar 'ala-l-ḥabd ḍáwini
wa' ḥejb 'ajni min el-farḥa
ḍín el-'arab bán ḥowríni.

I said: 'lay me across a gray horse,'
For it seems as if blindness had struck my sight.
Love for the desired one grows in my entrails,
And burns me like red-hot iron laid on the stomach.
Ah, my eyes will become gray from the parting,
If the Arabs take different courses.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved.

Wa' ḥejb 'ajni, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' ḥejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart," are sayings used in misfortune.

Já rākeb alli ḏemīlaha zēn
ḥamrah ejdēha šarārijje
já manweti-lli ḥaleh mešīn
w-ella ṛaribeh naṛa ḥajjeh.

O thou who rídest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarāri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

Ḏemīl or *derkeh* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḥamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarārāt breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes. In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *mešīn*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, akl. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṛa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṛa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*).

Já mdahraj ḥaf li 'ala-š-de'eje
ḥarreb li al-ḥejēn beldādi
al-'a/w mā-ḥḥarī lejle
ḥabbejt ṛamādli al-/wādi
w-akki lel já ḥajje já dweje
w-akīf ḥajjānel ḥaffaw ṛādi.

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O Mdahrag! put the saddle on my gray camel,
Tighten the saddle on the riding camel.
Heaven avert the evil omen, but how disastrous art thou, night!
For thou hast pierced my entrails in many places.
I complain to thee, my little sister Dwejle,
For your kin have urged their camels elsewhere.

The lover rode out at night to call on his sweetheart. Her kin were moving that very day and intended to pitch their tents at a certain place. There the lover went when darkness set in, but the camp was not there, his sweetheart's people had moved to another place.

Mdahrag was a negro or a Bedouin serving as *feddâwi*, free servant, with the lover. *Še'ejle* is a light-gray she-camel. The word *akšer* (fem., *ḫašra'*), disastrous, should not be used, as it might provoke the demon to do the speaker harm; therefore *al-'afw*, pardon, is added. Dwejle was the name of his beloved, whom he addresses as his little sister. *Hajjân* means kin, *ahl*, with whom the maiden is camping. *Ṛâdi* (or *ṛâd*) is an object lying elsewhere, either further on or in an unexpected direction.

Jâ-l-fedne w-edni lewa khejle
'an diretew mâ biha ǧâze
emši w-ena mrafijjat al-bâl
w-etli-l-aǧânib min al-'âze
ḫaffi ṛrâwen ma' al-ḫajjân
w-min al-ḫala jinḫol ḫrâzeh.

O Fedne! bring us the *khejle* mare;
I desire to leave the land of ill luck,
To leave with a mind distressed,
And of necessity to follow the strangers.
I wish for my darling to camp with my kinsfolk,
Then he would carry away all the sweetness he could hold.

The lover camps far away, so that the maiden cannot meet him. Therefore she wants to escape on a mare of the *khejle* breed to another clan, where the loved youth is probably serving as a *feddâwi*. *Šaffi* is equivalent to *šahwati*, my desire, my longing.

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Já lahad ḳum 'aṭni al-maḥsam
nabṛi nuṛarreb 'ala-n-nuḳra
já ḫajji w-ḳalbi al-wdred
waredat 'aṭṭâdnen 'ala muḳra.

O Lahad! rise and hand me my bandoleer,
For we wish to go to the settlers of an-Nuḳra.
There, little brother of mine, my heart is speeding,
As speeds the thirsty to a rock well with rain water.

The lover in the desert longs for his sweetheart, already camping in an-Nuḳra west of the Ḥawrân.

A *maḥsam* is a broad leather belt with pockets for cartridges. *Nuṛarreb* is an expression used by the Bedouins when they wander from the inner desert into a settled country in no matter what direction. *Muḳra*, or *moḳr*, is a half natural, half artificial cylindrical well dug in a rock to a depth of five to ten meters, where rain water accumulates. Its opening is usually narrow, so that any large stone can close it. In a rock well of this kind the rain water will remain as long as a year and a half before evaporating. As there are no large watering places in the regions where such fountains are dug, the thirsty man hastens to them full of nervous fear, since he knows that he will die of thirst if the *moḳr* contains no water. [312]

Já wenneti wennejtaha
boḳṣa'-ṣ-ṣumâjer ḥâjera
lejteni ḫenâḍal ṭouḳaha
w-aḍ'ab 'ala ṣumâjeruh.

This is my lament; I weep for her,
I who in the depth of my soul am troubled.
Oh that I might be a chain on her necklace
So that I could play on her bosom!

The lover longs for his sweetheart, who camps far away from him.

Já rûûbînen ḫaṣâḥîf
já wdredînen 'ala ṣmajr
já muṣarrelîn al-alîjaf
enn-ḫâṭ mâ-ntom 'ala ḫajr.

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O ye who ride on slender she-camels!
Ye that draw water in Ḍmejr!
Ye who separate lovers!
To you I declare that it will fare ill with you.

Haṣâḥîf are slender she-camels, very cautious mounta climbers. Ḍmejr lies east-northeast of Damascus. *Mâ ent 'a ḫejr* means "thou dost not feel well, thou art ill." All punishes with sickness those who separate lovers.

Prince an-Nûri once became enamored of a marri woman, whose husband was in the habit of pitching his te in the same camping ground. Once in the *ḳejẓ* (midsumme season an-Nûri was camping at the junction of the as-Sâḥ and az-Zerḳa creeks. He rode through the camp in all dir tions, but the tent sheltering the object of his affections w not to be seen. To inquire he did not dare, lest he shou rouse the suspicions of his relatives and slaves. Finally sat down in his tent, melancholy and speaking to nobody. that moment his comrade Feiṣal came in, lamenting that t best goat out of the flock, which he had bought from t 'Adwân Arabs in order to entertain his more distinguish guests, had been lost. The whole evening Feiṣal continued wail: "Alas, where is that goat of mine? If I only knew wh to find it. *Wa' 'anzi wejn mâdri wejn naḳâha.*" An-Nûri k silent. After midnight both Feiṣal and the other visitors le the guests lay down to sleep, but the Prince still sat quie leaning against a camel's saddle and looking into the dy fire. At last he raised his head, called his slave, whom ordered to make fresh coffee for him and to wake up clerk Ĝwâd, and then, sipping coffee, he composed the follo ing poem:

1. *Jâ ĝwâd wa' 'anzi wa-na-dûr čullejt*
   wa' 'anzi alli má tebajjen ḫaberha
2. *čullat maḥârîfi wa-dawwer wa-ḥalwejt*
   bemaḳran aš-šejḫ má-ḥaden ĝakarha
3. *naṭṭejt ana al-merḳâb wa-ẓufejt*
   wa bajjen lijje-lli mitteži min ḫaĝarha
4. *faṭan 'alejje ṭarîren wa-waxnejt*
   wa ḳalbi 'alejha bên al-aḍlâ' jarha
5. *en má thajje min ṭamânah trawwejt*
   wa 'ajni-lli má jebaṭṭel saharha

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539x

6. *wa-nnejt wa-nna wannet al-ḥaj ʿala-l-mejt*
wannet ḳaṣîm as-sâḳ mâ-ḥaden ǧabarha.

1. O Ǧwâd, while looking for my goat I grew weary;
Alas, of my goat there is no news.
2. Ended are my inquiries, and still I search and promise reward,
But no one at the junction of the two creeks has spoken of it.
3. I ran up to the lookout, glancing all about me,
So that even [the tents] hidden by the trees I saw.
4. Then I remembered my darling and groaned;
Groaned for her till under my ribs my heart writhed with pain.
5. I did not succeed in drinking my fill from her eight teeth,
Therefore my eyes will not cease to wake.
6. I lamented and still lament, as one who lives bewails one dead,
Or as he groans whose shin bone is broken and whom no one can cure.

Ǧwâd, however, understood perfectly well what manner of goat an-Nûri was after, and the next day he went on an-Nûri's mare to inquire among the tents how many camels they had for sale. In one tent he found only women. One of them looked at his mare attentively, took her by the rein when Ǧwâd dismounted to enter the tent, petted her, stroked her mane, tied her to the tent peg, brought her water, and could not tear herself away from the animal. To Ǧwâd this unusual care paid to a strange mare seemed—to say the least—peculiar, and he looked sideways at the young and pretty woman; their looks met, the woman's face reddened, and Ǧwâd guessed why she tended Prince an-Nûri's horse so carefully. Returning to the prince's tent in the evening, he found him in the same brooding mood as yesterday. After the visitors had left, the guests retired to bed, and when an-Nûri again ordered coffee to be prepared for him, Ǧwâd spoke to him thus:

1. *ʿAzzi rêʿi al-ʿanz jeḳûl čallejt*
bemaḳran as-sejlên mâ ḥaden ḏakarha
2. *tarûni bîirak čân terḥaṣ w-ḥalwejt*
ʿanzak čemîn beṣamîri ḥabarha

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8. *'uzuk beḥâk an-nazel taṯri blaha bejt*
ǧiben jenâṣerha we ǧiben 'aṣarha.

1. Patience! The lover of the goat says 'I grew weary;
   At the junction of the creeks none spoke of her'.
2. See, I bring thee a joyful message, even shouldst thou
   Get rid of me cheaply, though a reward thou hast prom-
   Of thy goat news is hidden in my bosom. [ised.
3. Thy goat bleats in her tent in the camp yonder,
   A wolf guarding and a wolf ensnaring her meanwhile.

The prince stretched out his hand, shouting: "Be quiet!"

1. *Lijje fâṭeren jowm aḳûl ebha*
   taḳṭa' raḥârik dâwijje
2. *min nasl Ša'lân nâǧebha*
   'alejha wusejm al-'awâǧijje
3. *tazha-l-mijâreč manâčebha*
   aṣlah wukâden šarârijje
4. *mabhûl jâ-lli t'adder ebha*
   mâšijet merwâḥaha bijje
5. *adûr knejne w-meḏhebha*
   mâ šifet 'ajn an-nedâwijje
6. *jâ mâ ḥala jowm alâ'ebha*
   w-an-nahad jâ bejż kudrijje.

1. An old she-camel I have, who now, while I sing of her,
   Runs about in the sunshine on the glistening plain.
2. It was from Ša'lân's descendants that I received her,
   And her brand is that of the Âl 'Awâǧi clan.
3. Her shoulder blades are adorned with a cushion,
   And from the Šararât she most certainly hails.
4. A fool only could find fault with her;
   Why, hast thou not seen how she moves under me?
5. I am seeking Knejne and a trace of her,
   Hast thou not seen her, thou who hast the eye of a
   she-falcon hunting in a dense fog?
6. Oh, how sweet when I play with her!
   Her breasts are like the eggs of a *kudrijje*.

The poet was an unknown Rwejli; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. The poet rides out on an old but well-bred she-camel, a gift of Eben Ša'lân, to look for his sweetheart, Knejne.

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Verse 2. Âl 'Awâği is the name of a clan of the Weld Slejmân, who encamp southeast of Tejma. The 'Awâği captured the she-camel from the Šarârât and, in turn, were robbed of it by the warriors of Eben Šaʿlân. 3. *Miraḳe* is a leather cushion. The rider crosses his legs on it. Sometimes two *mijâreč* are used. One, serving rather as an ornament, falls as far as the camel's neck, while the second, the smaller one, is the *miraḳe* proper. 5. *An-nedâwijje* is the female of a hunting falcon, who finds her prey even when the atmosphere is filled with damp fog which settles down like dew, *neda'*. 6. *Kudrijje* is a bird about the size of our jay, but more squat in body, of dark brown plumage, and with one half of its wings black.

1. *Jâ-bu rašîd ašči lak al-ḳalb malkûš*
   jâ muntahaʿ šakwâj w-al-ḳalb muṛtall
2. *al-ʿafw lâ mirsâl lâ telfija ṛrûš*
   maṛaʿ šahar šawwâl wa-ḳpajjeren zall
3. *jâ-bu nhûden čannehen ṭalaʿ baṭṭûš*
   bêṛ al-ḥamâm ar-râʿbi aw hen ašča
4. *al-ʿejûn ječsen ḥadd al-owǧân ba-r-rmûš*
   sowdan maṛâniǧen ḥadabhen lehen ṛall
5. *ḥaddeh čemaʿ-d-dehdâr mâ jedni-n-nûš*
   wa-traf'eh šemṭ al-ḥaddjeb ʿan aṭ-ṭall
6. *nhûdeh ḥača' bêzen ʿala-ṭ-ṭaʿes mafḳûš*
   wa-ḳdeleteh čar-rîš sowden tahalhal
7. *al-baṭn leh ṛabbût lâ ḳoṭn manfûš*
   lâ merʿezen lejân baṭneh w-lâ zell
8. *jâ bint min jaṭni li jâ ḥamal al-hûš*
   w-en dowbaḥow ʿawč al-marâkiz mâ ḍall.

1. O father of Rašîd! with my wounded heart I shall complain to thee,
   O thou last comfort of my sorrow and of my heart filled with passionate desire!
2. Have mercy! Neither messenger nor travelers have come to me.
   For the last month of *šawwâl*, and now the end of *al-ḳpajjer* is near.
3. O maiden with breasts like the fruits of the *baṭṭûš*
   Or eggs of the cooing pigeon or some still fairer thing!
4. Her eyes, whose lids cover her cheeks
   Are black, and the curved lashes cast a shade.

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831* 5. Her cheeks are as smooth as gossamer, which none must touch roughly
539* And which a light breeze lifts when unburdened with dew.
6. Her breasts thou wouldst liken to eggs, the halves of which lie on a sand drift,
While on her temples the hair waves like black [ostrich] plumes.
7. Her belly — neither fine cloth nor cotton
Nor even the Kashmir wool is as soft as her belly, not the smooth wool used for weaving rugs.
8. O little daughter of him who stands firm when the terror is at its height
And proves no coward when all rush about and bend over the necks of their horses.

The author of this poem was Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr, a member of a once famous kin, the remains of which now usually camp in the neighborhood of Dmejr. Abu Rašîd was a friend of the love-stricken Čen'ân, whose sweetheart, a chief's daughter, was staying with her father in the inner desert.

Verse 1. *Malkûš* is one wounded or stricken; *lakešni kassejf* means "this saber wounded (struck) me." *Muntaha šakwâj* means "my last consolation, or comfort, is the man whom I trust the most." *Al-ḳalb muṛtall* or *al-ḳalb beh ṛoll* (or *hamm*) means the heart filled with unsatisfied, passionate love. 2. *Al-'afw* or *jâ-llâh 'awntak*, meaning "May Allâh have [782] pity on you!" or "May Allâh help you!" is a usual cry when one hears of a great misfortune. Allâh visits man with torments for his sins, hence the exclamation "*al-'afw*," meaning "Forgiveness!" "Mercy!" or "Pardon!" If Allâh forgives the mis-[805] deeds, the misfortune is past. *Šawwâl* is the tenth month. Čen'ân, who lived permanently with the settlers, uses this word, which is not usual in the desert. *Al-ḳṣajjer* is the name given by the Arabs living in the neighborhood of Damascus to the eighth month, *Ša'bân*. The poet's sweetheart moved with her father to the inner desert in the month of *Šawwâl*, and now *al-ḳṣajjer* was nearing its end; thus ten months were almost past and, still, neither messenger nor traveler, *ṯâreš*, had come bringing word of her. 3. *Baṭṭûš* is a plant with red fruits preserved for their pleasant odor. 5. *Dehdâr* is gossamer. 6. *Ḥača'* or *tekel* means "resembles." A *ṭe'es* is a smooth drift of rosy sand. The halved shell of an ostrich egg lying on the smooth rosy sand reminds the poet of his sweetheart's charms.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

7. *Ṛabbûṭ* is the finest cloth; *ḳoṭn manfûš* is cotton lint; *mer'ez*, the wool of the Kashmir goats. *Zell* is the fine wool with a silky gloss, from which the prayer rugs are woven. & *Alhûš* signifies terror or panic breaking out in a small camp attacked by a strong troop of the enemy. He who remains cool in danger, *jaṭni*, checks, encourages, and tries to inspire his comrade to continued resistance and does not prove a coward, *má ḏall*, even when he sees the men fleeing, *marâkiz*, swarming, *'awé*, all around him and pressing their heads to the necks of their mares, *dowbaḥou*, so that they may escape the shots of the enemy.

1. *Jâ min je'âwenni 'ala-l-'afaṣ w-az-zâḡ*
   katben beṣafḥ seḡilaten mâ ba'ad zîž
2. *w-jâ min je'âwenni 'ala-l-ḳâf muḥtâḡ*
   hejṭa ma' al-arjâḥ jabri-s-swâhiḡ
3. *kam lejleten mabrak ḏelûli 'ala ṭâḡ*
   w-nowmi 'ala ṛorr aṭ-ṭanâje ṛamâliḡ
4. *wa-mḳejṣaha 'an wâhḡ al-ḳejṣ fertâž*
   beḫšûm selma' ṣâfijâten ṣarâḥiḡ
5. *w-maṭ'ûm al-ḥunṭa 'ala ṣâḫen as-sâḡ*
   w-mašrûbaha lbeju al-abkâr al-lwâhiž
6. *w-elja hanaf jinbâḡ 'an miṭl al-flâḡ*
   'an šuḏḏaben miṭl al-lwâli mefâliḡ
7. *erdâfaha ṭe'esên min 'oḳb al-wudâḡ*
   min fowḳ šižânen swât ad-darâriḡ
8. *ṭensef 'ala-l-matnên dâḡen wara dâḡ*
   w-tensef 'ala-l-matnên zên ad-demâliḡ
9. *laḡḡen ḫalâḫilaha čema laḡḡat al-ḥâḡḡ*
   w-laḡḡen ḫalâḫilaha bzên ad-dwâliž
10. *w-ḡatna teḫaṭṭa čannaha ṣabi-l-anḡâḡ*
    teḫza' laha sûd al-'ajûn al-ḫadâliž
11. *hi 'anz rîmen riḥaha 'ambar fâḡ*
    ḳâdat al-ṛuzlân al-ḡwâzi-d-dwâriḡ
12. *riḥâneten bemenḳa' al-ma' elja râž*
    mâlat bṛaṣṣât al-ṛoṣûn al-'awâriḡ
13. *ḫams al-ḫanâṣer beken aš-šerk mâ lâḡ*
    w-'ajûn jaḳtelen al-hwâwi medâ'iḡ
14. *semijjeha ma' waḡh al-ṛoṣon jin'âḡ*
    bâb aš-šemâl w-lâ leži lek maḫârîḡ
15. *jâ-llâh jâ farrâḡ jâ wâli al-frâḡ*
    jâ-lli ṛanijjen w-al-ḫalâjež mahâwiḡ

16. *tafrağ lalli ḍennah bbakken min al-'âğ*
mutahajjeren şâkat 'alejje al-menâhîğ.

1. Oh, who will find for me powder of gallnuts and copperas
With which to write on a paper as yet unused,
2. And who will help me to the verses needed
That like gentle breezes shall allay the storms [of my heart]?
3. Many nights did my camel rest by the hole of a snake's den,
And even in sleep I thought of her with the white teeth.
4. To escape the heat in summer, at Fertâ she hides
On the spurs of Selma, where are rifts with clear water.
5. She eats wheat bread baked on a red-hot sheet of iron
And sips the milk of young white she-camels.
6. When she smiles, she uncovers teeth like white snow,
As white as cleft pearls.
7. Her hips are two sand drifts sprinkled with light rain
And rest on two calves like the rollers over which the well ropes pass.
8. She lets one lock of hair after another—
The fine braids of her hair—fall down her back.
9. The rings above her ankles tinkle like a pilgrims' procession,
And still the rings above her fine thin ankles tinkle.
10. To us she came, stepping with care like the gazelle leading her flock,
Upon whom the expressive black eyes [of her flock] are turned.
11. She is like a white gazelle emitting the fragrance of amber
And leading gazelles in pairs.
12. She is like the sweet-smelling flower growing by the pond, while the water is clear,
Spreading its luxuriant leaves which ever tremble.
13. Five little fingers she has, which none but I as yet has touched,
And night-black eyes, which kill the love-stricken.
14. Her name is like the branches which incline
To the north, and none can expound it.
15. O Allâh, thou comforter! O Lord of consolation!
O thou who art rich while thy creatures always are in need!

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16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čem'ân al Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâǧ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sfûle* is a sheet of paper. *Zîl* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhâǧ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which knelt, *mabrûk*, over a snake hole, *ǧâǧ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṣamâlîǧ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳeiṣ* or *meiṣ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ǧaw Fertî lies southwest of Ḥâjel. *Ṣarâḥîǧ* (for *ṣaḥârîǧ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḥunṭa*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *ṣâǧ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâǧ*, or *feiǧ*, for *ṭeiǧ*, means snow or ice. *Šuḏḏab* are small pieces of dry *raṣa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḏeb* (pl., *šuḏḏab*) is equivalent to *bejaz* (pl., *biz*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭe'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wudâǧ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *šîšân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darârîǧ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tenseǧ*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâǧ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâlîǧ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

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[301] trinkets knock together at each motion of the wearer, the
539* chains rattle, the bells jingle, and the sounds thus produced
831* remind the poet of an approaching or departing procession of
pilgrims riding on camels covered with ornaments and bells.
Dwâlîž are slender shins above the ankles, which allow the
[481] rings to move around freely. 10. A fine firm step finds much
praise with the Rwala. Every herd of gazelles has its own
leader, usually an old animal which walks a few steps in
advance of the others with a firm but prudent step, looks
both forward and sideways, catches every scent, and is always
ready to flee, should a suspicious object come into view. *Ḥe-
dâlîž* signifies expressive, lively eyes or persons. 12. *Riḥâne*
is sweet basil or other scented plants thriving especially at
the edges of water holes in the channels where rain water
remains for a long while. Before this water reaches the putrid
stage it is pure and clear, and during that time the *riḥâne*
grows luxuriantly, its juicy twigs, *razzât al-roṣûn*, rising and
falling with the slightest breeze. 13. The fingers of the poet's
sweetheart are so small and beautiful that he calls them all
little fingers. 14. The name of the maiden is not easy to
ascertain. 16. *Al-menâḥîǧ* are men who repair the roads and
thus enable the laden camels to move along easily. Here the
maiden's kin is meant, who refuse to permit the poet, a member
of another tribe, to marry her.

1. *Bint eben ʾîfa w-al-mâaḳḳa ḫalîfa*
   abči laṭîfa ḫâl min dûnaha-l-lâl
2. *lejtak radîfa fowḳ warč al-ʿasîfa*
   aladḍ w-aḥla min mrâdafk jâ ḫâl
3. *lejtak ʃedâha w-asḥanak bedwâha*
   w-abîʿ belâm al-ḥebajjeb mijjet ḫâl
4. *ʾîfetak bearḥa wa-mtalaʾ-l-ḳalb farḥa*
   min kubr ǧarḥa mâ ʾwarît ankol al-hâl
5. *ʾîfetik behîše tenḳoz al-ʿančerîše*
   w-lâ-rîd ʿîše illa rîžak elja sâl
6. *lâbesat al-mezâwi zâwi ar-rûḥ zâwi*
   ḫasaʾ-l-ʃedâwi mâ jiǧîb ṭîb al-afʿâl
7. *ǧîtak bʾašwa mizneten taw našwa*
   alli mṭarha zerʿ ḳalbi minneh ṭâl
8. *ǧîtak telumma râḥ ḳalbi jehummak*
   w-jalʿan abû-mmak mâ tsammîh čattâl

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9. *hifetah tekâdi wa-wkedat fwâdi*
mahra tlâdi min emhâr eben haḍḍâl
10. *elja barat čatli dallat teltefet li*
kamsen badat li min wara hâjeṭ al-ǧâl
11. *bint al-ekḥejle ǧallelat hill al-lejle*
w-dâfe'e ṣahraha 'an rekûben lin-naḍḍâl
12. *dâfi haššha nuḥḥatên 'aššha*
maḥrûb ma'ha má jiği rib' finǧân.

1. I lament for Latifa, the daughter of Eben Lifa,
I, the sorrowful Ḥalifa; for, without her, changed for
me looks the bright plain.
2. Would that she sat with me on the thigh of a stub-
born she-camel!
It would be sweeter and pleasanter than to sit, uncle,
with thee!
3. Oh, couldst thou be sacrificed for her, so that I could
use thy ashes to paint her eyelids!
For peace with my sweetheart I would sell a hundred
uncles, indeed!
4. I have seen her on a plain overgrown with grass, and
my heart joyfully followed her then.
The blow [of her loss] has bereft me of strength to
describe that situation.
5. I have seen her in the thicket unbraiding her plaits
And had no care for food, except her spittle.
6. She wore a silk coat, covering her charms;
Shame on this hired servant who does his work not well!
7. I came to her after supper; she was like a newly
formed cloud
Whose rain made the seed in my heart sprout.
8. I came to her just when she was combing her hair,
and my heart warmed to her.
A curse on her mother's father, who did not call her
Jailer!
9. I saw her with her escort, and my heart caught fire,
For she was like a young mare from the Eben Haḍḍâl
stud.
10. When she desires to imprison me, she turns to me
with gestures
Like the sun appearing from behind the long wall of
a mountain.

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11. The daughter with her eyes painted black is every night ready to ride,
And still she defends her back lest a scamp mount it.
12. Her belly gives warmth, though she supe on but two dates
And drinks no more than one fourth of a coffee cup.

By an unknown poet. It was dictated to me by Mindil al-Ḳaṭ'i.

Verse 1. *Lâl* means a level glistening plain. Traveling in a plain of this kind is easy and fairly safe, as enemies may be observed from afar. The poet's life before Laṭifa was lost to him resembled a journey over such a plain. 2. *Ḥâl*, the brother of the poet's mother, rides with him, sitting on the camel's hips behind him, *wrâdafk*, and comforting him. 4. *Sarḥa* is a plain overgrown with new grass, where the weaned camels are pastured. 5. *'Ančeriše* is a poetical expression for very soft plaits of hair. 6. *Mezâwi* is a silk caftan worn by the wealthier women over the dress, *aṯ-ṯowb*. Its sleeves being narrow, the hands are covered to the wrists, which gives the poet cause for reproach. 12. *Gallelat* means "she wrapped herself in the *ǧelâl*", blanket on which the horse or ass's saddle is laid. *Saḫḫa* is a dry yellow date about the size of a hazelnut.

1. *Naṭṭaṭt an-al-merḳâb allâh jaḫûneh*
aṯar al-ferîḳ muššim ṣarbi salamja
2. *ḥaḏra 'an al-merḳâb lâ terčebûneh*
jâ-hl al-ḳlâb alli 'ala-l-ḥebb ṣamja
3. *jaṯri 'alejhom râjiben tertaṯûneh*
'onḳ al-ferîd muǧajjereh ḥess ramja
4. *as-sukkar al-maṣri meṣfâlî enûneh*
mâkûl lil-ḥukkâm zeṯn aṯ-ṯa'amja
5. *w-lâ ḥuc min alli riḥeh tekrahûneh*
w-lâ jifkameh kûd ar-reṯâl al-faḥamja
6. *riḥat eḫṣêra bimeḥûdem eḳrûneh*
jâ 'all 'aṯn tabroṣ az-zeṯn 'amja
7. *en aḳbalat jâ nâs teṣhar 'aṯûneh*
w-en sanadat jâ nâs teḍbaḥ šeṭanja.

1. I ascended the lookout — may Allâh grant that it be deceitful!
The tracks show a small camp west of Salamja.
2. Keep off that lookout, ascend it not,
O ye with hearts thirsting for kisses!

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3. Memories of your distant sweethearts will come to your mind; for them you will long.
Her neck is like a gazelle's alarmed by a shot.
4. Her teeth glisten like Egyptian sugar,
Sugar, the food of rulers, of sweet taste.
5. She is not of those who emit a disgusting odor,
But an odor appreciated only by men of sense.
6. The fragrance of *ḫzéwa* her tresses emit,
Oh, may the eye be blinded that is incensed at this beauty!
7. When, O people, she comes nearer, her eyes enchant,
And when she ascends from the valley, O people, she slays with her charms.

The poet was a member of the as-Sba'a tribe; the reciter, Blejhân eben Meṣreb. The poet went out on a plundering expedition, *muḥanšel*. On his return he was told that his kin were camping east of Salamja. On arriving there he saw from the tracks that the camp had been removed farther west. He therefore ascended a high hill and looked over the western horizon, hoping to see a few tents he knew, among them the tent of his sweetheart.

Verse 1. *Al-ferîž muǧim* signifies a few tents, which remain for a considerable length of time in the same place. 4. The cane sugar, which contains more of the glittering crystals than the best European sugar, is made in Egypt. 5. The Bedouins hate all strong odors, believing that some odors give rise to many diseases, or at least irritate old wounds; for this reason they stop the nostrils of sick persons. It is considered a matter of individual taste which odor is harmful and which helpful. 6. He who cannot tell an injurious odor from one that is beneficial looks with disfavor on the person or the object by which an odor is disseminated. 7. *Šeṭanjaha* or *ǧṭúnaha* are the several charms of a beauty, in this case the girl's full hips.

1. *Jâ meḥsen al-wejlâd ʿaukom ṭudâ bi*
ḥal-ḫzûz alli wasiʿen ṭenâǧâh
2. *kuzzejt mirsâl w-lâ rudd nowbi*
w-lâ ǧâb li ʿelmen šeṭijjen w-lâ ǧâ
3. *jâ rabb lâ tarzoḳ ḥaṭṭât al-čeḏûbi*
alli jeḫumm al-ʿelem min dûn melfâh
4. *m-âkel w-low ḥaṭṭû ʿala-š-šetel ar-ṭowbi*
barbûr ṣejfen sêḫenâiten ḫwâjâ

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5. *'al-esrija telḥaf laḥalha 'arúbi*
w-ḥoms w-ḥama laha mebî' w-meírd.

1. O Mehsen, at your wish the Welde have deprived me
Of this bliss to which a broad passage leads.
2. I sent a messenger, but he did not carry out my bidding,
Brought no refreshing news, nor returned at all.
3. O Lord, withhold gain from a heedless liar,
Who takes messages but delivers them not to those
for whom they are destined!
4. I could not eat even if they laid before me, on rice
boiled in sour milk,
Pieces of warm roast from this year's lamb.
5. At Esrija she used to gather fuel for her kinsfolk,
And Ḥoms and Ḥama' were her market towns.

The poet hailed from the as-Sba'a tribe. He loved a daughter of Mehsen Raḥiṣarrúḥ, the chief of the 'Ebede, who refused her to the poet and sent her to his sister, who was married to a chief of the Welde encamped on the left bank of the Euphrates. The poet camped with his Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a west of Palmyra, longing in vain to meet again his sweetheart. I took down his poem as it was recited to me by my companion, Elejhán eben Meṣreb.

[621 342] Verse 1. A *ṭenijje* (pl., *ṭenája'*) is a passage between two rows of tents. The clans engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep arrange their tents in the form of an ellipse. The side ropes of the different tents meet, only two wide openings, by which the camp is entered, being left on the two narrow sides of the ellipse. In contrast to this, the Rwala, who breed only camels, usually put up their tents in parallel lines. The space from end to end between these tents is also called *ṭenijje*. The wider such an opening or space, the more room for the guests; hence the saying *wasi' ṭenájáh* has the same meaning as *ba'leh wasi'* or *ḥalḳeh wasi'*, his heart, his nature, his solicitude is wide, he is generous. *Ḥzúz* are expressions of bliss or love, *ḥazz*. 2. *Kazzejt* has the same meaning as *ba'aṭt*; *nowbi* (or *nebái*), my commission. *'Elem* is a detailed report, a long message. 3. *Ḥaṭát* or *ḥaṭwa* means many a one, someone, or anyone. *Melfa'* is the person for whom the message is intended. *Melfák 'ala flán* means "thou wilt go to this or that one"; *min hw melfák*, "to whom shall I deliver this?" 4. *Śetel* or *tummen* is the rice grown on the lower Euphrates and Tigris.

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Roeb, also known as *leben rájeb*, is sour goat's or sheep's milk. 5. Esrija, the ruins of a town north-northwest of Palmyra, is one of the main camping grounds of the 'Ebede division of the Sba'a. Ḥoms and Ḥama lie west of Esrija.

1. *Já rččeb min 'endana tisa' májat*
   w-tisa'in w-elfen tizádi
2. *wrebba'át ḳejżuhen misteriḥát*
   w-en sanedan limrčṭbe w-aṭ-Ṭanádi
3. *jilfen abu sbejjel 'edim al-mc'ejzát*
   jekżi rawdan min ġamí' al-buwádi
4. *báží jidár żurejḥebi bel-mháját*
   jidawwer al-bedw hamm jidawwer al-blúdi
5. *kil já bint ana min 'akbikom áwjet lá'át*
   ḥáli wahat já bint w-al-hamm zádi
6. *al-ḳalḳ tebát al-lejl bel-'owa má-bát*
   w-al-'aja 'an nowm al-mcla má twádi
7. *má-lúm ana rá' al-hawa kiżr má fát*
   w-iblis wa' rá' al-hawa biġitbádi
8. *[illegible] lakejtch ḥajj telḳáh żid mát*
   ġaffet 'alejh al-ḳabr w-ermel hwádi.

1. O thou who ridest from us, leading nine hundred
   And ninety and still another thousand [camels].
2. Almost square with fatness, rested during the midsummer;
   When they go up to the wells of Mrčṭbe and aṭ-Ṭanádi
3. They will reach Abu Sbejjel, who knows no fatigue
   And who will do all that we need among the Bedouins.
4. I desire him to search for my sweetheart, no matter where she may be;
   Let him search among the Bedouins and in the settlements, then.
5. Speak thus: "O daughter mine, I have suffered without you heart's torments;
   My content is gone, and the torment grows.
6. At night all creation sleeps, but verily, I do not.
   For the eye will not catch the sleep of riffraff."
7. I reproach not my beloved with what is already past,
   As Iblis is wont to tease every beloved one.
8. If thou shouldst find her not alive, if thou shouldst find her dead already,
   Make lighter her grave and strew with sand the three stones on which she used to place her kettle.

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931^a 537^a Composed by Fejḥân eben Ża'ed eben Zrejbân, the chief of the Dowîân clan of the Mṭejr tribe in Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaṣîb, 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. In one of the camps which he rode through when returning from a raid Fejḥân happened to see a woman whose beauty dazzled him. For months he tried to forget her but in vain. Then he sent this poem to his friend 'Abdallâh eben Sbejjel, who was living in the settlement of Nefi, which is tributary to the Dowîân, with a request to find her camp and also to inquire whether the woman would marry him.

Verse 1. Fejḥân's messenger accompanied a large caravan, called *ḥadra*, which had set out from the inner desert for the lower Euphrates to buy food, clothing, and ammunition. 2. Traveling in the *ḳeiẓ* season, midsummer, is most fatiguing for the she-camels. *Sanaden*, they went up, signifies that the caravan was already on its way back, because the trip towards the Euphrates is expressed by the verb *ḥadaren*, they went down. Mréṭbe and aṭ-Ṭanâdi are large watering places near the settlement where 'Abdallâh was then living. 3. 'Abdallâh furnished the Dowîân and their chief with everything they needed. Every large clan has a purveyor of this kind. 7. Iblîs is the tempting angel, not Satan. 8. In many tribes it is customary to pick up a pebble from the grave of a friend and to throw it aside so as to lighten the burden. On the grave of a girl or woman they also lay the three stones, *ḥwâdi*, that held the kettle in which the deceased cooked in her last days. Another custom is to sacrifice a goat or sheep on the grave; some then smear the stones with the blood of the sacrificed animal, others strew over them a handful of sand.

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1. *Jâ fâṭri ḫobbi maḥâri ṭomijje*
   jowm eǧlaḥazzat miṭl ḫadd al-ḥṣâni
2. *ḫobbi ṭomijje w-al-fejâẓ al-'aǧijje*
   w-tanaḥḥeri berzân zejn al-mebâni
3. *ana ḳṣejt al-lâzem alli 'alejje*
   al-lâzem alli mâ ḳṣâh al-ḥedâni
4. *al-ǧedi ḥaṭṭejteh bwarč al-maṭijje*
   w-mutnaḥḥeren jamm shejl al-jemâni
5. *bâri nidûr aṭ-ṭiflet al-'aswaǧijje*
   rîḥat nesemha čazebâd al-'omâni
6. *mâ li 'ala-ṭ-ṭajjeb w-lâ leh 'alejje*
   allâh jelûm ṣwejḥebi mâ tanâni

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7. *má ǧáh ṣabr ḥowlén lawwal ṣaḥijje*
w-lá ǧáf tálli rurbeti wad ǧerá li
8. *jumma ṣada' rákán bel-mehmeháijje*
w-illa w-kw játi miṯl al-ḥeḍáni
9. *w-alláh má-ridah low hi nebijje*
low enn harǧak čiḍeb w-ḥačet al-ḥeḍni
10. *čḥeǧ beddlah 'endalen ǧowálijje*
má lemsah aš-šibúr bekurb al-'endni
11. *má ḥammaha ḥajjál ḥabli ǧufijje*
w-lá ḫif malk al-mout barṣen dandni
12. *eṯ-ḥazzej' aš-šrife karejt at-taḥijje*
w-en šil ji'-hla-l-ḥejl ḳalbi lwáni
13. *min 'áfena 'afnáh low hi menijje*
low kw ǧen'n al-ḳalb má beh meṭáni.

1. O thou old she-camel of mine! keep to the border of the sandy hills,
Look to see if the cheek of a horse shows on the horizon.
2. Keep among sandy hills, ridges, in healthful valleys,
And make for Berzán, the finely built.
3. The duty laid upon me I have fulfilled,
A duty not to be accomplished by a coward.
4. With the North Star over the hips of my animal
I went straight for Canopus in the south.
5. I yearned to search for a maiden with her neck raised high,
Whose breast is scented like 'Omán civet.
6. The man of honor owes me nothing — nor I him!
But Allâh will rebuke my mistress for not waiting for me.
7. Her patience did not last two years, but only till the first feast of ṣaḥijje,
And therefore she has not seen the end of my stay abroad and [learned not] what there happened to me.
8. Râkân either in the desert will perish
Or like a stallion will surely come back.
9. By Allâh, I would not have her if she were a prophetess,
Even if it be proved that all thou sayst is but lies and jest.
10. A pure-bred young mare I will take instead,
By spur and bridle as yet untouched.
11. No rider like me has ever made her leap,
One who has not seen the death angel on the plain.
12. When the wedge of my spear I swing, it is a greeting,
And if there is a cry of "O horse!" my heart pulls me there.

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13. She who turned from us will see us turn from her,
even if she be destined for us.
If she were the only love of our heart, we would not
return to her.

The poet was Rākān eben Ḥaṭlēn, chief of the 'Aǧmān, who camp along the Persian Gulf coast southeast of al-Hufhūf. The reciters were 'Abdallāh al-Maṭrūd, Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣīr, and Ḥmār abu 'Awwād. In 1871 the territory al-Ḥasa, south of al-Baṣra, was occupied by Turkish troops. Its administration at the end of 1873 was put in the hands of Bezī' eben 'Arej'er, but he soon tried to shake off the Turkish sovereignty and to drive out the foreign soldiers. Therefore a new expedition was despatched to that territory at the close of 1874. Many Bedouins were killed and in 1875 twenty chiefs sent to Turkey and imprisoned there. The young chief Rākān eben Ḥaṭlēn was one of the number. He remained in prison twenty-two months, being pardoned after the outbreak of the war with Russia. The journey home was made first by ship to Iskanderūna (Alexandretta) and thence by land to Aleppo. Distrusting the Turkish officials, he would not follow the right bank of the Euphrates to al-Baṣra and home from there, but escaped from Aleppo to the 'Aneze of the as-Sba'a tribe, was furnished by them with a female riding camel and a guide, and then hastened across the desert southwards to al-Ǧowf, to the representative of Prince Eben Rašīd, with whom his young wife, Šaḫa, and the rest of his relatives had found refuge. In al-Ǧowf he was told by Eben Rašīd's men that his wife had been married in the meantime to Sulṭān eben Dawīš of the Mṭejr. It was said that she had at first intended to wait for Rākān, but when she heard on all sides that he had perished and when, on the *aḍ-ḍaḥīje* holiday, a she-camel was sacrificed to his memory, she yielded to persuasion and wedded anew. Rākān was greatly moved by this report. Leaving al-Ǧowf again, he proceeded along the eastern border of the sandy Nefūd desert as far as Ḥājel, the residence of Prince Eben Rašīd, where he took quarters in the castle of Bersān. During the journey he composed this poem.

Verse 1. *Ḥobbi* or *ḥomsi* signifies the following of a certain route. *Maḥdri* are the last spurs of a chain of hills; *ǧomīje* means the knolls, slopes, and valleys in a sandy desert. *Eglaḥarrat miṯl ḥadd al-ḥadsi* signify the sand drifts along the

borders of stony dells which often overtop the latter by fifty meters and remind the Bedouin of a horse's nose or the side of his head, according to the direction from which he sees them. Their ends sink into the stony plain like a nose and their sides are like the horse's cheeks. 2. *Fejáj al-'aǧijje* (for *'aǧije*) are long, narrow dells among sand drifts; there a camel will always find good pasture and a traveler plenty of fuel and a warm, safe night's rest. The Nefúd is the most healthful district in the whole Arabian desert. Berzán is the name of a strongly fortified castle owned by Eben Rašíd at Ḥáǧel. 3. This duty, fate, was imposed on him by Alláh, *i. e.* to be imprisoned in a foreign country. 4. From Palmyrena to al-Ǧowf he proceeded in a southerly direction, thus having the North Star over the hip of his camel and Canopus in front of him. 5. He knew that his young wife found shelter in Eben Rašíd's territory. *'Asuwǧijje* means a woman walking erect, with unbent neck. 6. He is not angry with her new husband. The mere notion that his wife could prove unfaithful to him while she was continually in his thoughts even when he was in prison killed all his desire for her. 10. He wishes to seek consolation in fights. 11. *Ijamm* is the word used in Neǧd for the action of a horse in an encounter between two riders. The horse rises on its hind legs and with the front legs lifted high leaps forward like a wild beast. *Šufijje* was explained to me as meaning the same as *miṯli* or *aḥsan minni*, like me or better than I. The whole verse means that the mare which Rákán desires to ride has not yet been in a fight, as *arḍ dandni* signifies *sahl* (or *maḥáz*), battle ground. 12. *Taḥijje* is a Bedouin greeting, such as "*Já hala*," or "*ḥawwak*"; among the settlers it means the profession of faith: "*Lá iláh ill-alláh we muḥammad rasúl alláh.*" "*Já-hlo-l-ḥejl*, O horse!" is the alarm cry of the watch on sighting the enemy.

A fragment of the same poem according to Nawwáf eben Šaʿlán:

1. *Já ṣáṭari ǧebbi ṣúdref ǧomijje*
   w-en ebnaḥarrat miṯli ǧaím al-ḥṣáni
2. *ǧebbi ǧomijje w-al-bilád al-'aǧijje*
   lijá má ǧabdi leć sheǰl al-jemáni
3. *nabṛi ndaswer díret al-ṛaśmerijje,*
   riḥat ǧnoudha čan-zebád al-'ománi

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4. *el-ǧedi ḫalejnāh bwarī el-maǧīje*
w-farāket naḥarka 'an shejī el-jemānī
5. *mā lī 'alā-l-maǧmūl w-lā leh 'alejje*
elli ḫṣr' ḥāǧaten mā tzadnī.

1. O thou old she-camel of mine! run along the borders of sandy hills
And when on the horizon thou seest, as it were, a stallion's nose rising.
2. Run through sandy hillocks and the healthful country
Till Canopus will rise for thee, appearing in the south.
3. We seek the land of Ṣaimerijje
Whose body is fragrant like 'Omān civet.
4. We had the North Star over the hip of our camel,
Who swerved from the line of Canopus in the south.
5. The beauty owes to me nothing, I nothing to her,
And she who has done what seemed her duty must not expect me.

Verse 3. Ṣaimerijje for Ḳaimerijje; the ṣ is often substituted for ḳ, as, for instance, in *ṣāder for ḳāder, ṣār for ḳār*, etc. 4. *Naḥarna* means "we followed that course." *Šaḥajna*, we were moving, we headed for, might also have been used. *Maḥa, waǧh, naḥar, jiwwa*, all mean the direction of a course. *Meláḥi* is an expression used of anything that lies in various directions, such as pastures, watering places, camping grounds, people, etc. The she-camel, taking a different direction from that of Canopus, changed her course more to the south.

Laments for Lost and Dead Lovers

Já wanneti wannet el-waǧ'ān
ṭamān sinīn 'ala wesādi
á wanneti wannet el-'amjān
mā leh ma' en-nās ḳawādi
á wanneti wannet el-'aǧārīr
bel-ḳāṣ w-'an mārederlı ṣādi
'alejk já ḥejla' ap-ṣubjān
ḫallannek el-ḥaǧan bel-wādi.

This is my lament, the lament of one on a sick bed,
Who for eight years has lain on a pillow!
Alas, my lament is the lament of one blind,

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For whom the people can find no guide.
Alas, my lament is the lament of one thirsty
In a scorching summer, who in search of water went astray.
Alas, for thee I lament, thou swiftest falcon among the youths,
Whom the she-camels have left in al-Wâdi.

The beloved youth did not return from a raid, having fallen in a fight in al-Wâdi (Sirḥân). *Hejla'* is the swiftest hunting falcon (quarry hawk).

Jâ zejd jiḏkar ḥabîbi mât
min 'oḳbaha waš ḥajâti lah
dinjâk hâḏi teḏi żerrât
elja ǧâ-l-ḳadar żallat al-ḥîla
w-ǧeḏḏ ḳalbi 'ala má fât
ǧeḏḏ ar-rîa min maḥâḥîlah
ḥallina narkab 'ala-l-'ajrât
fejḥân sâlen haḏâlil lah.

O Zejd! they say that my beloved is dead.
Without her what is life to me?
This world of thine hurries from one deceit to another,
For if fate comes running, all self-help is useless.
My heart is torn in two by what has happened,
As the bucket rope breaks on the axle of a hoist.
Let us mount she-camels accustomed to far journeys,
For the Fejḥân valleys are said to have water enough.

The lover, crushed by the report of his sweetheart's death, intends to join a dangerous raid. Fejḥân is a lowland situated at lat. 28° 50′–29° 30′ N., long. 43° E. From there incursions can be made into the territories of the Šammar and Żefîr tribes. *Haḏîl* (pl., *haḏâil*), a shallow valley ending in a lowland or without an outlet.

1. *Az-zowl zowleh w-al-ḥalâja' ḥalâjâh*
   w-al-fe'el má ḥw fe'el wâfi-l-ḥaḍjel
2. *lâ wa' ḥalli kill má ḥall ṭarjâh*
   wa' má ḏobaḥ min 'ajn ḍabben w-ḥâjel
3. *lâ wa' ḥalli tadfoḳ as-semen jimnâh*
   en eḏbaḥat ḳiḅr as-sinîn al-maḥâjel

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4. *lâ wa' ḫalîli kill mâ-ḳûl ana-nâh*
jâ mâr tefaṭṭennih min al-heǧen ḥâjel
5. *lâ wa' ḫalîli tefseḳ al-heǧen low lâh*
dowm tetwâmi rûsehom bel-ḳwâjel
6. *lâ wa' ḫalîli kill ǧawen ḫireb mâh*
w-mâ ḳaṭa' min 'ajn sarḥa ḫamâjel
7. *lâ wa' ḫalîli jehreǧ an-nezel bernâh*
'alejh min ḫurl as-sabâja fa'âjel
8. *lâ wa' ḫalîli bên ḏowlâk w-ḏowlâh*
elja mâ ḏebaḥenneh mubrenât al-fetâjel.

1. Though like him in figure and in every motion,
Yet his bearing is not the bearing of him who in so many virtues abounded.
2. Would that he had not left me! Ah, that man of mine!
Whoever met him [will testify]
How many choice wethers and barren she-camels he has killed for his guests!
3. Would that he had not left me! Ah, that man of mine!
His right hand poured out for the guests melted butter,
When years of want came upon us.
4. Would that he had not left me! Ah, that man of mine!
Whenever I say that I will forget him,
Then, lo! the barren female riding camel calls him to my mind.
5. Would that he had not left me! Ah, that man of mine!
Were he here, the female riding camels would not have been ruttish,
For they only nodded their heads even in the greatest heat of the day.
6. Would that he had not left me! Oh, that man of mine!
There is no watering place from which he has not drunk,
And how many clans has he not robbed of their best herds!
7. Would that he had not left me! Oh, that man of mine!
The camp resounds with songs of him,
For his deeds are the bravest among the raiders.
8. Would that he had not left me! Oh, that man of mine!
Here and there he dwelt, until
He was killed by rifles fired with a twisted fuse.

Eben 'Arûǧ, the famous chief of the Beni Lâm, fell in a fight. His wife then married his brother. The fallen man had a remarkable female riding camel on which he took part

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in a great number of raids, bringing back much booty from them. In his last raid he was shot down from this she-camel. The animal saved herself by flight and was inherited by the dead chief's brother, who, however, did not go out on a raid for a whole year. Owing to this the she-camel became so fat that her humps began to hang over to one side. Want soon made itself felt in the tent. The woman was obliged to cook, and there was neither wheat nor *ḏera'*, millet; she had to sew shirts for both herself and her husband, and there was no linen nor any camels to exchange for these necessities. Naturally the woman pined for her fallen hero, and so it came about one evening that, as she was grinding the wheat begged from some neighbors, she happened to observe with more attention than usual both the fat she-camel and her own dilapidated dress; in fear of still greater misery she composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Zowl* is the outside appearance, contour, or shape. *Ḥalâja'* is the manner of acting, behavior, speech, and movements. 2. *Lâ* stands in place of *lâ tab'ad*, meaning "Oh, mayest thou not go away! Oh, hadst thou not left me!" 4. and 5. *Heǰen* is a poetical expression for *rečâjeb*, meaning riding camels. The husband did not remain at home. Between one and three o'clock in the afternoon the heat is at its highest. The rider who wishes to keep his she-camel in good condition should let her rest during that time, *ḳâjile*, otherwise the animal degenerates and becomes incapable of bearing young. 6. *Ḳaṭa'-hom ḳaṭ'* signifies "looted them completely, took everything from them, leaving neither camels nor tents." 8. *Mubramât al-faṭâjel*, twisted or woven fuses: this phrase indicates that the poem dates from the time when rifles with flint locks were still in use in battle.

1. *Jâ râčeben min fowḳ ḥorren šemâli*
   mâ jilḥaḳ al-miṭ'âb 'âli mtûneh
2. *ḥorren za'zâ' muṣarrjen lil-eǧfâli*
   jeṭîr low ḥu bar-ṣasan jinča'âneh
3. *naṭṭejt ana riǧmen ṭaîl w-'âli*
   wa-dmâ' 'ajni čal-ṣadar sajjalûneh
4. *badejt awaṣṣef ṣâḥb illi zaha' li*
   w-nâšed aš-ša"âr mâ jiḏakrûneh
5. *abu ḳrûnen miṯl ṭajj al-ḥebâli*
   w-al-ḥidle riš al-hîš low ṣalabûneh

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6. *ḫwâǧebah ǧarr al-ḳalam beh ad-dwâli*
w-'ujûnaha 'ujûn al-faḥad low za"alûneh
7. *ǧebînaha jâ nâs ẓowḳ al-helâli*
w-al-ḫadd barḳen lâ'eǧâten mezûnah
8. *ḫašmah ḍbâbij al-ḥendi jilâli*
min al-lilu w-al-mérǧân waṣfat esnûnah
9. *jâ rîẓaha terjâk jidkar dwâ"li*
jabri ḳariṣ ad-dâbb jowmen saḳûneh
10. *jâ 'onḳ šowki teḳel 'onḳ al-ṛazâli*
šât al-ṛorejri bil-ḳanaṣ ṭarradûneh
11. *w-ṣidraha muraṣṣa' bel-ma'âni w-al-ṛâli*
bilâd al-'aǧam w-aš-šâm mâ ṭammanûneh
12. *wa-nhûdaha tuffâḥ jâ ẓejm ḥâli*
finǧâl ṣini beẓ-ẓeraf ḳa"adûneh
13. *ḏer'ânaha burḳân fuzza jilâli*
w-aṣejba'ah ḳlejm aḏ-ḏahab low barûneh
14. *w-mraffa'a mâ-ẓenn ǧâbat 'ejâli*
jâ šibeh 'ûd al-mejs low hazza'ûneh
15. *jâ sâme'in as-sowṭ erṭû lḥâli*
jâ muslimîn al-majjet mâ terḥamûneh
16. *hâtû 'ašîri w-e'reẓûneh ḳbâli*
w-low mett ana min fowḳ ṣadr ḥadderûneh
17. *min lâmeni jâ lejt mâ leh ḳwâni*
w-illa ḳaṭîb al-kofr jistajsarûneh.

1. O thou who ridest a pure-bred camel of northern descent,
The top of whose back a stick will not reach,
2. A pure-bred, shy one, who from youth is often frightened
And who flies in spite of the check of the rein!
3. I climbed a high, steep pile of stones
And the tears of my eyes turned [the pile to] a pool.
4. I began to describe my sweetheart, who has bloosomed out for me,
And I ask the poets why they do not mention her.
5. She has plaits as thick as twisted ropes
And a fringe as fine as a male ostrich's feather.
6. Her eyebrows are as though drawn by a pen filled with ink,
Her eyes, the eyes of a panther in wrath.
7. Her forehead, O people! is like the reflection of the new moon,
And her cheeks are like the lightning igniting rain clouds.

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8. The bridge of her nose glistens like the blade of an Indian sword;
To pearls and corals her teeth I compare.
9. Oh, her spittle! Like viper-wine it is used,
For it heals one bitten by a snake as soon as he drinks of it.
10. Oh, the neck of my darling! like that of a gazelle
Or the white antelope which men hunt on horseback.
11. Her breasts are adorned by tattooing with gems precious and costly.
Which neither the wealth of Persia nor of Syria could buy.
12. Her breasts, they are apples, — alas, for my loss that has bereft me of reason! —
A china cup set on a tray.
13. Her arms glisten as a silver pot,
And her little finger is a burnished gold stick.
14. How slender is she! I think not she has yet born children.
To a sprig of wild cherry I liken her, as it sways in the air.
15. O ye who hear this voice, have mercy on me!
O Moslems! will you not pity one dead?
16. Bring here my mistress, set her before me
And on my breast lay her when I die.
17. Oh, may he who reviles me have no kin,
Or become a captive seized by unbelievers.

The poet was Nimr eben 'Adwân; the reciter, Ǧwâd al-'Âni. The poet sits on a steep stone pile, laments, and describes the beauty of his dead sweetheart, with whom he wishes to be buried. Verse 1. *Ḥorr ǯemâli* is a camel recognized as pure-blooded by the tribes camping in al-Belḳa' and the Ḥawrân districts, whereas the tribes living farther east and south deny this, declaring it is by no means certain that both of its parents were thoroughbreds. 3. *Riǧm* is an artificial pile of stones. Such piles are usually found on the most prominent hills and serve as shelters for the watchers or spies, who, lying down at their post, may observe the whole country around. *Ḳadîr* is a hollow in a channel where the rain water remains even when the stream had dried up. 5. *Ḳalab* is a feather from the hips of an ostrich, used as an ornament or bouquet. 9. *Dâbb* is any poisonous snake of some length; short ones are known as *sfâ'i*. 11. The breasts are often covered with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels.

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with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels. 12. *"Jâ ẓejm ḥâli*, Oh, gone is my reason!" is the cry of one surprised or dazed by something. *Ẓeraf*, saucer or tray, was pronounced by Ġwâd as *zeraf*. 14. *Mraffa'a* is a slender, delicate one. *'Ûd al-mejs* is a sapling or sprig of the cherry tree, which grows wild in al-Belḳa', where the poet was camping. From these very flexible sprigs stems are made for smoking pipes known as *ṛaljûn*. 16. *E'reṭûneh* means, properly, "extend or stretch out the limbs" to enable the poet to see them better. 17. *Ḳâni* is the name given by the 'Adwân to the kinsman whose duty is to avenge wrongs done to his kin. He who has no kinsman and thus no avenger is subject to all misfortunes, like a captured Moslem carried by the unbelievers to foreign lands.

1. *Jâ sin jâ umm 'aḳâb jâ sin jâ sin*
   jâ miṯl 'anz ar-rîm temši waḥadha
2. *mâ la'ebat as-summejr bên al-ferîžên*
   w-lâ ḳaṭṭ ab-al-'amalât râwaz wa'adha
3. *w-lâ ǧarrat al-ṛaṭrûf bemiḏneb al-'ejn*
   w-lâ 'ala-l-ǧirân tûmi bjadha
4. *ḥalaft ana w-allâh dînen baṭar dîn*
   w-ḥajât min hw beš-šwâber lakadha
5. *en šâfaten za'lân lâzem terazzîn*
   miṯl aš-šefûḳ alli telahleh waladha
6. *ǧatni 'aṭa mâ seḳet biha meṭâmîn*
   Ḥmet ḥamûle kill men ǧa' ḥamadha
7. *jâ 'aḳâb wa' ḥazzi defentah benimrîn*
   bḥadd al-wa'ar jâ 'aḳâb bemustanadha
8. *'ejâli ṛadaw jâ 'aḳâb ḫamse ma' eḫwên*
   w-lâ Ḥl 'ejni sâhera min reḳadha
9. *mâ hammani jâ 'aḳâb ṛejr alli wên*
   alli čema rîḥ al-ḫzêri ǧesadha
10. *mâ zâr ḳalbi 'an hawâha w-lâ al-'ên*
    w-en zaṛzaṛat 'ejni ǧazâha ramadha
11. *low ǧann banât al-bedw jâ 'aḳâb ṣaffên*
    jâ-ḫaj mâ-ḫoḏ ṛejr waṣha waḥadha.

1. Alas for my loss, O 'Aḳâb's mother, my loss!
   Alas for her, who like a white gazelle used to walk
   all alone!
2. She never took part in the amusement of *summejr*
   between the two camps,
   And not once did a gallant dare to ask her to a tryst.

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3. She never drew the knife with blacking around the edge of her eyelids,
And never raised her hand to threaten the neighbors.
4. I swear to Allâh, oath upon oath I swear,
As well as by the life of him who spurred her,
5. That as soon as she saw me wrathful she tried to appease me
As a kind mother tries to soothe her boy.
6. She came to me as a gift, not in exchange for animals of value,
She was the boast of the kin, for all who came praised her.
7. O 'Aḳâb! that bliss of mine! thou hast buried her in Nimrîn
By the impassable crags, O 'Aḳâb! opposite the water.
8. Five of my sons died, O 'Aḳâb! five, and my two brothers,
And none can say that my eyes had a sleepless night.
9. No one with grief filled me, O 'Aḳâb! except the one who dwells—who knows where?
And whose body was scented with the fragrance of *ḥzêra*.
10. Never did my heart prove faithless to my love, nor my eyes,
And whenever she whispered, my eye was as if with ophthalmia struck.
11. No matter if in two long rows come the Bedouins' daughters, O 'Aḳâb,
Thou little brother of mine! I would take none but Wazha alone.

The poet was Nimr eben 'Adwân from al-Belḳa'; the reciter, Minčîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

Verse 1. *Jâ sin* (or *jâ ḥejf*), Ah me! 3. A *raṭrûf* is a *mil*, or small knife for rubbing on the eye black. 4. A married woman is often likened to a saddled mare and her husband during sexual intercourse to a rider. 6. Among the 'Adwân a fixed number of she-camels, sheep, or mares must be given in compensation to the father of the girl whom a man wishes to marry. This custom is known as *sijâḳ*. 7. Nimrîn is the name of a small creek in al-Belḳa, where lies the burying ground of the 'Adwân. 9. *Ḥzêra* is a plant which emits a strong smell.

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1. *Jâ wenneti wennet ḫalûğ eben rûmi*
   alli farreḳat ʿan maḏbaḥ waladha idêha
2. *ğâha želîl al-mejz jerkoẓ bešûmi*
   ḳaṣṣam ğnûbah min šefâteh ʿalejha
3. *waʾ ṭejreti ṛadat w-ana-ṣîḥ w-awmi*
   aždaʾ laha-š-šawlâḥ mâ fâdʾ bîha
4. *amsejt arawčib nâbijât ar-rğûmi*
   ṛadat w-ḳalbi ḥazînen ʿalejha
5. *ḳalbi ʿalejha jâ-bn ʿablân jowmi*
   awmât ʿawd al-ḳejš jowmi ʿalejha.

1. This is my lament, the lament for Eben Rûmi's unhappy she-camel,
   Who spread out her two front legs over the spot where her young was killed.
2. A brute with a club came a-running
   And broke her ribs, instead of speaking to her kindly.
3. Ah! my little she-falcon has lost her way, and I shout [and signal to her,
   Wave a cloth, but all in vain.
4. Yesterday I climbed some great stone heaps on the hills,
   But she has lost her way, and now my heart for her is grieving.
5. My heart, O son of ʿAblân! beckons to her;
   As a plant in a stream bends, so it bends to her.

The poet was Nimr eben ʿAdwân; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi. Nimr mourns the loss of his wife.

831x
539x
231

1. *Ḫalûğ* is a she-camel whose calf is killed immediately after birth and who notices it. Eben Rûmi was a Christian who used to bring to the tribes camping on the slopes of the Ḥawrân sugar, coffee, and clothing material, taking in exchange camels, which he sold to the farmers again for plowing and threshing. Once he acquired a pregnant she-camel which bore a calf on the road. Instead of hauling it aside and there killing it before the mother rose to her feet, he left it lying where it fell and shattered its head with a stone while the mother was still standing and licking it. The dead calf he then threw into a gully near by, but the distracted old animal remained standing over the spot splashed with the blood of her offspring, moaning and refusing to move. The infuriated Eben Rûmi now began to beat her savagely; he broke some of her ribs and would have killed her too, if the Rwala warriors had not chased him away. In 1915, on my

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way from the Šammar territory westwards, one of my she-camels gave birth to a calf. At the same moment one of my companions pressed her head to the ground, while another pulled the calf to a neighboring rock crevice, where he killed it. But its bleat, weak as it was, did not escape its mother; the moment she rose she began to smell over the ground, found the scent, and followed it to the crevice. She was unable to enter it or to see her calf, but remained standing before the opening, uttering heart-rending moans. When we finally drove her away, she went along with the others; but every day, at short intervals from sunrise to a late hour at night, she gave vent to her grief. After a few days this became unbearable and even dangerous, as it might have been heard by our enemies, thus exposing us to their attack. In vain did we try to calm the animal; at last we tied up her snout with a rope, but even then she uttered muffled moaning sounds. 3. *Šawlâḥ* is the piece of cloth waved about by a falconer when he desires to coax the falcon back. 5. *Ḳejš* are the smaller depressions in river beds, where the perennial called *ʿûd al-ḳejš* thrives.

831x
539x
231
831x
539x

1. *Sâr al-ḳalam jâ ʿaḳâb bel-ḥeber sâra*
   bizejzaf al-ḳurṭâs jâ muḥǧeti sâr
2. *aʿwi ʿawa sirḥân lejl w-nahâra*
   w-aḥenn ḥanîn aṭ-ṭilb ṭâwi ʿala-d-dâr
3. *jâ ʿaḳâb lâ w-alli mdîr an-nahâra*
   meǧri safînat nûḥ birebb al-abḥâr
4. *eṉ ǧammaʿû jâ ʿaḳâb kill al-ʿaḍâra*
   min saḥr neǧd il-bâb tûnis il-as-sinǧâr
5. *low ǧann banât aṣ-ṣlejb fowḳ aš-šihâra*
   wa-mʿawraǧen biḥdûdehen naḳš al-wabâr
6. *w-en ǧann banât al-bedw fowḳ al-ebkâra*
   w-ʿala-l-hawâdeǧ dellelen kill ḥawwâr
7. *w-en ǧann banât al-ḥaẓar miṯl al-amâra*
   mutadallelât bel-ṛawaʾ teḳel nawwâr
8. *w-en ǧann banât aṭ-turk ṣaffen tebâra*
   malbûsehen jâ ʿaḳâb min ṛali-l-asʿâr
9. *w-en ǧann banât al-kufr hom w-an-naṣâra*
   w-jeḳâl jâ nimr aš-šeži ṭobb w-eḫtâr
10. *arîd ani maẓnûn ʿajni ḥejâra*
    aṣ-ṣâḥeb alli farr ʿaḳli maʿeh w-ṭâr

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831x
539x

11. *rîḥat ǧasadha miṯl rîḥ al-ebhâra*
w-bên ešfetêha ḫardalen bîd ḫammâr
12. *ašḳaḥ šeḳḳâḥ w-beh ṭâref ḥamâra*
w-min al-ǧemâl al-jûsufi zâd ben-nwâr
13. *w-lâ ḳâjilen čiḏben w-lâ hw ḳamâra*
ejza w-lâ-ni lit-temâṭîl bejṭâr
14. *min lâmeni lâ ṭowr w-lâ hw ḥemâra*
aṭ-ṭowr ašwa' en žîl leh dûr jindâr
15. *w-allâh mâ-lḳâha w-lâ bil-ḫawâra*
w-lâ jinfa' at-taḥsîf balli ǧara' w-sâr
16. *w-allâh min 'oḳbeh jâ 'omri ḫasâra*
mâr aṣ-ṣabr billâh 'allâm al-asrâr.

1. My pen filled with ink begins to move,
It moves over smooth paper, O my little heart!
2. Like a wolf I wail by day and night,
And like a deserted, toothless she-camel unable to rise from the camping ground I lament.
3. O 'Aḳâb! I swear by him who limits our days
And who drew Noah's ark from the seas:
4. If, O 'Aḳâb! they should gather all the maidens
From the mysterious Neǧd to the gate of Tûnis and to Sinǧâr;
5. If the daughters of Ṣlejb on pure-bred asses should come,
Their cheeks tattooed with the needle in triangles;
6. If the Bedouins' daughters were to come on young she-camels
And in litters adorning every she-camel of the inner desert;
7. If the daughters of the settlers were to come like princesses
Proud of their gaudy flower-like dresses;
8. If the Turks' daughters in closed ranks should come
With dresses — be assured, O 'Aḳâb! — made of costly stuff;
9. If the daughters of infidels and Christians should come
And should say to me 'O Nimr! poor fellow, come, take thy choice,'
10. I should choose her, who is ever before my eyes,
The beloved one for whom my reason has fled away.
11. The fragrance of her body is like the fragrance of costly spice
And between her lips thou wilt find *ḫardal* such as is used by the seller of strong drink.

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12. She is clear white, pink, and bordered with red,
And her glory exceeds the beauty of Joseph.
13. No untruth I speak, nor is it a fable,
For, after all, I am no maker of stories.
14. He who will revile me must have less wisdom than a bull or she-ass,
For easier it is to persuade a bull which when bidden turns.
15. By Allâh! I shall not find her even among the houris.
Therefore, to describe what has passed away is of no help.
16. By Allâh himself! with her death my life is destroyed;
Hence wise is moderation for the sake of Allâh, who knows all secrets.

This poem, composed by the poet Nimr eben 'Adwân, was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm, who learned it from his mother, who hailed from the Sirḥân tribe.

Verse 1. *Ḳalam* is a pen cut from stout reed. *Zejzaf* or *nâ'em* means "smooth, soft." 2. *Ṯilb* is a she-camel, old, toothless, and therefore very emaciated. *Ṯâwi* denotes such a beast which can kneel but on account of its weakness cannot rise again. Sometimes a feeble she-camel of this kind is left behind on the camping ground; the poor beast tries to get up, but every time sinks down again uttering bitter moans. Her deep sighs are heard far around. She longs for her companions whom she is not to see again, and is afraid of the wolves. 4. *'Aḏâra* is the name for all young women, whether virgins or not. A virgin is called *bikr*; a female who has lost her virginity, *mâḫûḍa*. Singâr is a mountain ridge southwest of Mosul. 5. The daughters of the Ṣlejb excel by their perfect shapes. *Šihâra* is the name given by the Ṣlejb to their pure-blooded asses, which they often cross with the wild asses. The Ṣlejb women are often elaborately tattooed on their cheeks. 6. *Hawâdeǧ*, quiverings, shakings, the poetical term for *ʒetab*, means "large richly colored litters which rock freely." *Ḥawwâr* signifies a camel of the inner desert, inured to thirst, whereas a *ǧûdi* is a camel from districts with plenty of water. A *ǧûdi* is stronger, but a *ḥawwâr* will endure more fatigue. 9. *Ṭobb* denotes "come near," "step into the center." 12. The cheeks are clear white and pink and red at the edges. According to the story, Joseph, the son of the patriarch Jacob, was very handsome. 13. *Ḳaṣâra* is a story pleasant to hear but fictitious. A *bejṭâr* is a blacksmith, who beside swinging the ham-

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mer also understands the art of healing; likewise a *bejṭâr* is a maker of metal ornaments in the shape of various animals or plants. 14. The 'Adwân tribe, to which the poet Nimr belonged, is occupied principally with agriculture and the breeding of cattle. As they use bulls for plowing, they force the bull to turn at the end of the furrow.

1. *Habîl jâ na"âj ṭejren jaḥûmi*
   ṭejr al-hawa' kill al-mela bâḳ bîha
2. *ḥasâjef ad-dinja frûḫ al-ǧerûmi*
   alli jšalleḳen al-ḥabâri îdêha
3. *alli lehom 'end al-meẓâhîr jowmi*
   ṣejḥâtahom jaḳṭeren al-amrâǧ bîha
4. *haḏowk ḥaṭṭaw beẓ-ẓumâjer resûmi*
   w-allâh al-ḫasâjer 'oḳbehom wuš 'alejha
5. *w-allâh ent ten'a daḳḳât al-wušûmi*
   alli-ḫaḏaha-l-mowt lâ terteǧîha
6. *jâ ḥejf ten'a-lli bḫaddah rešûmi*
   en mâ thajjet šimaten nešteriha.

1. He who has lost his sweetheart, O thou of many laments!
   is as a falcon that circles,
   A falcon of passionate love to which all common folk are victims.
2. The troubles of this world are like young falcons which
   mind not the thorns,
   But with their claws tear the *ḥabâri* (bustards).
3. [The youths] who are summoned to the she-camels
   laden with chattels,
   Whose alarm cries add to the numbers of the riderless horses running to and fro,
4. They will put a remembrance into the entrails of the foe;
   By Allâh himself! when once they are gone, what a loss
   is ours!
5. By Allâh! thou who mournest for her who is adorned
   with tattooing,
   Know that death will not restore her whom it has
   once taken.
6. Shame on thee! Thou mournest a woman with a tattooed
   cheek.
   Why, if she come not as a gift of honor, we shall
   purchase her.

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The poet was Eben 'Ablân of the 'Adwân tribe; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. Eben 'Ablân reproaches Nimr with doing nothing but mourn for his wife. 831* 539*

Verse 1. *Mela'* are people not remarkable in any way. 2. *Frûḫ al-ǧerûmi* are young falcons who never leave their prey even though it crawls into the thorns to hide. 3. *Meṣâhir* are she-camels carrying the chattels of the moving clan. As a rule they are led by the women, who beckon to the youths to defend them when attacked by the enemy. The youths utter their alarm cry and throw the enemy from their saddles, so that the mares run around without their riders. Such mares are called *amrâǧ*. The young men defending the laden camels are considered the real heroes, because the enemy will always hurl themselves at these animals when they have scattered the warriors who opposed them first. The fall of one of these youths is considered a serious loss to the tribe. [726]

Elopements

Hîh jâ râ'i-l-bakrat al-ḫaz'ali
wuddi-rčab ma'ak mâr abûj jez'ali.

Hail to thee, who ridest the young she-camel captured from the Ḫar'al!
I would fain ride with thee, but my father is angry.

The father will not let his daughter wed her lover. Ḫar'al (for Ḫasâ'el) is the name of a tribe which camps on the lower Euphrates.

Wa' hêh jâ râ'i-l-bakrat an-nâǧife
wuddi-rčab ma'ak mâr ana ḫâǧife.

Ah, hail to thee, who ridest the she-camel taller than all others!
I would gladly ride along with thee but am afraid.

The maiden fears the fickleness of the lover, who intends to elope with her.

Jâ solejmân ḳalbi mḫâlef
'alleḳ al-ḥebb al-eğnebijje
mâ ḫala-ṭ-ṭowb fowḳ ar-rudâjef
w-al-ğa'ad lejjeten fowḳ lejje.

831* O Solejmân, my heart rebels against me,
539* For it is aflame with love for a stranger.
How pleasant when a woman's dress covers the hips [of my camel]
And the plaits of our hair mingle together.

[582] *Ağnebijje* is a girl from a different, unrelated tribe. With such a one a Rwejli is not supposed to fall in love. He did not mean to become enamored, but his heart caught fire against his will and clove to the stranger. Of this he complains to his friend Solejmân. The kin of his beloved refusing her to him, he decides to elope with her. The maiden mounted his she-camel behind the saddle, her dress, *ṭowb*, covering not only the camel's back and hips but the rider's hips as well, and in a strong wind her plaits mingled with his long hair. With the relatives of his sweetheart pursuing him, he fled to his own people, who, ignorant of the danger threatening him, could not come to his rescue.

1. *Mâ bikom alli faṭan li jâ ma'âzibi*
   dam'i 'ala waǧneti taṣži ṣwâmîha
2. *w-allâh jâ low lâ-l-ḥaja la-rkab 'ala šibi*
   w-ašûf li direten w-aǧli laḥâlîha
3. *w-anḥab ṣaḥîf al-ḥaša w-al-heǧen tasri bi*
   w-ab'ad maṣâbîḥah 'an dâr aḥâlîha
4. *w-enti firejtini jâ mefrijat al-ǧibi*
   wa-ǧrûḥč al-ḥafije mâ ḥad dara biha
5. *jâ 'ajn 'anzen taṣaffak bel-'arâžibi*
   tatli maḥabb al-hawa' w-aṣ-ṣajd jatlîha
6. *w-aṣ-ṣajd bisâḳeteh ṛâden ǧenâdîbi*
   hi ta'teḏi bel-maha w-ana-'teḏi biha
7. *w-allâh jâ low lâ-n-nahad mâ čân taṣṭi bi*
   w-allâh al-ṯeḏâjel ǧeda killen juraḏḏîha.

1. There is none among you who may understand me, O hosts!
   For my cheeks are wet with sorrow for her.
2. By Allâh! even if I lose my life, I will surely mount my old camel,
   Search another country, and flee to the people who encamp there.
3. I shall steal her with the slender waist, and at night the riding camels will escape with me,
   So that I shall be far from my kin in the morning.

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4. Thou hast destroyed me, thou who mightest make me rend the shirt on my breast;
The wounds caused by thee are secret, known to no one.
5. Oh, the eye of the gazelle, who stamps noisily on the rocky slope
Scenting the breeze, while the other gazelles follow her,
6. Forming after her a waving line.
As she is agile in the open air only, so am I only when with her.
7. By Allâh! she would not have mastered me but for her bosom;
By Allâh! her trimmed forehead hair availed nothing, for all can grow that.

The lovesick maiden is tortured by grief because her kin opposes her marrying the man of her heart. He therefore resolves to elope with her.

Verse 3. *Ṣaḥîf al-ḥaṣa* is a girl measuring no more than a span around the waist. 4. *Mefrijet al-ǧîbi* is the name given to his beloved, for in case of her loss he would bewail her in the same manner that a sister laments her brother or father, by rending the shirt on the breast. 5. *'Anz* is the old she-gazelle which leads and guards a herd of gazelles. She takes her post on a height, scenting the enemy. If she scents something suspicious, she looks eagerly in that direction and stamps her foot angrily when she cannot at once discover the cause of her fears. On catching sight of the enemy she flees, with the other gazelles following her in a long line which wavers to the right or left according to the direction taken by the old doe. 6. *Al-maḥa* means the pure air of the desert in which the gazelle thrives.

Treachery in Love

Hejjeh jâ-bu žeǧǧle
bdîni ṯadejt
ataḥseb en mâ-ni jammak
w-'ajni 'alejk.

Hasten, thou with a small plait on the temples,
Thou hast no trust in my faithfulness.
Oh, thinkest thou I shall not be with thee,
When my whole soul belongs to thee?

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831K 539K The maiden doubts whether the lover will keep his word and is therefore slow in coming to the meeting.

Ente jâ rê'i-l-waśem
haḏ-ḏâbele
ḥebbeni w-eſhaḳ an-naḏel
lel-bûbele.

Thou with the fine tattooing,
Thou with the fair teeth,
Kiss me and break the neck of the coward
For the next night.

Ḏâbele is a woman with fine small teeth.

Ente jâ rê'i-l-waśem
hal-ḥâjere
ḥebbeni w-eſhaḳ an-naḏel
laḏ-ḏâjere.

Thou with the fine tattooing,
Thou, who canst not decide,
Kiss me and break the neck of the coward
For the next year.

If the coward refuses to divorce her, she is to rid herself of him by violence, so that she can marry her paramour.

'Awwejt 'awat aṣ-ṣaḥa'
'ala 'aśîren bêḍani
min 'oḳbehom mâ li 'aza'
'an aṣ-ṣawdlef 'âḍani.

I wailed as a wolf wails when the dew has past
For the lover who has betrayed me.
After all this suffering I have no courage left
To resist the claims of my kin.

The loving girl thinks she has been betrayed and will no more oppose her relatives, who want to marry her to another.

'Awat aṣ-ṣaḥa', wailing in the middle of the forenoon, is much stronger than *'awat al-'aśa'*, wailing at evening, or *'awat al-leyl*, wailing at night. If the wolf captures his prey in the evening or during the night, he rests till afternoon; if he

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howls in the morning after the dew has evaporated, it is a sign that he has not got enough at night to satisfy his hunger. 831x 539x

Wa' ḫânat aš-šowḳ jâ ǧûde
nawwa 'ala-l-bowḳ jâ ḫajje
w-al-jowm mâ 'alemt bisdûdeh
w-enn-al-razi bâjeken bajje
ḫalaft ana 'âd mâ-'ûdeh
ḫalli daffenni w-ana ḫajje.

Alas, the treachery of my lover, O Ǧûde!
He has deceived me, O little sister of mine!
Today I have heard no excuses.
And because my desired one has deceived me,
I have sworn not to return to him any more;
And do thou hasten and bury me, even if I am still alive.

A girl loved a youth with all her heart. She knew that her *eben al-'amm* had laid claim to her and that he would not consent to her marrying her lover; therefore she was willing to flee with him to another tribe. The death with which she was threatened by her revengeful kinsman had no terrors for her; for her lover she was ready for any sacrifice. Shortly before the day of the flight agreed upon, the Arabs were suffering from thirst, *maṛma'*. There was no water for either men or animals. At that moment the youth confided to his sweetheart that he had found under the dry channel bank a small hole filled with rain water, *ṛdejjer*, where he would fill the water bags belonging to his tent and then water his camels. The girl kept watch and, when she saw him ride away with the camels, tied two empty water bags to the water saddle, mounted a she-camel, and drove her herd after his, not coming up with him until they reached the hole. He was just filling his water bags, holding off the camels with a long spear. Catching sight of his sweetheart's camels, he dragged the full bags from the water, jumped down into the hole, poured the water into a small hole, over which a hide was stretched, and with his long spear stabbed the girl's camels as they crowded to drink. It was in vain that she begged him to fill at least one of her bags. He cared only for himself and his herd. Then the girl sang the following *ḫejêni* (ditty):

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539*

1. *Lêk teṣfiẓ zamlana jowm jiḥarre'*
rûḥ min mojj al-baḥar ḍawḥ heǧǧini
2. *la'all má teṣfeẓ ḫaṭât al-medarre'*
min fouḳ má tekṣom 'arûd al-'anâni
3. *lâ wa' ḥasâjef ḥebbeti jowm afarre'*
jowm az-zmejjem ḥâre' beṭ-ṭemâni.

1. Why dost thou strike our pack camels when they come near the water trough?
Water them with the water from the basin [coaxing them with the words:] *dawḥ!* my white one.
2. Thou wouldst better strike an armed man,
While thou sattest in the saddle, than kick the shoulder blades where the bridle rests.
3. Alas, woe is me! I regret the kisses at the time when I loosened my hair
And when my darling drank from my teeth.

Verse 1. *Al-baḥar* is a leather trough resembling a deep basin and fastened to wooden legs. It serves for watering camels, who are coaxed with the sounds *dawḥ! dawḥ!* and *ati! ati!* 2. The maiden doubts if her lover would strike his mailed foe with the same courage; she thinks he would kick or press, *tekṣom*, with his left foot the upper part of the left foreleg of his camel, thus forcing him to run away.
[301] 3. *Az-zmejjem* means a small ring hung at the left side of the nostril, in this instance an ungrateful lover.

1. *Šallejteni jâ-l-ṛaṣi ḥella*
ḥali ba'îdla w-ana ḥâfi
2. *ar-riǧel má tadni al-mella*
w-ana 'ala-l-ḥarr wakkâfi
3. *aḳfejt jâ râčeb aṣ-ṣella*
w-ana 'ala darben nakkâfi
4. *'ajnen terâ'îč lel-ṛalla*
ḫalben terâǧîč lil-ḥâfi
5. *jâ-l-bâṛ má-aten 'ala mella*
hâǧa tḥarreṣennah w-ṣa lâfi.

1. Far out hast thou enticed me, O beloved one!
Far live my kin, and bare are my feet.
2. The foot cannot touch the red-hot soil,
And yet motionless I stand in the heat.

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3. Thou hast gone back, thou who sittest in a shady litter, 831x
And I return whence I came. 539x
4. Be condemned to suffering, the eye that would look upon thee,
And torn out the heart that would long for thee.
5. O you white ones! who can know you?
While you dismiss one, another enters.

Fahad eben Ṣbejḥ loved Kazzijje, a daughter of the Âl Wahîf kin. He remained with his people in the neighborhood of al-Ǧowf, while Kazzijje went with hers to an-Nuḳra, west of the Ḥawrân, *yarrabow*. When the rest of the Rwala returned to the inner desert, *šarraḳow*, where they encamped in the vicinity of al-Ǧowf, Fahad began to search for Kazzijje and learned that her kin were camping with the Ṭajjâr kin somewhere between Damascus and Palmyra. Later, in the season of the greatest heat, a traveler brought him news that his sweetheart's people were encamped near Tejma. Mounting a camel he went there, despite the warnings of his own kin that no Rwala were just then camping along the western borders of the Nefûd and that war had broken out between them and the Šammar. Fahad succeeded in reaching the watering place of al-'Asâfijje, where he found the relatives of his sweetheart preparing to move. He also learned that Kazzijje had married in the meantime and was shown her new litter, which was just bearing her south. Crushed by grief, he set out north for home. East of aṭ-Ṭâjât he was set upon by the Šammar, who took his camel away from him and his arms as well, leaving him only a pouch filled with water. Now he had to make his way barefooted over a scorched rocky desert back to his people, who were encamped near the eastern border of the Ḥawrân. Broken in body and spirit, he composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 5. *Tḫarrajennah* means "this one you let out (drive out) from your heart"; *ḫâfi*, "another one enters at once."

Lovers' Quarrels

Rkâbneten nimt ana ḥsellah
naṭajtaha w-al-ḥawa' ṣâḳer
ḫanu 'âdieten fûraḳnt ḥellah
baḍ'aten mâ beha ǧâḳer

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w-afrah elja šift zwēl lah
w-ǧānat al-'ajn mā tenčer.

I slept in the shade of sweet basil
And went away when my passion was allayed.
How many sweethearts part from their friends
In a moment not pleasant to remember!
How glad I am to see even the outline of her figure!
And the eye — that deceiving one — is not deluded.

The lover has quarreled with his sweetheart, tney have parted, and still he longs for her. *Zwejl* (diminutive of *zōl*) are the outlines of a human figure observed from afar. The identity cannot be ascertained; only the fact that it is a human creature is apparent. The lover is not sure whether it is his sweetheart or not, his eye can cheat him, but he feels that he does not deceive himself. *"Ḫānat al-'ajn*, Oh, the treacherous, deceptive eye!" is said even in a tranquil mood, the expression being almost one of endearment.

A chief's daughter loved a poor Rwejli. Although often upbraided for this, she remained faithful to the man of her choice. Once they camped in the midst of a good pasture, but far from water, so that they occasionally suffered from thirst. As the well was very far and the region not safe, only young men went to bring the water, the lover of the chief's daughter among them. She did not drink for two days, saving up her share so that she could welcome her darling with a dainty dish when he returned. When on the third day the outposts signaled with their kerchiefs tied to their long spears that the youths were returning with water bags filled, the girl quickly made up flour for a small cake, added plenty of butter, and baked a delicate *fuṭīṭa* cake. With this in her hand she mounted a she-camel and rode out to meet the young men bringing in the water supply, *rwa*. The women generally ride out with a small water pouch when they either have thirsty children at home or want to prepare a meal for the hungry ones, for the camels carrying the full water bags move but slowly, while a woman on a riding camel gets her pouch filled from the first youth she meets and can quickly return. As soon, then, as the chief's daughter met the first young man with the water, *rawwāj*, she was told to take as much as she needed; but this she declined, saying: "Our *rawwāj* rides in

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the rear." This was repeated several times. At last she sighted her lover. He drove before him two camels, each of whom carried two large water bags made of camel's hide and holding about 150 liters each; on a third, less burdened, he sat himself. 831x 539x

"Give me some water," begged the girl.

"Thou hast met so many men. Did none of them offer water to thee? Then if thou didst not get a drink from them, thou wilt not get any from me!"

Then the girl pulled out the appetizing cake. The hungry lover looked at it longingly, but she threw it to a dog near by and said:

"I shall not drink from thee, thou wilt not eat from me any more!"

Jumping down from the camel the youth now poured out the water for her, but she refused. When he called on her in the evening, she drove him away and sang the following *hejīni*:

1. *Ḥafwa-l-walad jebči low má ta'ašša*
   jeṣḥak w-low aṣbaḥ 'ala čabdeh az-zād
2. *w-lā hazharanneh meb'addit al-ma'ašša*
   hajīk alli jiṣher rajūb al-awlād
3. *lā wa' ḥasdjef nahdi alli tnašša*
   jowm al-ḥekal w-arḥaṣt leh kill má-rād.

1. Many a youth cries when he gets no supper,
   And laughs when filling his stomach from the food
   taken for the journey.
2. But he who is not disturbed when a she-camel carries
   him away from his supper,
   Shows himself to be a pearl among the youths.
3. Oh, woe is me! how do I regret that he has inhaled
   the fragrance of my breast,
   In a moment of heedlessness, when I permitted him
   all that he wished.

Verse 2. *Meb'addit al-ma'ašša*, making distant the place of supper, are female riding camels moving away with their riders from the home tents, where supper was sure to be had, and speeding into the desert, where it is never known when a hospitable camp may be reached. Even if the riders are provided with flour or wheat, they are always uncertain where 484 539x 831x

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[484] and when to prepare their supper. If a hostile troop or its traces are discovered, such a thing as cooking a meal is not to be thought of. 3. *Jowm al-ǧehal* refers to those moments when, blinded by passion, one acts regardless of the consequences; such a person is called *ǧâhel*.

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Unrequited and Thwarted Love

Já ḥmûd wa' 'âreẓni šâbi
ṭard al-hawa' ǧizt ana minneh
akûd waẓẓâḥ an-nijâbi
haḏâk minni w-ana minneh.

O Ḥmûd, alas, my gray hair is a hindrance to me.
Enough now in amorous contests;
Only she with the white teeth,
She is my love and I am hers.

Mâ-bṛi 'aširi walad ḳowbân
miṯl aṣ-ṣlûḳi jelobbi le
já leḥjeten minḳa' aṣ-ṣibân
w-al-ḳaml w-er'û ženâdileh.

I will have no lazy glutton for lover of mine,
Who would cling to me always like a *slûḳi*.
Oh, that chin beard of his, basin for nits
And lice; and only look at his big head!

Ḳowbân or *'efen* is a fat loafer who likes to eat and sleep but is no lover of raids. *Slûḳi* (or *sluḳi*) is a greyhound. [231] While other dogs are not allowed to enter the tent at all, the greyhound indulges himself both on the rugs and in the bed and will not stir from his master and mistress, eagerly waiting for a mouthful to be thrown to him.

Šowḳi já 'uwejd aṣ-ṣam'a
wa' mžejjilen beš-šîḥa
hâḏi 'elûmak teǧîni
w-allâh eni mustariḥa
edd edd mâ tšûfak 'ejni
já hâreb 'ala-ṣ-ṣîḥa.

Oh, that lover of mine! that little stalk of *ṣam'a*,
Ah! in *šîḥ* plants he hides at noon.

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Such are the reports I have heard of thee—
And, by Allâh himself! I am at peace.
Be gone, be gone, so that my eyes may never perceive thee,
O thou, whom the mere sighting of the enemy turns to flight.

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A maiden rejects her lover for hiding like a coward during a raid. *Šîḥa* is a plain covered with *šîḥ* growing as high as sixty centimeters, so that a man lying in it cannot be seen. *Mžejjilen* is one who likes to rest in the hottest hours of the day, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. *Edd* for *ruḥ*, away. *Ẓîḥa* is the first sight of the enemy.

Jâ wenneti wennet aṭ-ṭenṭên
ṣâdi waladhen maflâhen
en rawwaḥen jeʿâžen ṣawṭên
w-en ekbel al-lejl beṭnâhen
ʿalejk jâ žâdel al-karnên
ḳalbi šfûken limâtâhen.

This is my lament, like the lament of two she-camels
Whose calf is lost in the pasture.
When they come back for the night, they wail with two voices,
Even when it grows dark and their legs are tied.
O thou, whose hair is plaited into two tresses,
My heart pities thee because of their meetings.

A youth warns the girl he loves, but who does not return his affection, that her lover has others beside her. If the Bedouins want to milk a she-camel whose young is a weakling, they kill the calf at birth and put another in its place. Both mothers now take this calf for their own, caring for and nursing it. When such a young camel gets lost in the pasture, either by falling into a pit or becoming the prey of a wild beast, both mothers wail day and night for a long time.

ʿAzzâk jâ barḳen jelûḥ
wara-ṭ-ṭawîl ṣawbaha
jâ ḥejf jâ ʿašireti
wa'-l-mubreza ʿajjaw baha.

May Allâh comfort thee! The lightning flashed
Beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl, whither she wanders.

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Oh, woe is me! sweetheart of mine!
Alas, she was angry with me, that is why they refused her to me.

A maiden in her anger persuaded her relatives to refuse her to her lover and moved away with them beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl ridge. The expression *'azzâk* is used when lightning flashes. [132] In the desert people are often killed by lightning; therefore Allâh is asked to comfort the survivors. The parting with the girl of his heart has struck the youth like lightning.

Niğmet aṣ-ṣubḥ dannat fanâğîlaha
'okdeten biẓmîri w-ana-dîraha
jâ ḥwâlen 'alla-llâh tadâbîraha.

The morning star has shot her rays
Like a knot into my bosom, where I feel it constantly.
Alas, these changes! No one but Allâh can restore my fortunes.

It is to Allâh alone that the disappointed lover looks for help. *Fanâğîl* mean not only glittering coffee cups but the pale rays of the morning star and the reflection of a beauty's white cheeks. The lover has sought his girl in marriage, but without success because her kin object, although at first they were not opposed to him.

Elja 'âd ani min šammar
waš wala'ani bruwejli
en šarraḳaw ṭâb al-kejf
w-en ṛarrabaw jâ wejli
šiḳren ḏwâjeb zahra
miṯl al-barḳ blejli.

Why did I, a descendant of the Šammar,
Become attached to a Rwala girl?
If they come to the inner desert, I am cheerful of mind,
But should they go to the settled country, then, Oh woe is me!
Zahra with her blond tresses
Shines for me like lightning at night.

[101 221] The Šammar camp in the Nefûd and to the south of it, and seldom leave their territory. Only a few Siǧâra clans sometimes go to the settled country, *ṛarrabow*, generally to the Euphrates between al-Kûfa and as-Samâwa, to provide themselves with grain.

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themselves with grain. Our Šammari can therefore meet his Rwala maid, Zahra, only in the inner desert, *šerḳ*. Women fond of dress dye their hair yellow with henna.

Fâṭeri taẓla' al-jowm min riğlaha
jâ ba'ad žâḍelen ḳarḳašaw ḥağlaha.

My old she-camel with her hind leg lame today,
Oh, may she live longer than she with hair clipped above her brows and ankle rings clashing together.

Ajj as-samar walla'-l-bajaẓ
low čent ani 'aššâḳeh
ḥebb as-samar ḥelwt al-ğowf
lâ wa' hani min ẓâḳeh.

Whether black or white,
If I were only his sweetheart!
The kisses of a negro are like the *ḥelwa* dates from al-Ğowf;
Truly, much relish to one who has tasted them.

A paramour was reproached with having been intimate with a negro; she answered with the ditty just cited, which is very popular, especially with the negroes.

Ḥelwa is the most delicious variety of dates raised in the basin al-Ğowf. Some of these dates are as much as five centimeters long and two centimeters thick; they are black with a bluish tinge.

1. *Naṭṭajt râs al-'abd w-lâ šufet ahadbâš*
   w-lâ ğâni min maẓnûn 'ajni munâbi
2. *mâ šufet ṭurkijje w-lâ šufet al-awnâs*
   min dûn maẓnûni telâla'-s-serâbi
3. *hani lowni lil-ma'âllḳ fattâš*
   w-alli bḳalb ṣwejḥebi miṯl mâ bi.

1. The summit of al-'Abd I climbed, but saw no herds,
   Nor did any one come to bring word to me from the one for whom my eyes watch.
2. No travelers, no man at all I sighted;
   Between me and my ward a mirage quivers.
3. Oh, may he who examines the heart bring my desires to a good issue,
   [Allâh] who dwells in my mistress' heart and in mine too.

831* The poet was ʿAli al-Ḥâzemi; the reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and ʿAwde al-Kwêčbi.

539* Al-ʿAbd is a hill northwest of al-Ğowf. *Lowni* (or *ḥâli*), condition, heart; *waš lownak* is equivalent to *waš ḥâlak*, how are you?

1. *Warâk tezhed jerješ al-ʿajn bîna*
   teḳûl ḫajjâl al-eğra zejn taṣfîḥ
2. *allâh laḥad jâ mâ ṛaẓejna w-ḥabîna*
   jâ mâ žâsemna ḥalâl al-meṣâliḥ
3. *jâ mâ taʿâṯejna-l-ḫwaʿ bîdîna*
   jâ mâ râčebnahen ʿaṣejr al-mrâwiḥ
4. *al-howš mâ hw bass lizâʿanîna*
   česem w-hw bên al-wğih al-mefâliḥ
5. *al-bedw w-alli bel-eğra nâzelînah*
   killen ʿaṭâh allâh min habbt ar-rîḥ
6. *jowm al-fzûl beḥellteč šâreʿînah*
   w-al-ḫejl beḫwâneč swât az-zenâniḥ
7. *jowm inkasar rumḥi ğeḏabt as-senîna*
   w-awdaʿt ʿanneč al-ḫejl ṣumm al-meḏâbîḥ
8. *aṣ-ṣedeẓ ʿendeč mar lâ teğḥadînah*
   taʿnezi beṣ-ṣedeẓ jâ zejnt ar-rîḥ
9. *jâ-bu nhejd čema finğâl ṣîna*
   ṛazzât lel-ḳalb al-mšakke ḏawâbîḥ
10. *lâ ḫowḫ w-lâ rummân w-lâ talaʿ tîna*
    w-lâ mišmiš al-baṣra w-lâ hen tefâfîḥ
11. *ṣuḥfen beluṭfen binhezâʿ belînah*
    jâ ṛaẓen mowz hazhazeh nâsem ar-rîḥ
12. *hejjeh eʿṭîna-l-ḥakk hejjeh eʿṭînah*
    w-en mâ ʿaṭejtîneh w-allâh lâ-ṣîḥ
13. *lâ-ṣîḥ ṣîḥat min ṛalla' lah ğenînah*
    w-illa ḥalûğen zajjeowha-s-serârîḥ
14. *w-asammeʿ alli bel-eğra nâzelînah*
    w-aḳûl bâri al-ḥakk ʿan at-tefâzîḥ
15. *min ʿâfanaʿafnâh low hw ḥadîna*
    w-lâ jinfaʿ al-ʿaṭšân kiṭr at-tesâbîḥ
16. *low nebi min al-ḥazrân wâğed lakîna*
    mar kilna-l-bedw aḥsan at-tesâmîḥ
17. *alli nabîḥ al-jowm ʿajja jabîna*
    w-lâ jindara-l-ḫira wejn al-meṣâliḥ.

1. Why does she knit her brows at us,
Saying: "The rider from a hamlet is good only for trade."

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2. As there is one Allâh only, Oh, how often have we gone on a raid and crawled on our bellies!
   Oh, how often have we divided among us the herds of those who bred them!
3. How often have our hands given presents to the poor!
   How often have we ridden [our camels] at evening, craving for a night's lodging!
4. Fighting was not allotted only to those who move from camp to camp,
   But it is also the lot of other fortunate men.
5. For, as to the Bedouins, so to villagers too,
   To all has Allâh given a chance for success.
6. When the Fẓûl laid hands on thy chattels
   And like wild beasts their riders attacked thy brothers,
7. When my spear was broken and I grasped the sharp saber,
   Then I drove from thee the riders, who destroy those who sit in tents.
8. Thou knowest the truth, then deny it not,
   For from the truth thou goest astray, O fragrant one!
9. O thou with thy little breasts like china cups
   And full of juice—they give deadly wounds to the heart—
10. Not peaches, pomegranates, nor the fruit of the fig tree
    Nor apricots from al-Baṣra, nor apples, [are they,
11. But sheets of paper close lying, curved, and smooth.
    O thou fruit-bearing branch of a banana plant rocked by the wind,
12. Give here what to us belongs, here give it to us—
    And if thou givest not, by Allâh! I will cry out,
13. Surely cry like her whose only child is lost
    Or like a she-camel deprived of her young and forgotten by the herdsmen.
14. Let those who dwell in villages hear me
    When I say: "I desire redress for the public insult."
15. Him who shunned us we also will shun, though he asks our protection,
    For a thirsty one no prayers will help.
16. If we desired [a bride] from the settlers, we should find many of them,
    But we said that there is more honor in the ways of [the Bedouins.
17. She whom we desired refused us,
    And none knows what is for the best and where to seek virtuous people.

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831 x 639 x The poet was Fejṣal al-ʿAnḳari; the reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ġwâd al-ʿÂni, and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. Turki eben Ḥmejd eben ʿArejʿer, the chief of the Beni Ḥâled, camping by the Persian Gulf in the territory of al-Ḥasa, had a good friend in Fejṣal al-ʿAnḳari, the elder of a small village near al-Baṣra. Fejṣal negotiated in Turki's name with the authorities, sent him foodstuffs, cloth, arms, and ammunition, advanced him money, and took in exchange camels and horses, which he sold to Persia and India. With the approach of the mid-summer season, *al-ḳejẓ*, Fejṣal used to leave his village with his servants for a change of air on a visit to Turki; *bwaḳt al-ḳejẓ jiṭlaʿ ʿend al-bedw jebaddel hawa.* The latter had a daughter, Fejṣal a son, and the fathers agreed together that their children should marry. It happened that at the beginning of mid-summer both Fejṣal and his son came to Turki for a long visit. On the first day an old fat she-camel was killed in their honor. On the next day the Bedouins arranged an equestrian display, *leʿeb al-ḫejl*, depicting a fight with the enemy, in which both Fejṣal and his son took part, the women standing by their tents, meanwhile, to watch the riders circling around the camp. A female relative of Turki's daughter called her attention to Fejṣal's son's performance, praising his strength and dexterity. The girl's answer, however, was: "Let him be gone from us! A rider from a village is fit only for trade, *kubbih ʿanna ḫajjâl al-eġra zejn at-taṣfiḥ*," and she would not hear of becoming the mother of settlers. This caused much laughter among the other women who heard the words; they shouted them from tent to tent, and before long even the children cried: "*Ḫajjâl al-eġra zejn at-taṣfiḥ.*" This insult naturally pained old Fejṣal deeply, especially coming from the girl whom he had selected for the wife of his brave son, and he made preparations to leave, but Turki succeeded in appeasing him.

Soon after this incident Turki's herds were suddenly attacked by the Fẓûl, a kin of the Ẓefîr tribe. Responding to the alarm cries, the riders hastened to defend the herds but encountered superior numbers and were slowly beaten back to the camp. In order to raise the courage and perseverance of his warriors Turki had a fancy litter fastened to a [726] she-camel, in which his daughter had to seat herself. A virgin sitting in fancy litters and inciting warriors to fight is called 'Aṭfa', the same name being also applied to the litters. Throw-

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ing aside her kerchief, loosening her hair, and unfastening the clasp which held the shirt below her throat, she placed herself in the litter. Her girl friends, likewise, mounted she-camels and rendering at the top of their voices the sounds called onomatopoetically *zaṛârît*, mingled in the thickest of the fray. For a while they succeeded in bracing up the courage of both their kin and friends, but the superiority of numbers soon told. Fighter after fighter began to disappear, some being killed, many wounded; of others, again, the tired mares refused to obey any longer.

Finally the ʿAṭfa and her female companions found themselves among the tents again. When it became certain that the enemy would capture the tents, the girls called to the ʿAṭfa to hide, as it would be the greatest insult to the reigning family as well as to the whole tribe should the enemy capture the ʿAṭfa too. Turki's daughter drove her animal in front of her father's tent, compelled it to kneel, jumped off and, unhooking the litter, tried to pull it inside; but the tent was already surrounded by the enemy, shouting: "Seize the ʿAṭfa, seize the ʿAṭfa!" Thoroughly frightened, the girl called on the ʿArej'er kin to help her, *tenḥa âl ʿarej'er*, but their battle cry sounded only in a few places and at great distance.

Seeing herself deserted by her own kin, the ʿAṭfa caught sight of Fejṣal and his son sitting in the men's compartment of the tent with their servants, and appealed for help to them. In an instant everything was changed. Fejṣal, his son, and their men quickly mounted their horses, seized the horses of the enemy who had scattered to rob the tents, cut their girths and took off their bridles, which they stowed in their own saddlebags, and then began to slay the surprised enemy. In a little while the whole camp was filled with riderless horses without saddles or bridles, a great number of the enemy were lying among the tents, and the rest sought safety in flight, pursued by Fejṣal's troop and Turki's men who had now rallied. There was much joy over the unexpected turn affairs had taken, especially as many of the warriors came back with one or two mares, claiming to have lifted their riders out of the saddles.

Before long Turki's tent was crowded with both young and old warriors who boasted of their various achievements, while the chief's daughter listened behind the low partition dividing the tent. When she saw Fejṣal's party returning she

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831K 539K stepped up to the partition, took hold of the middle tent pole, and said:

"As sure as I hold the middle pole so surely do you all deserve to be chased out by my father. Here you are, bragging that you have swept the riders from their saddles, that the enemy were afraid of you and fled. Where are your proofs?"

Turki knew her to be in the right but tried to appease her with the words: "Yes, these youths have proved their mettle, they do not exaggerate, *mâ jeḳaṣṣerûn*."

"Chase them away, papa, all of them. The man who saved us has not come yet."

"Thou art right, my girl," replied the father, already greeting Fejṣal with his son and servants, who were now seen at some distance.

Fejṣal's party dismounted, exchanged greetings with Turki, and, sitting down beside him, leaned their tired bodies against camel saddles. As soon as they were seated, Turki's daughter came in, walked straight through the men, and kissed Fejṣal on the head. This made all present flush with amazement. Then she stepped up to the bags which had been taken from Fejṣal's horses and, pulling out the halters with which they were crammed, she cried out:

"O you braggarts! Was it you who captured the mares? Here are the proofs. I saw who saved the ʿAṭfa and in what manner. Father, I would not have any of these youths for my husband. Give me the son of al-ʿAnḳari."

Turki looked at Fejṣal, who said: "After dinner." He then replied: "Ask Allâh's protection, my daughter. After dinner I shall ask for you."

Towards evening the girl was adorned by the women, and all expected Fejṣal to ask for her as a wife for his son. But Fejṣal kept silent. At last Turki reminded him of what all were expecting him to say. Then catching up a *rebâba*, Fejṣal played a tune and said: "*Min ʿâfana ʿafnâh low čân ġâli*; him who refuses us, we also refuse though he be ever so dear to us."

The girl, who was listening behind the tent partition, fainted, after which the poem cited above was declaimed by Fejṣal.

Verse 1. *Warûk* according to the generally accepted explanation is equivalent to *lêḥ* (or *lêš*), for what cause? wherefore? The pronunciation "*jerješ*" was defended by both Mham-

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mad and Ğwâd, who claimed that *jerješ* means brows, whereas Ḥmâr said *"jâ riš al-'ajn,"* which, of course, means the same thing. An *eğra* is a small village or hamlet with huts built of mud bricks. *Taṣfiḥ* or *taḥrîf* signifies any act performed for money or simply as a display. 2. *Ḫabîna* stands for the activity of the participators in small predatory excursions or of the scouts sent to find out by whom certain herds are owned and the whereabouts and size of the enemy's camps. They often have to crawl on their bellies so as to escape notice and avoid bringing destruction upon themselves and their comrades. 3. *Ḫwa'* is the call to supper during a raid. Fejṣal enumerates his deeds among the Bedouins. 5. *Habbt ar-rîḥ* is a favorable wind, a good opportunity for success, booty. The partakers in a raid shout when mounting their animals: *"Habbî lana jâ rîḥâna,* blow us, O breeze [to our success]!" 7. *Senîna* is a sharp saber.

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Difficulties Due to Kinsmen

Jâ ḥamad jâ-l-ḥnejdi	O Ḥamad al-Ḥnejdi!
žetalni ḥawâk	Love for thee has been the ruin of me;
w-an-nâs braǧa'-llâh	While others put their hope in Allâh,
w-ana biraǧâk.	I put my hope in thee.
Enhazem jâ selîm	It were well for thee to flee;
lâ tabet al-ḫala'	Do not pass the night behind the camp!
ṣâḥebi min žedîm	My friend has long ago
sammani bel-ṛala'.	Poisoned me with love.

The maiden warns her lover against the meetings at night behind the camp. *Ḫala'* means everything behind the camp. *Ṛala'* is the passion of love.

Jâ šowḳ mâ ta'ṭi-l-mabṛi
ḳalb al-maḫâlîž jadrûni
jâ bint ana ḫâreben ʃab'i
lijje 'ala-l-biẓ 'orbûni
jâ bint ana-ḫâf min rab'i
w-al-kill jabṛîč miṇ dûni.

Sweetheart, wilt thou not give me what I most desire
Before the creatures discover me?
O maiden! I am ruining my character,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831* Since many fair ones have received pledges from me.
O maiden! I fear my own folks,
539* Though, whoever it be that wants thee, is beneath me.

Jâ šowḳ hedd al-židle
w-esmaʿ hali nâdûni
ḳaṭṭâʿaten lal-lowze
w-allâh mâ jeḥjûni.

O darling mine! loose my forehead hair,
Hear, my kin is calling me.
They would cut my throat and,
By Allâh himself! would not spare my life.

Masfûh ḳalbi ħâk al-masfûh
masfûhena al-jowm mâ dâği
aḳbal ʿalejna-hleh raddûh
aḳfaʾ čema-l-ṛoṣen menʿâği
ḥebbet ʿaširi sukkaren daḳḳûh
min bên ašâfih darrâği.

The little fool whom I love, the little stupid,
My little fool has not come to our tryst tonight.
He started towards us, but his kinsfolk made him turn
And he went back like a swaying twig. [back,
The kiss of my darling is like sugar, powdered,
Bubbling out from between his lips.

[828] *Masfûh* means one who has lost his heart, *zâjeʿ ḳalbeh*, either from love or fear, one who has no self-control, knows not what he is doing, and acts as though feeble minded. *Dâği* is a young man going on a dark night to meet his lover. *Ṛoṣen menʿâği* is a twig that sways continually, owing either to the wind or, if it grows in a stream, to the flow of the water.

Jâ ḫalaf jâ ḫalaf
ğowz az-zêne ḏalaf
erʿaha ʿend ahalha
manâmha ṭaraf.

O Ḫalaf! O Ḫalaf!
The beauty's husband has gone on a journey;
But see, she stays with her kinsfolk
And sleeps at the very border.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ḏalaf means "went abroad either to work for wages or on business" — for example, to work as a driver of camels bought by the ʿAḳejl. The wife of the absent man left his tent to return to her kin, whose tent was pitched on the very border of the camp.

Jâ ṣâḥebi w-an-nebi mâ-ḳfejt
w-lâ-ṭrejt ana-l-bowḳ min ḥîni
ṛaṣb ʿalejje jâ-l-ṛaẓi ǧaẓẓejt
darben ʿala-ẓ-ẓîẓ ḥâdini.

O my beloved, by Allâh himself, I am not untrue to thee!
From the very beginning never have I thought of treachery.
Against my will, O my desired! as I told thee,
By a road leading to distress he drives me.

The second cousin or another near relative, *eben al-ʿamm*, presses his own claim on the girl. She apologizes to her lover. *W-an-nebi* is a very common saying, used even by the Christians. *Aḳfaʾ* signifies a fighter who in fear turns his horse around. To this, special blame is attached, as he thus betrays his comrades and exposes them to greater danger. *Min ḥîn* means "from the very beginning"; *lâ-ṭrejt al-bowḳ*, "no thought of treachery has occurred to me"; *ṛaẓi*, "the desired, the one eagerly expected"; *aṛẓi*, "I long for, I wish for." *Ǧaẓẓejt*, for *ḥačejt* or *ṣiḥet*. A *ḥâdi* is a camel driver.

Mišerfe jâ ḥajâti
nâdîni ṛadejt
laʿan abu min jerodd
ʿan alli baṛejt.

Mišerfe, thou life of mine,
Call me, for I have lost my way.
Cursed be the father of him who keeps me
From what I desire.

In a dark night the lover, in a terrain unknown to him and cut up by numerous gullies, cannot find the spot agreed on for the meeting with his sweetheart; he also curses her folk, who will not allow him to come to their tent.

1. *Jâ wenneti wennet baʿrîn telle*
biḥowš eben ʿâmertes'at ajjâm beʿḳâl

2:Musil S-4 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831*
539*

2. *al-bard ǧâhen w-al-maṭar mardeſen leh*
wa' meṯilhen 'an ḥerwat aš-šams beẓlâl
3. *walijjehen 'abden w-lâ-ḥad faṭen leh*
w-lâ ẓunneti žawîhen jašbaṭ al-ǧâl
4. *čân en šowḳak žâ'ed bḥawṭaten leh*
šowḳi ma' al-bedwân jarha ma' al-âl
5. *fowḳ awẓahen ma' zemlen ahalha teǧill leh*
jatli ẓa'an šejḥen ma' ad-daw w-aṣ-ṣwân
6. *jâ mâ ḥala kattat šaṛâja muzelle*
wâdi-l-mra čân al-obejjeẓ ma'ah sâl.

1. This is my lament, a lament for the camels of Telle,
In Eben 'Âmer's courtyard fettered for nine days.
2. The cold and the rain have come upon them;
Alas! at noon they rest in shade instead of in the sun.
3. They are cared for by a negro, with none to control him,
So that, methinks, the strongest of them will not climb the slope.
4. While thy lover squats in his garden,
My sweetheart slowly rides with the Bedouins in the air, vibrating with heat,
5. On a white camel and watches the pack camels of her kin,
Following the chief's family over the vast plain and flint-strewn rolling land.
6. How fair is the green in the shady gullies of
The valley al-Mra, when water flows through the valley al-Obejjeẓ.

The poet, Ḥamad eben Nâjef eben Ša'lân, had a sweetheart named Telle, married by her kin to the settler Eben 'Âmer of the village of Čâf in the Sirḥân depression. They brought her to him towards the end of February. There being no pasture in the neighborhood, they fettered the camels in the courtyard, intending to return the next day. But at night a cold rain began to fall, and the party, coming as it did from the sunny and warm Nefûd without winter clothing, was compelled to remain in Čâf for nine days. After their return Ḥamad composed this poem. The reciter was Met'eb walad Kurdi.

Verse 4. *Ḥawṭa* is a date palm grove enclosed by a fence. *Âl* means air quivering with heat at noon and distorting the outlines of all objects. 6. Wâdi, or Še'ib, al-Mra' joins al-Obejjeẓ valley on its right side.

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x
539x

Rivalry in Love

Jâ rabb jâ râzeḳ ḥadlân
bumm al-'ujûn al-meẓâlili
min 'oḳb mâ jetûli ḳḥejṣân
miṯl jetîm al-maḥâlili.

O Lord, thou bestowed'st on Hadlân
A maiden with eyes shaded with long lashes,
After his humbling of Ḳḥejṣân, so
That the latter now is like an orphaned, weaned young camel.

The lover Hadlân compelled Ḳḥejṣân, his sweetheart's cousin, to abandon his claim to her. A *maḥlûl* is a camel more than three months old, which feels lost when parted from its mother. The other she-camels drive it away, because it pricks them when it tries to suck with the sharp piece of wood fastened to its upper jaw. No she-camel will advise it where and how to graze. If the herdsman did not take care of it, the poor little beast would perish of hunger and the injuries inflicted by the she-camels.

Ḥawwel jâ râ'i-š-šaḳra
ḥawwel w-e'ṭîni 'elûmak
en čân 'âšeḳ ṛejri
lâ w-an-nebi mâ-lûmak.

Alight, ṭhou rider on the sorrel mare,
Alight and give me thy news!
Even if thou shouldst loye another,
Verily, by Allâh himself, I will not reproach thee with it.

The loving maiden desires certain news of her lover's treachery.

Jâ šowḳ ḳalbi ṛada šaṭnên
tefarraḳen w-ent malfâhen
ent talḳâhen beharǧen zên
w-illa ma' al-ḥejd tanḥâhen
ḥelja 'alîri ḳad al-ǧalfên
ma' ar-raḥâṛik marbûhen.

O sweetheart! my heart is like a stream divided into two channels;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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They are far apart and may unite in thee;
Thou wilt bring them together, if thou speakest kindly to them.
If not, thou wilt cause them to end in the hillside.
My sweetheart is shaped like one of two little gazelles
Reared in the vast glistening plains.

The youth hesitates between two maidens. *Šaṭne* is a short branch valley or gully. *Ḥelja* has the same meaning as *rsûm* (or *awṣâf*), shape, features. *Rahârîh* is a wide plain glistening in the rays of the sun.

Al-waǧd waǧdi ʿala mtejje
jowm akrašat maʿ ʿarab ṛâši
kurṭân čân ṭalbetak nijje
asûk lak elfên w-elbâši.

Alas, for my pain on account of Mtejje!
From the day when she left like a thing bought with the Arabs of Ṛâši.
The palsy on thee! If thou wouldst ask something in exchange for her
I would drive two thousand [camels] to thee and other things beside.

The lover laments that his sweetheart, Mtejje, has become the property of Ṛâši, who has paid a large price for her, and offers him still more.

Akrašat means "she went away like a piece of property, a thing purchased." *Kurṭân* is the gout or palsy or some other disease causing paralysis of the legs.

Al-waǧd waǧdi ʿala-n-nîrât
abṛi min aṣ-ṣifr lejja mijje
abṛi elja ǧâ-l-ʿarab al-mirzât
al-mirtaʿed ṣâjeren sijje
abṛi elja ǧâ-l-ʿarab al-mirzât
ačâleh w-čajjel ednejje
našidd w-narkab ʿala-l-ʿajrât
naẓreb ʿala-l-ḫôr w-ṣfejje.

Alas, for my pain for Nîra's sake!
I would fain have a hundred yellow she-camels.
I would fain, when a slanderer comes to the Arabs

Z:\Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Chattering and evildoing.
I would fain, when a slanderer comes to the Arabs,
Take his measure and make my dearest ready,
So that we might saddle our strong she-camels, mount
And ride directly for al-Ḥôr and Ṣfajje. [them,

831x
539x

The lover wants to settle with the slanderer and then depart with his beloved, Nîra, for the inner desert. The price Nîra's kin ask for her is very high; in order to pay it, the lover wishes for a hundred yellow she-camels.

Ačîlek means "take his measure, settle with him"; *učajjel*, prepare, make ready, load, weigh. Al-Ḥôr is a depression in the center of al-Ḥamâd; the Ḥabra Ṣfajje is located there.

Jâ zejd lâ taẓreb al-maḥbûb
hw ṣâḥebi w-ent ḵowmâni
ḥowse low žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb
lê jâ ba'ad kill ḥajjâni.

O Zejd, do not beat my dear one!
She is my friend, thou mine enemy.
When Ḥowse lifts her garment,
Oh, that I may live longer than the whole kin!

Ṣâḥeb means a friendly tribe, *ḵowmâni* a hostile one. *Žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb*: she raises the dress covering her breasts in such a way that they show through the enlarged slit. If a girl or a woman wants to encourage her kinsmen to the greatest bravery in a dangerous fight, she does so not by words alone but also by significant deeds. So, for instance, she opens her dress on the breast as a sign of how she means to reward the bravest. Her lover then forgets everything else, only wishing not to perish in the fight, in order that he may enjoy the promised reward. *Lê jâ ba'ad* means "Oh, that I may not be absent, that I may not die." *Ḥajjân* are the kinsfolk, who keep together even in a fight.

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Jâ wannetî wannejtaha
w-ax-nâs mâ darjaw baha
lê wâḥad min jḍa'aha
bên al-berîm w-ṭawbaha.

This is the lament which I utter,
And none knows of it;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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539 x

Verily, he has stricken me who lay by her side
Between her leather belt and shirt.

Ğaṣa' means to roll or throw down; *ğâṣa'*, to lie by somebody; *enğaṣa'*, to lie sideways.

1. *Jâ bint ana ḳalbi 'alejkom 'aṣâni*
   râ'en lekom jâ bint ḳalbi nuṣûḥi
2. *jâ munaḳraš aḏ-ḏer'ân ṣâfi-ṭ-ṭemâni*
   ḏâbat 'alejhen jâ-rjaš al-'ajn rûḥi
3. *čân al-ḥbejjeb nijjeteh mâ saḳâni*
   waš 'âd jâ-l-'aslûğ bâbat ṣrûḥi
4. *jâ-t-tirf jâ ğâli-ṭ-ṭemân al-wazâni*
   miṯl al-barad min rûs mizneten jalûḥi.

1. O maiden! my heart rebels for thy sake,
   My heart which is a true herdsman to thy family.
2. O thou with tattooed arms and eight bright teeth
   Which destroy my repose; O thou with long, thick eye-[brows!
3. If the beloved will not reward me,
   Why should I drive out to the pasture, O thou of the fair shape?
4. O thou twig, which cleansest her eight even teeth,
   So that they are like hailstones that glitter from the heights of a black cloud.

'Awde abu Burkân al-Kwêčbi loved a girl named Ṣuṣna. To gain her he hired himself out to her father as a herdsman. But Ṣuṣna did not return his love at once, so he composed this song and sent it to her.

Verse 2. *Munaḳraš* (or *munaḳḳaš*), painted or engraved. 3. *'Aslûğ* is a girl neither thin nor fat, but nimble and of perfect form.

1. *Al-'awd 'âl w-'alejteh ğarhadijje*
   bel-'own 'awdak 'âjezen leh tesâfiḥ
2. *jâ-l-'awd lâ tečneb be'omrak ḫafijje*
   tara'-l-manâja nowb telfi tawâfiḥ
3. *ma'i rṣâṣ w-binduḳen 'ademlijje*
   milfâṣaha jerm-as-saḥar w-al-ma'âliḥ
4. *melḥen naẓif w-misṭiḥâteh idejje*
   w-ḥesseh čema neǧmen ṣarab leh šawâhiḥ
5. *ṣuṣna ḳamar jâ rlejd mâ hi ḫafijje*
   al-ḳubba alli mâ waṭowha-l-maḥâliḥ

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831x
539x

6. *wa' ḳrûnha tisa'în ǧowzen w-mijje*
'alejh min riš an-na'âjem zerâniž
7. *šebh aṭ-ṭrajja jowm tudaffeż delijje*
tenbet ber-rijâż al-maḥâjel zemâliž
8. *jeṯû' ḳalbi jowm taṭri 'alejje*
zow'at ǧehâm min al-ḥadab lat-tešâriž.

1. The old man does wrong and his evil deed is notorious,
Verily, thine old man ought to be slapped.
2. O old man! let not thy sins be the only loot in thy life,
For see, death will come sometime to settle with thee.
3. I have with me lead bullets and tried rifle;
Whatever leaves its muzzle will reach both entrails and heart.
4. Clean powder I have also prepared with my own hands;
When it fires it sounds like a star falling upon high mountains.
5. Ruṣna, O Ršejd! is like the moon, she cannot be hidden,
Or like a dome never trodden by men.
6. Oh, her tresses! they are a hundred and ninety pairs
And ostrich feathers are entwined in them.
7. She is like the Pleiades; when they pour out the water from their bucket,
They make the grass seed sprout in the bare lowlands.
8. When I think of her my heart leaps
Like camel herds hurrying from al-Ḥadab to the inner desert.

The previous poem finding favor with the maiden, she began to pay more attention to 'Awde, and they hoped to marry some day. But Ruṣna was claimed by her kinsman, Ršejd, a man already old, quite gray and sickly, of whom the girl would hear nothing. Her parents, 'Awde, and she herself begged the old man to let her marry 'Awde, but Ršejd insisted that she must become his wife. Then 'Awde composed this second poem.

Verse 1. *'Awd*, old stallion, is used sneeringly for *šâjeb* (or *iḫtijâr*), old man. *'Âl 'ala flân* has the same meaning as *ta'adda' 'ala flân*, he hurt somebody; *'ajle*, the same as *ta'dije*, to hurt, but in a disparaging sense meaning "he commits an evil deed." *Ǧarkadijje* signifies an affair spoken of everywhere with contumely. Ršejd's behavior was, therefore, generally condemned as dishonorable. *'Âjez leh* or *muḫtâǧ* means "he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

would deserve, he would need"; *bel-'own* (for *beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*), there is no objection, with the consent of all. 2. *Tawâfiž* or *bel-wafaḳ*, *beṣ-ṣadfe*; *tawâfaḳû* or *taṣâdafû*: they happened to settle it among themselves, they punished each other. 3. *Rṣâṣ* are balls, usually leaden ones. *'Ademlijje* is an old rifle with which the marksman is so well acquainted that he never misses his aim. *Saḥar* may mean the lungs, liver, or stomach, while *ma'âlîž* signifies the heart and the arteries leading to it. 4. "My hands have mixed, *anžeḥan*, this powder." The Bedouins frequently prepare their own gunpowder, trusting it more than that sold by the wandering merchants, who mix it with crushed charcoal, while the Bedouin knows that his powder is pure, *naẓîf*. *Anḳaḥt ḥal-binduḳ*, however, may mean "I loaded this rifle." The sound of a shot is compared to the sound of a meteor falling on a high hill. According to the Rwala this is a frequent occurrence, and they preserve the pieces of broken meteors as keepsakes. 5. Thus 'Awde threatens to shoot Ršejd, if he does not give up Ṛuṣna. Ršejd would like to marry the girl secretly, but that is no longer possible, as everybody is talking about her and she is looked upon in the same manner as the moon or the dome dedicated to some Mohammedan saint, which can be observed from afar. Both 'Awde and Ṛuṣna were encamped at that time in an-Nuḳra, a region south of Damascus, where along the old Pilgrim Road to Mecca many white domes were built in honor of various saints. Ṛuṣna is then likened to a dome trodden by no man as yet, hence a virgin. 6. She has very thick hair and her tresses end in ostrich feathers entwined in the hair, *zerâniž*. 7. All that Ṛuṣna handles succeeds, grows, takes life, just as the *ṭrajjâwi* rain gives new life to the grass seed. The constellation of the Pleiades catches water in a large bailing bucket and then pours it over the scorched lowland. *Rijâẓ* are depressions in the bare plains into which most of the water runs, fertilizing them also with the mud it carries along. The seeds of the annuals, which sometimes lie dormant for two to four years in these depressions, begin to sprout after an abundant *ṭrajjâwi* rain, and with more rain the lowland becomes a blooming meadow. 8. The thought of Ṛuṣna quickens the beating of 'Awde's heart. The camels do not like the pasture in the settled territory; they yearn for the inner desert, to which they proceed either to the east of Damascus or to the south of Der'ât. Near the latter town rises the hillock of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

al-Ḥadab; from here the Rwala march south southeast to the inner desert, *lat-tešârîl*. The inner desert is called *šerḳ*.

831*
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1. *Ḳaṣart riǧli ʿan murâḳaʾ-ṭ-ṭuwâjel*
   w-ʿajni tšâtelni ʿala râs mešrûf
2. *jâ-l-ḳarm mâni ʿan zaʿalhom masâjel*
   ḳalbi ʿala wazzâḥ an-nijâb mlâf
3. *al-ʿajn ʿajn alli taḍebb al-masâjel*
   ḳalbi ʿalejha mežrešen jûšf wžâf
4. *má-nsah law ḥaṭṭaw ʿalejje-n-neṭâjel*
   allâh w-law-l-žijâl jenzel ʿala čâf
5. *allâh w-ṭawîl al-felǧ jenzel beḥâjel*
   w-ḥawrân jenzel min wara' bird w-ruwâf
6. *w-ḥâmi raṛîfen žil danna-r-raḥâjel*
   raḥal w-ʿazzal leh maẓâhîr w-slâf
7. *ḥatta-nni-nsa nâḳeṭat al-žeḍâjel*
   w-amši bṭû' alli ḥača' li bel-enkâf
8. *jâ-bu ṭamad meʾed ṣeṛa' kill ʿâjel*
   jâ zeben min ḥallawh w-al-ǧejš muḫtâf.

1. My legs I have shortened by climbing high hills,
   And my eyes draw me steadily to the summit.
2. O sir, it is not their anger I dread,
   For my heart is given to her with the white teeth.
3. As she warily creeps through the channel
   My heart anxiously follows her and at times ceases to beat.
4. I shall not forget her till they shovel earth upon me —
   By Allâh! even if the mountain Žijâl settled in Čâf,
5. By Allâh! or if Hermon should settle in Ḥâjel,
   And Ḥawrân quarter itself beyond the Bird and Rwâf,
6. Or if it should be said of Ḥâmi Raṛîf that he took his pack camels,
   When moving, and separated them from the fighters —
7. Still I should not forget her, who unbraids the hair on her temples,
   Nor obey him who always tells me to return without booty.
8. O father of Ṭamad, thou who correctest the wrongdoer
   And protectest him whom the frightened camel riders have deserted.

Abu Ṭamad, the father of Ruṣṣa, advised ʿAwde to try to forget her, because in any case he would not get her to wife. ʿAwde answered him in this poem.

831 x
539 x

Verse 1. 'Awde climbs high hills to see the route taken by his sweetheart, who prowls or creeps cautiously, *taḏebb*, to the channels in order to meet him without being observed. 2. *Ḳarm* is a poetical form of address, referring here to Ṛusna's father. 4. *Neṭâjel* is the earth with which a stone-covered grave is filled. The hill of Žijâl is 46 kilometers northeast of al-Ǧowf. 5. Ṭawîl al-Felǧ (the High One With Snow) is the name given by the Rwala to the Hermon mountains, which are covered with snow most of the year. Ḥâjel lies about six hundred kilometers southeast of Hermon. Bird and Rwâf are mountains about four hundred kilometers south of the Ḥawrân. 6. Ḥâmi Raṛif rises beyond Tiberias. *Dannû ar-raḥâjel*, bring hither the female pack camels, is the order of the tent owner when he intends to move. *Meẓâhir* are the camels when laden with tents, utensils, and litters for the women. *Salaf* are warriors riding one or two kilometers in front of the laden camels. 7. *Enkíf* is the return from a raid without success and without booty. 'Awde will not desist until Ṛusna becomes his wife. 8. He who tries to drink from a wooden cup, but continues talking all the time, cannot pay attention to what he is doing, so that the cup often inclines to one side and the water is spilt. Then his comrades correct him with the words: "O So and So, the cup is tilted, *al-žedaḥ mutaṣâweṛen*." Likewise one who does wrong also bends, partly because he is ashamed, partly with intent to deceive. Abu Ṭamad makes straight or rebukes such a crooked fellow, *seṛa' kill 'âjel*, and thus prevents injury.

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THE WEDDING

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The wedding, as a rule, takes place immediately after the wooing. In the morning some one—even a slave—kills before the bridegroom's tent a she-camel, as a *ḏbiḥt al-'ars*, wedding sacrifice. Neither of the betrothed needs to be present. Towards evening a small round tent, *ḥeǰra*, is pitched by the women near by and the bridal bed made there. Among the poorer people a corner of their inhabited tent is partitioned off for the young couple. Two or three of the bridegroom's female relatives go to the bride to bring her towards sunset to the prepared tent. A little later the bridegroom also enters, after which the tent is closed altogether, *juḥaǰǰeṛen 'alej ḥeǰraten*.

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There are no special wedding ceremonies. Part of the meat from the slaughtered she-camel is distributed among the members of the bride's kin and acquaintances, the rest is served for supper in the bridegroom's tent. Nobody is invited, nobody brings any wedding presents. There is no party, no dancing; neither the girls nor women sing or shout with joy. Often even the relatives of either the bridegroom or the bride do not know that there is going to be or has been a wedding. Neither does the slaughtering of a she-camel signify anything especially important, because an old or wounded animal is killed quite frequently. The tiny round tent, *ḥeǧra*, alone shows that there has been a wedding. But if it was put up at sunset and the camp moves elsewhere next morning nobody takes notice of it, except perhaps the nearest neighbors.

The morning after the wedding night the bridegroom goes to the men's compartment, *rab'a*, of his family tent, where he is saluted with the words: "Be blessed, may good be thy portion! *lâfi 'alejk al-ḫejr*." The bride is likewise visited by the women, who greet her: "Mayest thou bring good to thy cousin!" The young bride receives a gift from her father-in-law, then leaves the *ḥeǧra* to join the other women of her husband's family in the tent, although she need not work for seven days after the wedding. Her husband attends to his work as usual, also buying her trousseau, which consists of various blankets and rugs, as, for instance, the *ḥeâṭ*, wool carpet, *nasije*, thin fabric rug, *siǧâde*, prayer carpet, *ḥâf*, European quilts, and of dresses and kerchiefs. The trousseau is given to the wife after, never before, the wedding night, *e'je-'ras 'alejha*, and she is not obliged to return it.

If a widow or a divorced woman marries again, she is free from work for three days only.

When a man marries for the first time he stays with his wife for seven nights, but if he already has another wife he devotes himself to her also.

A young husband is greeted with the words: "Blessed be the tent! *mbârak al-bejt*," his answer being: "May (Allâh) bless thee still more! *bârek lak bel-mubârak*." When speaking of a woman's husband the word *rağolha*, her man, is used; of a man's wife, *mrutek* (or *ḫurmetek*), his wife; and the husband addresses his wife as *râ'ijet bejtena*, the mistress of our tent.

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom

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The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom
595 two, and very rarely three. A young Rwejli almost always
593 marries a girl whom he loves, and remains faithful to his
837 young wife till the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy. Then his love cools and in many cases he begins to look for another girl or divorced woman whom he also marries, unless he is setting out on a raid. If the latter is of several weeks' duration and he comes back exhausted, he desires no new marriage and waits for his wife's confinement. If she bears a boy, the young father is so happy that he clings to her again and banishes the thought of all others from his mind. If the wife behaves with sense, keeps the tent in order, can cook cleanly, is not strongheaded and quarrelsome, the husband often remains faithful to her all his life.

PLURALITY OF WIVES

595 In case a husband is not fully satisfied with his first wife, he generally takes a second one. The first wife in the beginning is much displeased with her new companion or neighbor—*ğârti*, as she calls her—and abuses her to the best of her ability. "Why didst thou come to me? Couldst thou find no one but my man? O thou daughter of So and So! O thou cursed in both thy parents! *Lêh ğîtini mâ lažejti ṛejr ğowzi enti jâ bint flân jâ maʿ'ûnet wâlidejn.*" However, the resistance put up by the first wife is, as a rule, not of long duration. In a comparatively short time peace is concluded by the women and they live together like sisters.

When a man has two wives, each cooks for him a day in turn, and on that day he usually eats and sleeps with her. Such is the woman's right, *ḥaḳḳaha*, which nobody is allowed to violate. If he sees that his wife is dissatisfied, the man asks: "What art thou angry about? I have not infringed thy
595 right. *Lêh taʿ'alin mâ-ḥṭejt ʿalejč beḥaḳḳeč.*" Even when he
833 does not love his wife, the man should devote himself to her on the nights belonging to her. He need not have sexual intercourse with her, but neither must he with the woman he loves. In such cases he usually sleeps in the men's compartment, or lying down at his wife's head he says: "To night I wish for nothing, *mâ-ni bâṛi hal-lejle*," and the woman dares not say a word. Sometimes the women haggle among themselves: "Let me have the man tonight!" "What wilt thou give me for it?" If they come to an agreement, the woman who

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has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk ershed 'enda maratk hunâk*." But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-l-ḥejẓ*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt el-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

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TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehušš lal-faras*, etc.

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The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *ṛaṣa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

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562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move,
593 the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near
his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with
the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture,
and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the
rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to
the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors,
salaf, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On
arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for
his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against
the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch
the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all
this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make
his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with
the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not
574 at home, *tarâkom jâ ẓujûf râ'i-l-bejt mâ hw ḥâẓer*." Then she
brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel
and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee
beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the
women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready,
if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she
calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be
the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to
carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests,
she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and
amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent
it, *en ṭalležha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can
do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him
on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason
himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce
her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
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by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents. 586 557 622

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them; *ar-râ'i w-al-maru la tenâkerhom elja tabṛi-tenâkerhom dašširhom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Ḳowṭeri ṭarûč ṭâlež w-ar-raǧǧâl 'âleż*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥazra' mazji 'alejč ǧalâleč*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin. *elja waṣalti bejt haleč ṭalâžeč jeǧîč jâṣelč ila bejt haleč*." for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*. kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin. 586 591 602 614

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež beṭ-ṭalâṭ al-ḥawârem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧîr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân*." When a man 586

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586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭalležni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *hâti-lli warâč*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *'ajb čebîr*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Mišref eben Kurdi once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Mišref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Mišref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥağğarha*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Mišref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, *eben al-'amm*, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

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become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Mišref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭla' min šowr abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḥâlef šowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥeǧra*, and would not allow Mišref to come near her. After becoming Mišref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Mišref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *za'lâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *(fûtî-la-l-beit.*" The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she has stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *leha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḏen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

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introducing himself as his son. Without giving the matter much consideration or making long inquiries, as he was at feud with Ḫalaf, Fahad acknowledged Ṭrâd as his son and asked his brother an-Nûri to give the young man his daughter to wife. But when an-Nûri acquainted the girl with this proposal she swore that she would never consent. On learning of this Fahad commanded an-Nûri, whom he wished to ruin: "Either thou bringest thy daughter to the *ḥeğra* tent thyself, or it will be done by me without thy consent." An-Nûri therefore bade his female slaves to get the *ḥeğra* in readiness and to bring his daughter there after sunset. The girl, however, in the meantime had persuaded her brother Nawwâf to wait for her at night by the place reserved for the riding camels and to save her from Ṭrâd. When this youth entered the *ḥeğra* she began to converse with him, pretending to be sorry that she knew him so little and saying that she should be much happier if he would marry her for love and not from compulsion; and when Ṭrâd tried to assure her that she had already been the object of his desire for a long time, she asked him for proofs. Ṭrâd now began to cite at some length all the instances where and when he had seen and inquired about her, by whom he had sent word to her, etc. The time flew and the moon set. Suddenly she rose asking Ṭrâd's permission to step out in order to satisfy a natural necessity. Ṭrâd nodding his consent, she left to return no more. To the man guarding the female riding camels she gave the same reason that she had given Ṭrâd and then walked some distance farther into a small gully where Nawwâf was waiting for her with a saddled she-camel. He then leaped into the saddle, she took her seat behind him, and on they rode to Eben Ğandal.

Ṭrâd was patiently waiting for his bride in the tent all this time. Realizing at last that the girl had outwitted him, he was ashamed to alarm the camp and said in the morning that she had left with his consent. That very day Fahad received a visit from the chief Ḫalaf âl Iḍen with his wife, Ṭrâd's mother. Both swore that Ḫalaf was the real father of Ṭrâd, because, after having wedded Ḫalaf, the youth's mother had still had her monthly period three times in succession. Yet Ṭrâd appealed to Fahad to protect his son and not to believe a false oath. Fahad finally declared that Ḫalaf must appear in court at al-'Ela. The latter duly went to this settlement

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851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballeʿ*, received from the latter fifty *meǧîdijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berkubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten ʿala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḫejje*. If his wife's lover

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cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself. The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Witre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

[Errata: See p. 712, cat. 116 for correction of

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. 836 As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help 847 her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should 762 the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often [593 commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that 684] his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *ahl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. 848 Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it 851 would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its 483 illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs 836 of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḫef min allâh.*"

684 Only when the girl has been raped, *maṛṣûba*, will her 847 relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot [848] be left alive, as it would have no kin, *ahl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

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CHARACTER OF BEDOUIN WOMEN

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The Bedouin women are renowned for their acuteness. They comprehend quickly but use much caution in expressing themselves, as the following story will illustrate:

A young Bedouin was riding on his mare to a neighboring camp. Being thirsty, he halted in a small camp through which he was passing, before a tent where he saw only two women. One was old, the mother, as he thought; the other much younger, her daughter, perhaps. The younger one stepped out from the tent, and the rider addressed her thus:

"If we knew the name, we should salute; *low 'arefna al-isem sallemna.*" Her answer was:

"If we knew the name, we should return the salute. When dost thou grasp thy saber? *kaṣabt sejfak.*"

The rider understood the meaning of her words and, because he expected to grasp his saber in a revolt or bloody quarrel known as *fetna*, he addressed her by this name and indicated his own by pointing to the beauty of her face, *ḥasan.*

"Be strong, Fetna! What manner of face hast thou? *kaw fetna naẓar waǧheč.*"

Without a moment's hesitation the girl replied: "I welcome thee, Ḥasan!"

The rider asked for water. She filled a small wooden trough, *žedaḥ*, and held it to him so that he could drink more easily. As he was sitting in the saddle, she had to raise her hands, the wide sleeves of her shirt slipped down to the arm pits and her arms were bare, revealing to the rider the hair under them. With a sigh he said:

"What a pity! If only the nether hair were as long as the upper! *jâ ḥejf en čân wâṭih miṭl 'âlîh.*"

To indicate that she understood, the girl replied: "It is still without a master, *min žillet wâlîh.*"

Glad of conversing with a virgin and liking the looks of her, the rider asked:

"Will you receive a guest gladly? *'endakom laz-ẓejf ekrâm.*"

"Certainly, if he is destined to eat of our food; *elja čân leh naṣîb baṭ-ṭa'âm.*"

He then jumped off his mare; as the girl was leading it aside she stooped down in order to tether the animal to some object. Noticing near the tent a heavy spare peg of the kind used for securing the tent ropes and also a few smaller

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

153 pegs for fastening the back tent wall, she took the heavy
639 peg in her right hand, one of the smaller ones in the left, and tried to drive it into the ground in order to tether the mare. But the ground, being scorched and hard, the peg could not be driven in. She therefore complained to her mother, but in a careful way so as not to offend against decency. Hence she preferred to say wood, *ḫašab*, instead of peg, *wadd*:

"Mama, I hammer wood with wood, but the ground will not let in the wood. Hand me a big stone to hammer the wood with. *Jâ jumma-ḏuḳḳ al-ḫašab bel-ḫašab w-al-ḳâʿ mâ taḳbal al-ḫašab jâ jumma hâti li rẓuma aḏuḳḳ al-ḫašab.*"

The youth marveled at the girl's good sense as at the orderliness which he found in the tent. He called again when her brother returned from a raid, and made the girl his wife.

A Bedouin once had three wives. The first, whom he had married in his youth, bore him several children; the second he had taken to wife two years before; and the third, a blooming girl, had been in his tent scarcely two months. Once he went to an itinerant merchant for a short rug, *ḳaṭîfe*, and brought it home. The women began to quarrel as to which of them the rug was bought for. "It belongs to me," said the first one, "to me the mother of his sons." "I devote myself to him day and night. The *ḳaṭîfe* was meant for me," said the second. "He has already tired of both of you," exclaimed the third, "you ought to know that what is old cannot be made new again and an enemy will never become an intimate friend, *al-ʿaṭîš mâ jirǧaʿ ǧeḏîd wa-l-ʿaḏw mâ jirǧaʿ ṣiḏîš*. I am young, still new to him; therefore I taste the best to him. He bought the *ḳaṭîfe* for me." The man listened but held his tongue, while the wives went before a judge to decide between them. The judge decided that the *ḳaṭîfe* belonged to the third woman.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VIII

CHILDREN

BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN

A woman who has had sexual intercourse with a man is called a *waḥama* during the thirty days while it is as yet unknown whether she has conceived or not. If she has conceived she is called *nâzel* or *ḥâmel*. For her delivery a Rwala woman never sends for a midwife. Kurdi's wife, for example, bore a child while sitting in a *žetab* litter on the march and never ceased to guide her camel. She cut the navel cord herself, wrapped the child in her dress, dismounted in the new camping ground, and carried the baby boy, *'ajjel*, to her tent. 842 844

A woman who has miscarried, *ramat*, and the fruit of whose womb has perished, *rma'*, is an object of fear. 843

A woman after confinement, *nefesa*, lives just as before the delivery, with no change in her diet. 846

When a son is born, the father is congratulated by his nearest relatives but expresses no particular joy; neither does he send out invitations to a meat supper. No animal is sacrificed or slaughtered at the birth of a boy or girl. 851

For seven days after its birth the child is bathed in camel's urine and rubbed with salt. On either the tenth, twentieth, or fortieth day wheat is gathered by the female relatives of the confined woman, shredded, and then a dinner prepared from it in her tent, to which all the women from the camp are invited. This festivity is known as the examination of the child, *ṭlâ'at al-'ajjel*. The mother goes with the child on a visit to all her relatives, a custom called *taṭlî'a*. Everybody presents the baby with something, often either a young camel or a colt, the gifts remaining its property. 846 851

Its name the child receives from its mother alone, this being one of her privileges. Sometimes she selects a name without thinking long about it; at other times, again, she may be directed by various influences. Thus, for instance, Prince an-Nûrî's wife gave birth to a boy when camping near the castle of Âl Aḥejper — or, as it is called by the Rwala, al- 553

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

533 Ḥafâǧi — and named the boy Ḥafâǧi. Another woman was delivered during a heavy rain and she called her little son Maṭar, Rain. Kurdi's wife bore two girls although she greatly wished to have a boy. So she prayed to Allâh, and he granted her wish some time afterwards; she gave the baby boy the name of Raǧa', meaning "The Granting of Favor." The wife of 'Awde al-Kwêčbi had a very painful delivery, *te'assarat*, and therefore said: "Thou shalt be called 'Asîr, Born in Pain." Another woman, filled with wrath because her husband had just taken a second wife, named her son Muṛiz, Enraging. The wife of the slave Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd received a beating from her husband shortly before a son was born to her, and, still being angry with him, she called the boy in remembrance of his mother's ill-treatment, Za'al, Anger. When delivered of a girl a little later, she said: "Thy father's name is Donkey, Ḥmâr, so thou shalt be called Cow, Baḳara." There is no beast nor plant after which a child cannot be named.

561 551 Up to its seventh year the child is spoken of as *waṛad* (pl., *wuṛdân*), *wara'* (pl., *wur'ân*), or *'aǧi* (pl., *'aǧǧân*). After his seventh year a boy is called *'ejôl*. The name for a dead baby is *faraṭ* (pl., *afrâṭ*). For these a sacrifice, *temîma*, must 765 be brought at the next memorial festival in honor of the dead, *ṣaḥijje*.

CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES

852 The Rwala circumcise their sons between their third and seventh years, usually in the season of *aṣ-ṣejf* (thus in late April or May) on either Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday immediately before the fifteenth day of the lunar month or just after that day. Two days before the circumcision the girls from the whole camp come to the tent of the man whose son is to be circumcised, decorate the main tent pole with ostrich feathers, red kerchiefs, and ribbons, *yazzow al-mṣanna'*, and proclaim with joyful cries, *zaṛṛût*, that a circumcision, *mṣanna'*, is being prepared for. After sunset the whole youth of both sexes of the camp assemble there, the young men forming a semicircle open towards the tent, where a mighty fire is burning. An adult girl with her face covered so that only her eyes are visible then posts herself between the fire and the youths. The *ḥâfi*, as this girl is called, holds in her right hand a sharp saber. The youths begin to stamp, clap

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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their hands, and rock their bodies to right and left and forward and backward. Shouting in deep tones: "Look out! look out! *daḫḫi daḫḫi*," they touch the girl with their hands. She draws back and defends herself with the saber; the youths accelerate their movements, attack the *ḥâši* with more passion, while she swings the saber still more ardently. The saber flashes like lightning, the girl steps aside, gives way, and advances; all her movements are silhouetted against the glare of the fire behind her; the ground groans under the feet of the stamping youths and in their deep voices, hoarse with fatigue and lust, they cry: "*Daḫḫi daḫḫi*." When tired they drop down on one knee, the girl follows their example, and the fun goes on till the nearly exhausted girl jumps up and runs away. Then a rest is taken. Sometimes a young man recites a poem, the men and women present exclaiming after each verse: "O welcome to thee, welcome to thee! *já hala bak já hala*." The poem once ended, another girl is put on the scene by the host, and the amusement, *daḫḫa*, starts anew. As a rule three or four girls, *ḥašjân*, succeed each other, and the *daḫḫa* ends only at sunrise. On the next night the performance is repeated.

On the third day in the morning either the father or the nearest relative of the boy to be circumcised brings a she-camel to the front of the tent, cuts the veins of her forelegs with a saber, and then kills her amid the loud rejoicings of the women, *jezaγruten*. Such an animal is called the circumcision sacrifice, *ḏbiḥt al-mpanna'*. Her blood soaks into the ground, and the meat is cooked in large kettles, the boy's relatives preparing bread or soft boiled wheat, *'ejš*, in the meantime. At noon the women carry the bread, the *'ejš*, and the meat to the father's tent, where on this occasion anybody may enter and eat his fill. This dinner is called *'anijjet al-mpanna'*.

After dinner the father—or, in case he has died, the nearest relative—takes on his lap the boy, dressed in black on that day. He pretends to show him something, and then cuts off his prepuce, *ṣaluftek*, with a sharp knife. The boy cries with pain, the women rejoice loudly, *jezaγruten*, the youths leap on their horses, shoot, and arrange a mock battle, *frâd al-ḫejl*, in front of the tent. When the boy has quieted down a little, they wash him, dress him in white, and the relatives hand and bring him gifts of all kinds, such as cloth-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 ing, weapons, colts, young camels, etc. These gifts, *nehile*, belong to the boy exclusively. When the mock battle ends the men amuse themselves with shooting at a target. This is the head of the slaughtered she-camel set up at a considerable distance from the host's tent, from which they shoot. He who hits it may take and cook it for himself.

Ditties Sung at Circumcision Ceremonies

539x 852 [535] In the evening the girls form two lines in the space before the tent, and a couple of them step inside the lane thus made. One without her kerchief and with her hair loosened dances, inclining both head and body to right and left, forwards and backwards, but she must not leave her ground. To prevent this, the second girl holds her hands during the performance. The other girls accompany her contortions with a quiet clapping of hands, meanwhile singing ditties called *hafle*, this also being the name of the dance.

'Ašširken jâ-hl ranâdir
má beh raǧa' low raǧejnâh
w-alli jetaṛâleh al-maḥâṣir
dowr al-ḥawâṣer belleǰâh.

From your husband, O you well dressed ones!
We can expect nothing despite our hopes,
And to him who thinks the cost too high
Why should our favors be granted for nothing?

A woman fond of dress and of being carried around in a litter needs a husband who does not object to the expense entailed. If one will not grant all her wishes, she seeks another one, more generous.

Já râčeb al-malha
kezz al-mečâtîbi
w-en dannakat tar'a
'oṭṭha-l-mečâtîbi.

O thou rider on the black camel!
Fold again and preserve the letters;
And if thy camel lowers her head to graze,
Tap her with thy stick.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters for the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-'ejd w-meîfini
w-munâšerin ad-dallâli
'allemi bihom bel-maḳâfini
w-mrakkezin al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite
Their best clothes donning. [direction,
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist. [to stay

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *aḍ-ḍaḥîje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Meîfin* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâfini*. The word *meḳâm* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaḍanna 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 161). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munâšerin ad-dallâl*.

Eṭ'û rd'i-š-šoweše
an-nûri mâ ḥala' šoweš
jâ muḥerreḍen lar-radi šoweš
jâ ḥowl al-turk jâ šoweš.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Eṭ'û for *jâ ṭuwîl al-'omr*. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šoweš* means short, unbraided hair on the

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[302] top of the head. As a rule only a tuft of it is left standing,
539x the rest being shaven. *Mušarred* (or *jifekk*) *bowšeh*, liberates
852 his loot. Fighting with the Turks (i. e. with the regular army)
[721] was difficult for the Bedouins and therefore greatly desired by them.

Jâ mnîfe jâ miznet aṣ-ṣejf
jâ brûḳaha jil'aženni
tel'ab 'ala-l-biz bel-kejf
waš 'âd low jiz'alenni.

O Mnîfe, O thou rain cloud of the early summer!
How dazzling its lightning is to me!
Thou canst play with the fair ones at thy will,
For I [in thy place] should not care if they grow angry with me.

[132] At the close of April, when summer begins, each rain is accompanied by a violent storm by which the atmosphere is greatly refreshed. Mnîfe, the wife of the head chief, needs not envy her female companions, as she excels them in both beauty and power.

Jâ bejt abu nawwâf
jâ minwet al-bâdi
w-rwijhom bel-kêẓ
ḫabra lel-warâdi
wa-ṣḥûnahom bel-lêl
tawḥi lha menâdi
tehûfehen mnîfe
jâ bint al-aǧwâdi.

O thou tent of the father of Nawwâf!
O thou goal desired of the night pilgrim!
In summer their large water bags are
As a great rain pond from which water is brought.
To their dishes at night
The criers noisily invite;
They are prepared by Mnîfe,
A daughter of noble ancestors.

Abu Nawwâf is Prince an-Nûri; his wife Mnîfe is a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm. *Bâdi*, like *sâjer*, means a traveler by night, or a visitor. By both the men's and the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

By both the men's and the
women's compartments of the tents blazing fires are kept up, attracting the traveler even at a great distance. *Rwijhom* means water bags, each made from half of a camel's hide and holding about 150 liters of water. If there is a scarcity of water in the *ḳêẓ* season (midsummer) everybody gets it at the chief's tent. *Ḥabra* (pl., *ḥabâri*) are the level spaces of various sizes on a vast plain, in which the rain water from the higher ground accumulates. *Ṣḥûnahom* are extraordinarily large pans with two handles, often as much as a meter and a half in diameter, in which supper is brought to the guests whom either the chief or his representative invites to sit down, calling each by his name. In the dead of night these calls can be heard from afar.

Ṣubjân ṯowb al-mâl	O youths, a costly garb
lâ telbesûneh	Put not on!
jista'heleh nawwâf	Of that Nawwâf is deserving
w-ḥejfi zebûneh	Whose caftan is not new,
elja ǧâ nahâr al-kown	When on the day of the fray
w-je'aḏḏed redûneh.	His long shirt sleeves behind his neck he ties.

Towb is the man's long shirt made of white linen. *Towb al-mâl* is a shirt with decorative stitching around the neck and on the breast. The sleeves of this shirt are often as much as a meter and a half long and end in a sharp angle. During a fight or when the wearer is engaged in some hard task the sleeve ends are tied together and thrown behind the neck. *Zebûn* is a garb made from variegated fabric and worn over the shirt. Nawwâf, as the brâvest of all, should also wear the best clothes.

Tabaśśerû jâ hla-l-ḥejl
nawwâf ḥara-l-ma'naḳijje
eliân meiâ'el ḏarâriǧ
min taḥat 'id al-ḥanijje
ḥâl erćabi lâ tḫâfi
mâ zâl râsi 'alijje.

At the glad news rejoice, you riders:
Nawwâf has bought a mare of the *ma'naḳijje* breed;
Meiâ'el's calves like the rollers appear
Under the pole of a curved litter.

2:Musil 5-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 He said: "Enter and nothing fear,
539[2] While on my shoulders my head remains."

The women and girls praise Nawwâf and his spouse Mešâ'el, daughter of Saṭṭâm and Turkijje.

Ma'naḳijje is considered one of the best breeds of horses. The good news that a *ma'naḳijje* mare has been bought signifies Nawwâf's wedding with the daughter of the late Prince [516] Saṭṭâm — that is, with the offspring of the best family. When entering a litter the woman must bend and involuntarily show the calves of her legs. *Darârîǧ* (sing., *darrâǧe*) are spindles wound full with thread. *Al-ḥanijje* signifies a litter of the *žetab* variety, with long curved poles. Mešâ'el may sit tranquilly in her litter. Nawwâf will repulse any hostile attack threatening the women during the march.

Wa'-šûf žebâl aš-šaṭṭ
bujûten tbanna
nawwâf já meščâj
nabṛi waṭanna.

Ah, before the Euphrates I see
The pitching of tents.
O Nawwâf, thou appeaser of sorrow!
We long for our country.

A few Kwâčbe kins revolted against Prince an-Nûri, left the Rwala, and encamped with the 'Amârât on the Euphrates. Their women and girls sent word to Nawwâf to intercede for them with the prince, his father, in order that they might return home.

Waṭan, territory, is used but seldom; the common expression is *dîre*.

Tasammo'û já-ḥla-l-ḫejl
flân jeṭawwel šebâbeh
má ṭûl ḥajj 'ala-l-ḫejl
aṭ-ṭarš killen jehâbeh.

Hear ye, O riders!
So and So, may Allâh prolong his youth!
As long as he shall live and ride horses,
Any herd will be afraid of him.

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539 x

Jâ nawwâf nâdû zênakom
ṣâlḥa taḥaṭṭa' bênakom
tiswa salâjel ḥejlakom.

O Nawwâf, call for your beauty!
Ṣâlḥa, who paces among you,
Is worth whole herds of your mares.

Ṣâlḥa was a daughter of an-Nûri and sister of Nawwâf.

Jâ ṣâlḥa w-esma'û jâ nâs
w-hejleč nâfelin an-nâs
ahl hadda w-hal nowmâs
w-hal la'eben 'ala-l-frâs.

O Ṣâlḥa, hear, ye people!
Faith, thy little kin is the most generous of all.
They know how to attack, how to win fame,
And how to play when sitting on mares.

Wa'-ṣ-ṣafra bawwal al-ġâra
jâ nawwâf šâ'at aḏkârah.

Ah, in attack the white mare is first;
O Nawwâf, far and wide she is remembered!

Lâ mâ ḥalà' ḏer'âneč ṣîta
bi-wašâm mu'ašraḳâti
mâ ḥala' haddat ahalha
w-as-sujûf muḥannijâti
mâ ḥala' ṭowrat ǧemalha
beš-šerâja mubajjenâti.

Ah, how beautiful thy arms, O Ṣîta,
With blue tattoo marks!
How beautiful the noise of the attack of her kin
And the sabers blood-dyed as if with henna.
How prettily her camel to its feet is rising
Adorned with purchased ornaments.

Ṣîta, a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm, was married to Prince an-Nûri. *Hadda* means the noise, during an attack, of shooting, war cries, neighing of the horses, and groans of the wounded. *Muḥannijât*, dyed with henna, are sabers stained with blood. Ṣîta used to ride a strong gray camel when the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 tribe was migrating. Her litter, *žetab*, was ornamented with
539* various red blankets bought in the markets.

Al-ašḳaḥ mâ ḥala' haz'ateh
jâ ṣîta terteb wad'ateh.

How beautiful the gait of the gray camel!
It is Ṣîta sewing small shells [of its litter] on a pattern.

The litter carried by the camel and its halter are ornamented with small white seashells, forming little stars, squares, and other patterns. With the rolling gait of the animal the litter also rocks and the white shells flash with a peculiar glitter.

Al-ašḳaḥ w-en denni 'atab
jabṛi-l-ḥmejri w-aḍ-ḍahab.

The gray camel which should kneel hops on three legs;
Perhaps it desires the red blankets and gold trinkets.

As soon as the slaves had forced the gray camel ridden by Ṣîta to kneel and had tied its left leg in order to take off the litter more easily, it arose and began to hop on its three legs, because it did not wish to be deprived of the red covering and fringes interwoven with gold thread.

Al-awẓaḥ jaz'až al-beddi
jâ ṣîta min ẓana ǧeddi.

The white camel tears the cushions supporting the litter;
O Ṣîta, thou hailest from the kin of my ancestor!

Ṣîta also used to ride a pure white camel. *Beddi* is the word for the cushions against which the wooden *žetab* litter rests in the saddle. A spirited camel turns its head back and tears the cushions with its teeth.

Jâ ṣîta bint ǧeddêni
ǧedden jenzel as-sâḳa
w-ǧedden jenṭaḥ al-ḥêli.

O Ṣîta, who hailest on both sides from brave ancestors!
The one used to camp in the places most dangerous,
While the other used to throw down the riders with his lance.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ṣîta's mother, Turkijje was the daughter of the head chief of the Fed'ân. Ṣîta's father, Saṭṭâm, usually selected a place for his camping ground where his clans were exposed to the greatest danger. Such a place is called *sêḳa*. His wife's father was a hero of renown whom no troop of riders could resist. 852 539×

Ṛazâlen daššakom mâ hâb
jâ bint muḫazza' al-arḳâb.

A gazelle ran in amongst you
And feared not.
O thou daughter of him who chopped off
Heads!

Ṣîta was not frightened even when the enemy succeeded in entering the camp. She inherited her father's character.

Jâ ṣîta bintena-r-razne
čeṭîr al-mâl jašrîha
želîl al-mâl wa' ḫazneh.

O Ṣîta, our cold-blooded daughter!
Only a rich man could buy her,
While a poor one would, alas, grieve vainly for her.

Ṣîta was both astute and cool-tempered. At times when an-Nûri trembled for his life Ṣîta watched over him day and night to prevent his being poisoned or assassinated in his own tent. Such a woman can be bought only by a rich man.

Ahal ṣîta jiḥellûn
sukkâra mâ jidellûn
'ala-s-sâḳât ju'ajjûn
w-hal ṣaḥnen jiḥoṭṭûn.

Ṣîta's kinsmen fall upon the enemy as if on sheep for
Like drunken men, nothing can frighten them; [sacrifice,
Careless they are of the most dangerous spots,
And their dishes they constantly fill.

The warriors act in the battle just as if they were merely slaughtering sheep, *jiḥellûn*. *Sâḳât* are places exposed to the direct attack of the enemy and therefore highly dangerous. A chief of renown not only ignores this danger but even selects localities of that kind in order to avert the danger from his people and to destroy the enemy himself. Thus praise is given [726 622]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 to Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their
539* bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ğebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejh min aḍ-ḍahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṭowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ğemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ğa'al min tabṛozeh tenlâ'
jamût wlêdaha-r-rzâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [842 thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred 554] by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's [586 happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to 754] the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mohra židat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḳawwâdha ḥâled She was led by Ḥâled,
lâ jâ ba'ad 'êni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mohra means in this case the young wife of Ḥâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḥorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf

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rakkâbaha mamdûḥ
jaḳloṭ w-lâ jaḫâf
tesell selîl al-ma'
taḥṭom 'ala-l-asláf
jarmi w-lâ jeḫṭi
jaḳ'od w-lâ jenšâf.

Oh, that noble young she-camel,
How swift her gait!
She is ridden by Mamdûḥ,
Who strikes down all in front of him and knows no fear.
The she-camel as quickly as running water vanishes,
Running ahead of the first troop,
While he shoots, never missing,
And bends down so that he cannot be seen.

Mamdûḥ was the youngest and most daring son of Prince Saṭṭâm. In a fight no enemy could stand against him. The enemy flees, and Mamdûḥ strikes him a blow from behind, so that he falls on the neck of his animal. *Jaḳloṭ* means either to bend or to knock forward a saddle or rider. *Selîl al-ma'* is a wild flood which dashes down suddenly and disappears as quickly. Many a valley — or rather channel — is as much as two hundred kilometers long and dry for years. If copious rain of long duration falls, the waters rush with lightning speed through the channel, surprise the Bedouins who happen to be camping at its lower end, and as quickly vanish again. Such a flood is not a *sejl*, brook or stream, but a *selîl*, a temporary torrent. Mamdûḥ's she-camel appears as unexpectedly, but just as speedily is gone owing to her great endurance in running. *Salaf* is a troop of warriors riding at the head of a migrating tribe. Mamdûḥ's she-camel constantly runs ahead of the *salaf*. *Jaḳ'od* signifies that Mamdûḥ, a youngster still, bends down at every shot in order to take better aim; he thus cannot be seen behind the neck of his animal. In 1909 he was only eighteen years of age.

[133]

RAISING OF CHILDREN

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Until their seventh year both boys and girls remain with their mother, going to their father only for an occasional talk. If their mother is not divorced by their father, they live in the women's compartment and help with the lighter

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

work. If they deserve it they are spanked with a stick, not only by their mother or father, but by the slaves both male and female. The Rwala believe that the rod originated in Paradise, *al-ʿaṣa aẓharat min al-ǧenna*, and that it also leads man back to it. The older boys attend to the mares, guard them on the pasture grounds, take them to water, and ride on them while migrating; they also bring fuel to the men's quarters, serve the guests with water, etc. They squat with the men around the fire listening to the conversation and learn also to recite poems and songs, in this manner acquainting themselves with all public affairs. Boys learn to shoot before they are fourteen and take part in at least one raid before they are sixteen. At this period the father would not think of punishing the disobedience of his son simply with a stick but uses a saber or a dagger instead. By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life. In the opinion of the Bedouins the son who disobeys is guilty of rebellion, for which the proper punishment is the saber, *as-sejf lemin ʿaṣa'*.

BOYS' GAMES

The boys are never idle. When they are not helping their parents, they play. Some of their games are dangerous; all, however, tend to harden them and sharpen their faculties.

In playing *ramḥa* two lines are formed. The members of each side, holding their companions by the hand, take position and advance against the other side, kicking their opponents till one whole side rolls down, *jetarâmaḥûn*. Many leave the game with their bellies black and blue, but will stand up as long as they can bear the pain.

A very dangerous game is *šâra*. The boys bring their slings, *miẓla'* (pl., *maẓâli'*), gather a supply of pebbles, separate into two hostile groups, and, declaring war on each other, throw stones from their slings, *jetašârûn*. Blood always flows. Often a boy loses an eye, gets a broken head or a split bone in his hand or leg, or even falls down dead; and yet the parents never forbid the game. For a dead boy the kin of the player who killed him must pay the blood price; for other serious hurts half of that. If the guilty party cannot be found, the relatives of all the boys participating in the game must pay, compensation of this kind being called *medda' rṣejje*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ma'kâla, another game, is not so dangerous. The boy takes off his kerchief, ties a knot in the middle of it, first putting a round pebble into it, posts himself at the goal, *mid*, and then throws the knotted kerchief to his comrades who are waiting about fifty paces away. The boy who catches it beats the others with the knot while they run to the goal. Then, returning to his place, he throws the kerchief among the boys, who shout at him: "Give the kerchief to him who gave it to thee, *'aṭha min 'aṭâkiha*," and the game starts over again. Here also many a bump on the head or bloody bruise on the body is carried home from the game.

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At night the boys play what is called *muḏmaḥ sara'*. They take a peg sharpened at both ends, *šẓâẓ*, of the kind used to fasten the back wall of the tent to the roof. One of the boys takes his stand at the goal, *mîd*, and throws the peg to his playmates posted about twenty paces from him. The boy who catches it cries: "*Muḏmaḥ sara'*, *muḏmaḥ* goes with me," and runs straight for the goal. The others throw themselves on him, trying to get hold of the peg and shouting: "I am the father of strength, I shall crush thee, *ab-al-'arejč w-'âreč*." The assailed boy defends himself as best he can, stabbing with the peg, kicking, and biting, so that he may reach the goal with the peg in his possession. Most of the scars resulting from this game are, of course, found on the clothes of the players.

When *ḥâğije* is played, a pit is dug on a level plot of ground, and inside it a smaller but deeper pit. On the edge of the larger pit a stone ball, *ḥâğije*, is laid; and a similar ball, *sîe*, only some sizes larger, is thrown from the goal at the first ball so as to knock it down into the large pit where it must roll into the smaller one. When all have had their turn, the boys who have succeeded in putting the ball in its place mount the backs of their less fortunate comrades, who must carry them like horses from the pit to the goal. That the riders seldom forget to kick and cuff their horses to get more speed out of them hardly needs to be added.

In the game of *ḥejl w-ḥejl* riders and horses are chosen by drawing lots. The riders take their places, the horses carrying them to the goal. There the horses cry: "*Al-ḥejl aklâb*," roll over to one side and then sit on the backs of their riders.

For the game of *ṭaḳḳa* every boy arms himself with a large tent peg. The boy chosen by lot lays a small sharp peg,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

524 *šẓâẓ*, on the highest stone near by, taps it with his large peg
857 enough to make it fly up a little, and when in the air gives it a good blow so as to make it fly to the other players who wait at a distance of about thirty or forty paces. Every one of them tries to hit the flying sharp peg with his own peg in order to send it back. As long as no one succeeds, the peg is returned to the first boy, who continues to bat it until one of his comrades finally strikes it and takes his place. When striking at the *šẓâẓ* peg the head or shoulders of a player often come in contact with it, with consequences easy to imagine.

Many a kerchief is torn to ribbons in the game called *dehdwa*. One boy rolls a large stone down a slightly inclined plane, while the others try to stop it, *'akašha*, with their kerchiefs. The one succeeding in this is entitled to roll it, *jedahdîha*.

'Aḳê 'aḳab is a game in which all the boys run for the goal, about a hundred paces away. He who reaches it first shouts: "*'aḳê 'aḳab*," a command for the others to turn and run back to the starting point. The first boy to reach it now calls out the same words, "*'aḳê 'aḳab*," and flies with the others to the goal again. This is repeated until all are exhausted. Finally the one to reach the goal first exclaims: "A pile of wood, *ḫorkob ḫašab*," and sinks to the ground; the others follow his example, lie still for a while, but then begin to kick and strike out all around regardless of whom they hit.

DITTIES SUNG BY GIRLS

539x 857 533 The girls have no such games. Occasionally at night they form two choirs and alternately sing, *jesemran*, various ditties called *summejr*:

Tafawwelû bel-faẓa	For a good sign take a great plain,
jâ-lli ṭalab fâlî	O all ye who ask me for a good sign!
fâli rŝêden w-ar-rašed	Fortunate is my sign, for luck
ṭajjeb al-fâli.	Is the best of all signs ye may want.

539x 857 777 726 When the women and girls are about to start their *summejr*, the men and youths gather not far off. Before a raid or any act of importance every man observes the first word uttered by the woman or girl dear to him. That word they

Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

take to be their sign or omen, *fâl*, and try to guess from it whether their enterprise will meet with success or not. Knowing this the girls begin with the ditty quoted above. A *faẓa'*, or vast plain where the Bedouin cannot be ambushed, is to him a good sign. Better than any sign, however, is the luck itself or the successful result.

Enḥowderû les-summejr
w-az-zemel bel-misrâḥ
min hw jehedd aṭ-ṭejr
ma'lûḳ ḳlejbeh râḥ
jelfi 'ala marteh
jâ niğmet al-miṣbâḥ
erḫi ṭrejf as-sejr
žîfi 'ala-l-mebṭâḥ.

Gather for the *summejr*,
For the pack camels are out in the pasture.
Who is that training the hunting falcon?
The falcon to whom his heart clung disappeared and
Will soon reach its wife.
O morning star!
Loosen the end of thy leather belt
And stand leaning against the long litter pole.

The girls and women invite everybody to their entertainment, *summejr*, as it is unnecessary to get up so early next morning, since the chief's pack camels are not yet back from the pasture. They hear some one training his hunting falcon and later pity him, because the falcon has flown away and returned to its wife. When about to move they call out to the prettiest woman of the camp to stand up in her litter and shed light all around her like the morning star.

The word *enḥowderû*, gather down, come down together, is used because the *summejr* is always held in a low piece of ground protected against the wind. *Erḫi ṭrejf as-sejr* means "loosen the end of thy leather belt." Every woman wears a belt of small leather strips on her bare body. On entering a litter she loosens this belt in order not to be incommoded by it on the journey. *Žîfi*, stand leaning, for *žîfi*.

Jâ rabbi jâ ḫâlež al-lejl
hât al-maṭar min saḥâbeh

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mâ zâl nawwâf 'ala-l-ḥejl
w-al-mâl killen jahâbeh
jista'hel al-wared w-al-hejl
w-an-naḏel jaḳmaḥ šebâbeh.

O my Lord! O creator of the night!
Let us have rain from thy clouds,
Nawwâf goes out on raids constantly
And all the property of the enemy fears him.
Of both rose and cardamom he is worthy,
And the overcautious only hold back his youthful courage.

Al-wared means the fragrance of roses as well as the rose itself and the love of women. *Hejl*, cardamom, is added to coffee, which thus prepared is to be served to none but heroes. *Naḏel*, cowards, vile ones, signifies here the older, more cautious chiefs, who with Prince an-Nûri at their head would not allow Nawwâf and his youths incessantly to raid even hostile tribes. They feared revenge.

Jâ rabbi jâ m'awwel
t'awwel 'ala-helna
nabni bujût al-'ezz
nanzel manâzelna
narḥal 'an had-dîre
w-'an waṣṭha ǧilna
jislam abu nawwâf
jarḥal w-jenazzelna.

O my Lord! O thou who returnest!
Lead us back to our kin,
Where we may pitch our tents as is seemly
And encamp on our own grounds.
We shall move away from this region
Forever to disappear from its midst.
Hail to the father of Nawwâf!
Would that he may move and allot to us new camps.

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361 If the pastures in the territories owned by them do not suffice for their needs, while the territories in dispute abound in plenty, *rabî'*, the Rwala march as a rule to some of their tributary settlements in the inner desert, unload their supplies, litters, and large tents, usually leave the women, children and aged persons there, and move with their herds to the disputed

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territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-ʿezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin owning them. *Ğâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enğâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
ʿaṭni faẓa bâli
fowḳ awẓaḥen ʿâli
maʿ waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ğowzen ʿala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faẓa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben humejlaʿ
râʿih mâ jûmiṭ ʿaṣâh
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereh jâ min laḳâh
ǝrʿeh maʿ ḏwejden ʿazîb
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-ʿfelaʿ
waʿ lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏib ǧellâni ʿawâh.

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Oh, she who often rides a docile camel,
She gives me no sign with her stick!
Who is here that still remembers my sweet friend?
Who has looked for, who has found her?
See, she stays far beyond the camp with a small herd;
To that pasture I hastened at a trot.
Ah, but I found only a desert,
And the howling of wolves made me flee.

Not finding his sweetheart on the new camping grounds, the lover inquires and searches for her. She used to ride in a litter on a *humejla'*, docile camel of low stature, and to signal to her lover with a stick with which she guided her animal. A *ḏwejd* is a small herd owned by one family. When [233] the son who usually cares for the herd goes out on a raid the herd falls to the care of the daughter. A *'azîb* is a pasture at such a distance from the camp that the camels must spend at least three or four nights away and do not come to water or to the camp till the fifth day. *Mzerfel*, like *ḏowmal*, signifies the fast trot of a camel. *Fela'* is a pasture with good grass and perennials.

Šiddû min az-zemel, 'aljân
šêl al-lahad mâ jedânîhi
w-al-ḥokm ḥokm eben ša'lân
maḳrûden jâ-lli terâḏîhi.

Saddle the pack camels called 'Aljân,
Who will not accept a galling load.
As for the command, the command belongs to Eben [Ša'lân;
Crushed be he who would oppose him!

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Zemel is the name given to the pack camels, always males, which carry the tent, supplies, and whole equipment of the chief. In the war cry of the Rwala all the herds are called 'Alja', which is here applied to the camels in the word 'Aljân. *Lahda* (pl., *luhûd*) are the callous spots or blisters on the camel's back and flanks caused by the heavy, unequally distributed load or by uneven saddles whether for freight, *ḥedâǧe*, or for riding, *šdâd*. If these callous spots disappear, well and good; if they become blisters and open, suppurating sores, *dabra* (pl., *dabar*), are the consequence. The camels owned by the Rwala will not bear packs that hurt them, and the ruling Eben Ša'lân kin will not bear opposition.

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Já rab'aten binjat
šiddat 'arâwiha
w-rawwaḥat zerfât
jerǧa-l-'aša biha
teḥûfaha mnîfe
jefraḥ biṭârîha.

Oh, the men's compartment, it was put up
And its rope ends stretched taut.
For their night's rest the fleet-footed mares returned,
And each rider hopes to get his supper in the tent.
It is being prepared by Mnîfe,
The thought of whom makes them all glad.

Rab'a is the men's compartment in the tent of a chief; also, the whole tent. *'Arâwi* are loops, or more properly the single bow knots of the tent ropes, which can be loosened or tightened according to the strength of the wind. *Rawwaḥat zerfât* are the slaves, servants, and other youths, who ride out on horseback in the evening to defend the returning herds against a possible attack. The word *rawwaḥ* always implies a night's lodging. [233]

Já ḫajji já 'azweten li
ṭarîḥakom lâ jaẓâmi
w-silâḥakom mustaǧilli
jakṭom ṭalîb al-'aẓâmi
'aduwwakom mustamelli
'ajjet 'ujûneh tanâmi.

Little brother of mine, of the same descent as I,
One thrown from his horse by thee suffers not long,
For renowned are thy arms,
Which cut in twain the backbones.
Thine enemy is shaken with fright,
And his eye refuses to close in sleep.

The maiden praises the bravery of her lover, who is closely related to her. The words *'azweten li*, if spoken quickly, sound like *'azwet elli*, because the *en* tends to double the following syllable, *li*. *'Azwe* denotes kinship on the father's side. *Min eǧn ja'za' flân* means "from whom does he hail, to what kin does So-and-So belong?" "*Ja'za' min ôl flân*, he hails from such-and-such a kin." *Ṭarîḥ* signifies a warrior rolling on the ground, thus thrown from his saddle.

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Jâ ḫajji jâ mâli
warâk li šenjân
jâ ḫajji-bṛi-mâri
bilammat al-ʿorbân
fowḳ aškaḥen ʿâli
nowfen ʿala-l-ʿaʿdân
ummeh ʿatejbijje
w-abûh min al-ʿadwân
w-alâjefeh haǧme
sowden čema-l-ṛorbân.

O little brother of mine! O my all!
Both thy mother and thy sister hate me.
O little brother of mine! I would fain show my bravery
In a throng of Arabs
On a tall ash-gray,
Surpassing the stud camels,
Whose mother hails from the ʿAtejbe
And father from the ʿAdwân,
And to whom is united a herd
Of she-camels black as the raven.

The maiden wishes to accompany her Arabs into the fiercest fighting, hoping thus to gain the good will of her lover's mother and sisters.

[592] *Warâk*, behind thee, here signifies female relatives. In the part of the tent reserved for the men the male members of the family sit with their backs to the wall which divides them from the women's compartment. Anyone who has transactions with the men takes a seat facing them and if he wishes to mention the female members of the family says briefly: "Behind thee, behind you." *Lammat al-ʿorbân* means "the Arabs will assemble (or flock together) to repel a hostile attack." The ʿAtejbe camp east of al-Medîna and Mecca; the ʿAdwân to the southeast of them. In Neǧd the predominating color of the camels is black, *amlaḥ*.

Jâ rabbi tsâʿefni
ʿala kill mâ-rid
fowḳ awẓaḥen ʿâli
bzên al-maʿâliž
wa-ṛlejjemen jaṭni
elja jâbsat ar-riž

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ġafra suḥûbijje
biḳarm al-wâlid.

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O my Lord! Oh, mayest thou help me
To all that I desire:
I fain would sit on a tall white camel
In a fancy litter,
And with me a young hero who would protect me
At such time when my spittle dries up;
A young hero on a white mare with a long tail,
Of noble breed.

Zên al-ma'âliž is a fancifully ornamented *žetab* litter, fastened on a tall white camel. *Ṛulâm* signifies a young but valiant man. The saliva dries up from fear when the enemy falls upon the moving clan and tries to rob the belle of both the camel and the fancy litter. It is then that she needs a brave defender.

Jâ sema' rabbana	O the name of our Lord!
biḍarâk nederreğ	Shielded by thee we wish to walk.
naṭlobak ṭûlat al-	Grant us, pray, that as long as we live
'omr mâ nefterež.	We may not part.

The sweetheart will not part from her beloved.

Rîden baṛa rîden
suḥben darağ ma'ha
jalfi 'ala šowḳeh
w-ḥelw lâma'ha
ja'ğîbeh beẓ-ẓalma
mlâ'až ṭanâja'ha.

A lover longs for a sweetheart
As for clouds which give rain.
When he comes to his darling
With lips, ah! so sweet,
He is dazzled in the darkness
By clinging to her teeth.

Jâ marḥaba jâ marḥaba
beṭwêreš al-žible lefa'
w-elja lefa ğâna-l-ḥaja.

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Hail, hail to thee,
O little pilgrim! who didst arrive from the south,
And when he came rain too arrived.

Ṭwêreḥ al-ḥible is the south wind, which is usually followed by rain.

Já ṭwêreḥ al-ḥible	O pilgrim from the south!
'ajjent ḥajjâni	Hast thou not seen my kinsfolk?
w-alli wara boṣra	They are wont to camp beyond Boṣra
w-alli bḥawrâni.	And in the Ḥawrân.

The south wind is besought to bring rain also to the territory northwest of Boṣra and the whole country around the Ḥawrân so that the herds of the girl's kin may find good pasture when they encamp there.

CHAPTER IX

STRANGERS IN THE CAMP

NEIGHBORS OR ḴUṢARA'

In every Rwala camp there lives a member of another tribe who has left his kin for some reason and who, for a time at least, desires to make his home in a different territory. Such a stranger generally comes to an agreement with some Rwejli that they will be neighbors, *ḳuṣara* (sing., *ḳaṣir*), and as such will protect each other. A Rwejli cannot be a *ḳaṣir* to another Rwejli, but may have for a neighbor a member of some other 'Aneze tribe, whether friendly or hostile.

The Rwejli protects his *ḳaṣir* against the Rwala and the *ḳaṣir* does the same for the Rwejli against his own people. A *ḳaṣir*, a guest, *ẓejf*, and a traveling companion, *ḫawi*, all of whom enjoy special privileges, are not subject to the ordinary regulations of the tribe. *lâ jemšûn al-ḥakk*. Their stick has as much force as another Bedouin's saber, *'aṣâhom seif*. The *ḳaṣir* is treated as a man possessed of power, *'aziz*, and justice is always done to him, *ḥakkeh ḥâṣel*. Even in cases where a Rwejli comes in conflict with a neighbor from elsewhere, the latter's Rwejli neighbor obtains, by force if necessary, a fair decision for him, or, as the saying is: "With a drawn saber and a swaying [balance of] justice, *bes-seif aṭ-ṭâjel w-al-ḥakk al-mâjel*."

When a Rwejli has a claim against a *ḳaṣir*, he may not make his demand himself but must put it in the hands of the stranger's Rwejli *ḳadir*. If the claim dates back to the time before the stranger became the latter's neighbor, the usual answer is: "And why didst thou not seek thy rights before he was my neighbor? If thou couldst wait till today, wait now till he is my neighbor no more." A Rwejli may not sue a *ḳaṣir*. Yet should he do so and the judge, ignorant that the defendant is a *ḳaṣir*, decide against him, the judgment never becomes valid. The Rwejli neighbor will say to the plaintiff: "What art thou doing? I am thy opponent, *ana ḫedîmak laṭ-ṭalâjeb*, not my *ḳaṣir*. Sue me, but my neighbor thou hadst better leave in peace!"

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609 572 672 If anything is stolen from a stranger *ḫaṣîr* by a Rwejli, he reports it at once to his native *ḫaṣîr*, who goes to the guilty person and speaks thus: "Doest thou not see that A is my *ḫaṣîr* and as dear to me as my own kin and all my tribesmen in this camp? *ḫaṣîri bên al-'anâja w-aṣ-ṣenâja*. Why didst thou take it from him?" And, seizing the stolen object, by force if necessary, he returns it to his *ḫaṣîr*.

Should a Rwejli assault the woman of a stranger *ḫaṣîr* in her tent, she shouts for the native *ḫaṣîr* to come to her assistance, which he is bound to do. If he kills the assaulter in his *ḫaṣîr's* tent he not only is not exposed to the blood vengeance, but the murdered man's kin, or, if he was not killed, the culprit himself, must pay the blood price for having insulted the tent of a neighbor.

But if the stranger *ḫaṣîr* kills a Rwejli he hastens to his native *ḫaṣîr's* tent with the entreaty: "Help me escape! *hazzemni*." The latter instantly summons his kin, *eAl*: "I want to help my neighbor to escape," and they all must support him in this. Should the stranger *ḫaṣîr* express his willingness to pay the blood price, his native *ḫaṣîr* protects him until all is settled.

When a Rwala camp is attacked by the enemy and among other things the stranger *ḫaṣîr's* camels or mare are captured, it is the duty of his native *ḫaṣîr* to return to his stranger neighbor all that was stolen from him out of the booty taken by the Rwala in their next successful raid. The reward given to the raider is a she-camel for a mare and two *mejîdijjât* ($1.80) for a she-camel.

In the same way the native neighbor is protected by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* against the latter's own tribe. Only when both tribes declare war on each other, in the course of which the stranger's property is captured, is the native *ḫaṣîr* absolved from helping him, unless he has made a prior agreement to do so. In this case he declares in the chief's tent:

"O you Rwala all! be my witnesses; thou too, Eben Šaʿlân! I and my neighbor here have bound ourselves by an agreement to protect each other in any event. His tribesmen will not eat from my property and I shall not eat from theirs. *Já rwala eškadû w-eškad já-ben šaʿlân tardsi maʿâjifen ḫaṣîri flân al-flâni enzi hom má jâkelûn ḫalâli w-ene má âkel ḫalâlhom.*" The same declaration is made by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* either in person or by a message in writing in the tent of the chief

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f his tribe. If them his tribesmen steal anything from his 609
ative *ḫaḍr* they must return it, and vice versa. 572
When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli
o herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is 672
ttacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to
eep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two
or milking, *ḫu'ada w-mendjeḥaḥ* or *rukūba w-ḥalūba*.

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant 443
alled a Kubejsi (pl. Kubejsât), although he does not always
ail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hît on the right
ank of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two
amels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with
Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round
hite tent, *ḫejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's
hirts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other
rticles of clothing, *bṣâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *hejl* (carda-
oom), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where
e boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets
othing at all.

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, 426
aying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, 452
resses his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes
im. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to
se anything; for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled
o do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant
unning unbearable. It is said:

Mâ ḥamm illa ḥamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeẓ*, on borrowed money must be paid at
nce in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧîdijjât* ($9.00),
$^2/_9$ *meǧîdijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the
orrower has to declare that he has borrowed $12^1/_2$ *meǧî-*
dijjât, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is
$^{10}/_9$ *meǧîdijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

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426 452 time when camel markets are held, namely in July or August, when the Bedouins camping in the tilled country sell their camels, *wakt al-mowsem*. Every debtor brings his bondsman, who declares in the presence of the creditor that so much is owed and that the principal together with the interest, *marbaḥ*, will be paid at a certain stated date. Should the Kubejsi in the meantime die, his host, *mu'azzeb*, collects the amounts due to him and hands them over to his heirs. Debts contracted with the Kubejsât, the Bedouins pay regularly enough, mainly because they fear that otherwise no merchants would come to them.

443 When the Rwala camp in a settled region, some of the big merchants send messengers to the prince to inquire whether he will allow them to come to his camp with goods to sell. If the messengers receive the prince's assurance that he will take them under his protection, *bwağh aš-šejḫ*, the wholesaler loses no time in dispatching his employees to the camp, and before long from fifty to seventy white tents, *ḫijâm*, will be seen in the prince's camp. In these everything is sold that the Bedouin's heart desires. For each of these tents one new pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*, and one *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) of green coffee are delivered to the prince as his due. Their stay in the camp terminates about the middle of August, for at the end of that month the Rwala usually return to the inner desert.

437 435 In the settled territory many merchants take camels in exchange for their wares, thus enabling the Bedouins to provide themselves with everything they need or desire. The sons of the desert are like children in this respect, wanting all they see or whatever takes their fancy and little caring whether they really need it or not. They buy all sorts of expensive things, often toys, which they soon spoil and then simply throw away as useless. As long as they have camels, or at least the money received for them, they pay cash; when this is gone, they either borrow money or buy on credit without worrying when or if ever the debt will be paid. It is a common saying in the desert: "Debt eats away the profit of him who borrows, *ed-dên ḫuṭṭâ' rizi al-meżbel*."

POEMS RELATING TO KUṢARA' AND KUBEJSÂT

539* There are frequent references to both the stranger *ḫuṭṭr* and the merchant in Bedouin poems.

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539x

1. *Allâh w-ma' hâḍa lek allâh lewa ḥâr*
   'an ǧârna má ḳaṭṭ naḫfi-ṭ-ṭarîfe
2. *narfa' hdâmeh rafwat al-'eš bel-ṭâr*
   nôde' leh an-nefes al-ʿawijje ṣa'îfe
3. *nabṭiḥ elja baddal dâr bidjâr*
   w-kill min beǧîráneh je'edd ḏ-waṣîfe
4. *aḥaden leǧîráneh baḫatri w-nawwâr*
   w-aḥaden leǧîráneh ṣafâten maḥîfe.

1. Allâh — and yet, thine is Allâh, ours the labor.
   From our neighbor we never may hide our dainties.
2. We shall make level what he has torn down, as the nest
   in a rocky wall is made level;
   Even if our temper be stubborn, with him we always
   behave mildly,
3. Hoping that, when he leaves our camp for another,
   To all his neighbors he will tell of our friendly services.
4. One proves to be to his neighbors a useful and fair flower,
   Another to his neighbors a barren, flat rock.

The poet is unknown. The reciters were Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. The Bedouin describes his relations with his stranger neighbor.

Verse 1. He reproaches his neighbor with something, but admits that the neighbor is under Allâh's protection, while to care for him is his own duty. *Ṭarîfe* is a delicacy like *ḥarîra*, a rare tasty dish. 2. *Ṭâr* is a steep inaccessible slope or precipice with numerous crevices and cavities in which birds of prey nest. To prevent their young from falling out, the parent birds level the floor of the nest with their beaks and then build a stout wall of twigs and bones. 4. *Baḫatri* is *Erodium cicutarium*, L.

1. *Hannejt axi bâl-leǧl dîčen je'â'i*
   lâ wa' hanijjak bet-tepdwit jâ dîč
2. *jâ wanneti wannet ḫerḍ al-afâ'i*
   jeḫpak min summ al-ḥajâja swâhîǧ
3. *w-ḍîdi alli čannaha ḥâl aṣ'i*
   ḫolli 'ala darb al-ḫaṭar w-ad-dwârîǧ
4. *'ala 'aḏiri 'aḫṭeh wakm bâ'i*
   wo-mpauwereh fattâḥ bâb al-ḥebâbâš
5. *semijjeha-lli 'alijjen birtifâ'i*
   jâ 'arefin al-ḫâf min kw semi ǧîč

539*

6. *'ażidaha-lli ma' awwal al-mâl râ'i*
   w-lâ jirta' illa bir-rijâż as-swâhiż
7. *ḫallú mtâḥi lil-ṛanam w-ar-rğâ'i*
   ḥadb aẓ-ẓuhûr nâżelîn al-mesâbiğ
8. *miṯl an-nsûr brâs ḫabra meżâ'i*
   w-ani min alli ḳafwahom ḳâ'eden ḥîč
9. *mâ-ni ma' ğajjâbt al-fowd w-lâ-ni brâ'i*
   w-enḳez ma' al-wardân la"âbet aṣ-ṣîč
10. *mâr jâ-llâh jâ-lli 'âlijen birtifâ'i*
    tefreğ limin hw ḳasîm 'ala-ẓ-ẓîż
11. *mâ-ḳwa aḳûm wâḳefen 'ala krâ'i*
    w-ḥâči-l-maḥlûḳ w-arẓi-l-maḥâliż.

1. To a cock crowing at night I wished health;
   In truth, may thy song serve thy health, O cock!
2. This is my lament, as of one bitten by an adder,
   Whose veins from the snake poison ache.
3. My lot is like that of a courier on a camel,
   Deserted on a road of peril and death,
4. For my sweetheart with plaits a fathom long
   Is adorned by him who opens all gates.
5. Her name is like that which is high and slender —
   O ye who read tracks, what is her name?
6. Her betrothed, who went with the first herd as its herdsman,
   Pasturing it in level spaces covered with juicy grass only,
7. Has been left by the drivers of sheep, goats, and pack [camels
   Which carry on bent backs conical ornaments,
8. Like vultures resting their tails against the bank of a rain pond;
   And I am he who sits here far behind them.
9. I go neither with the food carriers nor with the herdsmen
   But consort only with babes playing in the mud.
10. Yet thou, O Allâh! who art enthroned high above the earth
    Wilt grant success to him whose lot is to suffer.
11. For I lack the strength to stand on my legs
    And speak as a human being and yearn for human beings.

The poet was Jûsef eben Mğejd. His occupation was driving sheep and goats as well as pack camels carrying Persian fabrics from Irak to Syria. Once, while on a trip through northwestern Palmyrena, he became seriously ill and had to stay in the tent of a Bedouin of the tribe of al-Ḥsene, subject to Eben Melhem. His comrades continued their journey, leaving him

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

behind. Deserted and tortured with pain, he composed this poem, which was recited to me by Blejhân eben Meṣreb. 539*

Verse 1. *'Á'a'* signifies the sound of a crowing cock. 2. *Ješ-ẓâni râsi* is the same as *jowğa'ani râsi*, my head is aching. *Swâhiğ* are the paths by which poison is spread; hence veins or arteries. 3. *Sâ'i* here means a messenger mounted on a camel traversing alone the desert between Damascus and Hît. 4. *Bâb eš-šebâbîč* is the gate of a walled-in market place on which the windows of the selling booths open. Allâh grants or takes away the merchants' profits — he therefore opens the gate of their market place and adorns the poet's sweetheart with beauty. 5. *'Árefin al-ḳâf* are men expert in reading tracks, whether of men or animals, and in telling how old they are and whether made by camels from the Nefûd or the Ḥarra. The name of the beloved maiden was Rumḥa, Spear. 7. *Jaṭḥi* or *utaḥḥi* means that he calls for the sheep or goats with the words *eṭḥi, ṭḥa'. Mesâbîğ*, as was explained to me, are the conical ornaments sometimes half a meter high forming the back part of the pack saddle. When the backs of the pack camels traversing a vast plain project above the horizon, these ornaments on a clear night resemble vultures standing upright. [492 531]

1. *Jâ râčeben ḥamra min al-heğen mehḍâb*
   ğeḏ'ijjeten ḳaṭ' al-fejâfi menâha
2. *jâ teḳel rabda 'âneḳat râs merḳâb*
   čann' aẓ-ẓwâri tenhašha ma' ḳafâha
3. *elja twannat bass howza bimeš'âb*
   ma danaḳ ar-raḳḳâ' jirḳa' ḥafâha
4. *merbâ'aha bimfarra' al-heri w-aṣ-ṣwâb*
   eljamâ tekâmel šaḥmha biḳarâha
5. *fowḳha ṣulâmen mâ jeḥasseb lil-ağnâb*
   ṣaḳḳâr bi'ûd al-leğâwi ğedâha
6. *račebtaha min dîrt aš-šâm ğallâb*
   abî 'ala-lli ṭammanha w-eštarâha
7. *telfi labu ṣalfiž ẓedden lil-ağnâb*
   'awḳ ar-rudûm alli ṭṭarraḳ ḏerâha
8. *sukkar 'asal ḥelwen 'ála-l-čabed low ḏâb*
   semmen 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi saḳâha
9. *saba' as-sbâ' al-firz lil-ḥukum dowlâb*
   low a'ẓamat kuṭr ad-da'âwi ḳaẓâha
10. *low ḥw 'ala-n-nahreju w-aš-šaṭṭ w-az-zâb*
    w-illa 'ala kanzên mâlen fanêha

539x

11. *tara-ṭ-ṭalâṭa alli teḳûlûn bedjâb*
tara-ṭ-ṭalâṭa ʿenda fâres ḥawâha
12. *ṛâb an-neğem w-as-shejl w-al-ğedi mâ ṛâb*
fâres ʿala kill al-ğezîre ṛaṭâha
13. *min fowḳ šaḳra ṣadraha čannaha-l-bâb*
šelfa min damm al-maʿâdi saḳâha
14. *ṣfûḳ ʿaḳab leh ṣijârem lil-ağnâb*
ṣwâžeʿ min ʿaḳab ʿamša ramâha.

1. O thou who ridest on a she-camel of the long-paced ones
Not yet four years old that over the vast desert longs to cross!
2. Oh, one might say of her that she is like a she-ostrich
which with neck outstretched has climbed a hill
As if attacked by beasts of prey from behind.
3. If her fast gait slackens, a swinging stick is all she needs;
No cobbler will tire by tending her galled hoof.
4. In *rabîʿ* she grazes where al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb rise,
Till the fat of her back has reached its height.
5. A bold man is mounted on her, no stranger;
I, Ṣakḳâr, who guide her with an almond stick
6. From the land of Syria, I, a merchant, ride her
And I sell to everyone who gives a fair price.
7. (The she-camel) will come to the father of Ṣalfîž, an enemy of strangers,
Butcher of stout she-camels, whose humps shake with fat.
8. He is sugar, honey sweet when it melts in the stomach,
But poison for the stomach of his enemies to whom he gives drink.
9. A leader among lions, to the Government he is a millwheel,
And, be the number of claims never so great, he will settle them all.
10. Whether camping between the two rivers or by the Euphrates or az-Zâb
And if owner of two stores, he exhausts them.
11. See! the three virtues ascribed to Ḏijâb,
See! all these three virtues Fâres has.
12. Stars set and so sets Canopus, but the pole star never,
Fâres, too, outshines all Mesopotamia. [and thus
13. When riding his sorrel with gate-wide breast
The edge of his spear in the blood of his foes he dyes.
14. Ṣfûḳ begot swords against the strangers [tyranny.
And meteors born from ʿAmša he hurled at the stranger's

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The poet, Ṣaḳḳâr, a native of the settlement of al-Kubejsa, was a peddler among the branch of the Šammar tribe camping between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris. The chief Fâres of the reigning family Âl Ǧarba' was his protector. The name of the chief's father was Ṣfûḳ, his mother's name 'Amša. Both father and son hated the Turkish strangers intensely on account of the wrongs they had to suffer from the governor at Mosul. In the poem cited above Ṣaḳḳâr praises himself and extols Fâres. The narrators were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 3. *Howza*, instead of *hezz*, shake or nod. The hoofs of some she-camels are covered with too fine a skin. When such an animal walks for any length of time on rocky roads, especially in volcanic regions strewn with sharp pieces of lava, the hoof skin becomes covered with callous spots or scars so that blood flows at every step. In speaking of a camel in this condition the Rwala use the verb *ḥafat*, meaning "she has become calloused or scarred, she walks barefoot." To save his animal from loss of blood, the rider cuts out from a tough camel hide pieces of the size of the hoof, and stitches them, *jirḳa'*, under the scarred hoof. The she-camel tries to rid herself of the uncomfortable sole by rubbing it against rocks and often cuts the stitches, which must be repaired at once, causing the rider much fatigue and delay (see my *The Northern Ḥeǧâz*, New York, 1926, pp. 194-196). 4. Al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb are valleys heading in the northeastern part of the desert of al-Ḥamâd. 5. *'Ûd al-leǧâwi* is a stick made from an almond shoot. 7. Ṣalfiẓ is a son of Fâres. *'Awḳ ar-rudûm* is a poetical term. *Rudûm* here signifies she-camels so fat that they can hardly move. 9. Fâres lived in perpetual discord with the Turkish Government, refusing to recognize its claims, crushing them as would a millwheel. 11. Ḏijâb eben Ṛânem was famous for his bravery, *farse*, generosity, *karam*, and judgment, *'aḳel*. These three qualities gained for him the title *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa*, meaning "famous for his great sagacity," or, possibly, "gentleman." 12. A rider in the desert at night cannot guide himself by stars which change their place. The pole star, being almost stationary, is the traveler's safest guide. 14. *Ṣwâïḳ* are meteors which crush everything upon which they fall.

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SLAVES

567 Slaves are owned not only by the chiefs but by ordinary Bedouins as well. Adult slaves cannot be bought any longer; small negro children, however, are still brought from Neǧd and offered for sale. In most cases they are the children of black prostitutes from the large settlements of central Arabia and from al-Medîna and Mecca, but they are also frequently orphans. No negro is a chattel, *mamlûk*, of his master, for he may not be sold or killed and is free to choose another master. As a rule, however, the slaves remain with the same family all the time, (*min ǧdûdhom.*) Every married slave has his own tent, camels, and weapons, all this being given to him by his master, to whom he must return everything, should he wish to leave him. Even the slave's clothing is furnished by the master. The slaves in the household of a prince or great chief live entirely care-free. If the supplies are not well guarded by their master's mother or wife, they help themselves at their pleasure, cooking, roasting, and frying in their tents without a thought as to whether anything is left for the prince or chief. Then when the supplies are gone, they merely say: "We are hungry," and the master must replenish his larder anew.

If the chief entertains visitors, the slaves eat up all that is left over, so that the chief has to go to bed hungry.

Work is shunned by the slaves whenever possible. If the master himself does not see that it is done, they remain leaning peacefully against their camel saddles, smoking their master's tobacco and drinking his coffee. Their chief work is watering the camels. If the chief owns a large herd of white camels, *maṛâṭir*, and a herd of pack camels, *zeml*, with two or three herds of she-camels besides, they often draw water for the animals for two nights and a day or two days and a night, especially if the chief is present. The slaves load and unload supplies and lead the laden camels. They also help the women with the unloading, loading, transporting, and pitching of the tent, but only when afraid of the master. However, if they know him to be on bad terms with his women, they at once take his side and will not move a finger to do anything for the women. They work voluntarily only when they expect to gain something by doing so. When important guests arrive, the complaisance and affability of the slaves is boundless. But

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share. 567

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave. 855 567

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire. 622 567

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*semm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command. 601 567

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and 567 627

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567 627 murder they avenge not only among themselves, but on the free Bedouins as well. The master who kills his slave exposes himself to the vengeance of the latter's kin and must pay the blood price. Should he refuse, the avengers place themselves under the protection of a more powerful slave, generally the head slave of a chief, who soon compels the Bedouins to assist him in humbling the guilty person. A slave can pursue or protect, *leh waǧh je'addi jesaddi*, in the same manner as his master. Whoever hurts his protégé gains the enmity not only of the slave but of his whole kin, and of the slave's master as well, who must support the slave in order to have peace in the tent and his usual comforts.

567 582 Yet, no matter how powerful, a slave can never marry the daughter of even the poorest Bedouin; and, on the other hand, the least of the herdsmen would not think of marrying a slave's daughter. For even the poorest Bedouin is independent, *ḥorr*, while the slave remains subject, *'abd*, for ever. Not even the members of the most despised tribes, like the Ṣlejb, Šarârât, Htejm, etc., would marry a slave. In a certain manner they all are *ḥorr*, despite the low esteem in which they are held, and a slave remains *'abd*, no matter what power he wields. 326 567 Only the sons and daughters of white blacksmiths, *ṣunnâ'*, enter into blood relations with slaves. If a black slave marries a white girl, the daughter of a *ṣâne'*, and their son also marries a daughter of a *ṣâne'* again, the third and fourth generations are quite white, and yet they do not become free, *ḥorr*, but always remain slaves, *'abîd*. In the settlements — especially in the cultivated regions — the origin of such whites is sometimes forgotten, but never among the Bedouins of the desert.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND THEIR AGENTS, THE 'AḲEJL

442 As the Rwala are occupied almost exclusively in camel breeding, it is only in exchange for camels that they can get grain, clothing, arms, saddles, and other necessities of life. The camels they sell either in the inner desert or in the settled territory, nearly always to the same wholesale merchants who live in the larger towns on the borders of Arabia as well as in Egypt and India. The most prominent among these is the Eben Bassâm family, from the settlement of Bassâm in al-Ḳaṣîm. Its members own large business houses at al-Baṣra, Bombay, aṭ-Ṭâjef, Cairo, and Damascus. They export camels

from Arabia, they act as agents for the importing of coffee, spices, and rice, not only by ship or railroad but also by pack camels, and they supply the Bedouins with arms. There is no large settlement in inner Arabia where an agent of Eben Bassâm does not reside. 442

The Âl Sâlem family also is now engaged almost exclusively in the buying and selling of camels. These merchants hail from ad-Der'ijje but live at Bagdad and Damascus. Members of this family once helped the Wahhâbite princes of the Eben Sa'ûd family with money, and even now they have many friends in Neǧd.

The third firm engaged in trading in camels — also in clothing — is the Âl 'Îsa family. They reside at Damascus and trade chiefly with the 'Aneze and Ḥwêṭât tribes.

The wholesale dealers hardly ever visit inner Arabia. They have their middlemen to whom they furnish money for dealings on their behalf. All these middlemen or agents are natives of al-Kaṣîm and are called 'Aḳejl, whether they belong to the tribe of that name or not. An 'Aḳejli agent gets money from the wholesale dealer to buy camels from a certain tribe. He drives the animals which he has bought to Egypt or al-Baṣra or al-Kwejt where he sells them, dividing the net profit with the wholesale dealer in such a way that the latter gets two-thirds or half of it. If the agreement was that the wholesale dealer was to get two-thirds, he must stand the entire loss that may result from the transaction; in the other case the loss is shared equally. It should be said in explanation of this that the demand for camels is not always the same. Often prices in Egypt and al-Baṣra rise suddenly; the Bedouins learn this and ask more too; the middleman or speculator, as he might be called, has to buy dear, but when he brings the camels to the market the price may have fallen and he must sell at a loss. 442 446 [435 455]

Such an 'Aḳejli agent hires assistants, usually his countrymen from al-Kaṣîm, provides himself with light white tents, coffee, rice, and often also arms both for sale and exchange, and rides with letters of recommendation to the prince or chief of the tribe from which he means to buy. Having delivered the letters and gifts sent to those dignitaries by the wholesale dealer, he puts up his tents either in the prince's camp or, if permitted, in the camp of some chief. The chief of the camp where the trader has put up his tents is also his host, 442 437

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442 437 *mu'azzeb*, in so far as he protects him as his guest but does not board him. The Bedouins now bring their camels to his white tents, *ḥijâm*, and as a rule sell them for cash. Only when the agent has brought arms and ammunition from al-Kwejt or al-'Ažêr for sale, will they exchange their animals for these articles. On the sale of every camel the prince or the chief gets one-half or one *meǧîdijje* ($0.45 or 0.90). The purchased animal is then branded with the 'Aḳejli mark and left to graze in the herd with the others. For his herdsmen the 'Aḳejli hires [484] youths from the tribe where he is buying at the time. Many herdsmen accompany the agent's herds as far as Egypt and on their return tell of the wonderful things they have seen or learned on their trip. If the 'Aḳejli buys camels in the inner desert, he remains with the purchased herds for many weeks, or even months, with the same tribe, waiting until it moves to the settled territory, generally toward the end of June. If he buys from tribes who never leave the inner desert he drives the herds he has bought from tribe to tribe, until he comes to some clan of a tribe which leaves as a rule in May or June for the tilled territory in order to supply itself there for its sojourn in the desert. On reaching the border of the desert, the 'Aḳejli proceeds to the nearest large town where camel markets are held. If he can sell his animals there advantageously, he will do so and return to the tribe from which he came and buy camels again; but should he think that he could do better in Egypt, he will buy everything he can from other speculators whom he happens to find in the town and then journey on to Egypt.

442 676 The herds belonging to the 'Aḳejl may be captured by strange raiders, just as the herds of members of the tribe with whom he happens to be migrating, and for that reason the 'Aḳejl have in every large clan their brother, *aḫ*, to whom they pay, *jeḫîḥ*, from four to five Turkish pounds ($18 to 22.50), one good riding camel, and two or three good cloaks annually. This brother is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan. Among the Rwala and the Weld 'Ali the 'Aḳejl have brothers in the following kins: Eben Mašhûr, Eben Der'ân, Eben Ǧandal, Eben Mǧejd, Eben Me'ǧel, and Eben Ḥamad al-Wlêd'i or al-Wahbi (of the Weld 'Ali, also called the Beni Wahab). If the Rwala bring home from one of their raids camels bearing the 'Aḳejl brand and there is no 'Aḳejli camping with them, the *aḫ* drives these

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camels into his own herd and waits till some ʿAḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the ʿAḳejl even during their absence, *ʿajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâneʿ* (pl., *ṣunnâʿ*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâʿ* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-ʿamm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâʿ*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâʿ* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâʿ*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâneʿ* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *heṭṭe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

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326 sells for his own profit. When the Bedouins procure supplies of grain in the tilled territory for their stay in the inner desert, the blacksmith demands one *meǧîdijje* ($0.90) on each horse in order to buy his provisions. Whoever slaughters a camel must give the blacksmith all its entrails and the shins of its hind legs.

326 582 564 No Bedouin, not even a member of despised tribes like the Šarârât, Ṣlejb, Ḥawâzem, etc., would marry the daughter of a blacksmith nor let his daughter marry him. For the *ṣâne'*, although white, is not independent, is not *ḥorr*.

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CHAPTER X

POETRY

POETS AND POETICAL COMPOSITION

The Rwala love to hear, recite, and compose poems, which they call *ḳaṣâjed* (sing., *ḳaṣîde*). A verse is called *ḳâf*. It usually consists of two halves, the first being *nuṣṣ al-ḳâf* and the second, which is always rhymed, *âḫer al-ḳâf*, being *ḳâf at-tâli*. The poet says of himself: "I composed a poem, *ḳaṣatt* or *ḳilt al-ḳaṣîde*." Sometimes a poet will not say that he composed (a poem), *ḳaṣad*, but merely that he uttered (a poem), *ḳâl*. The audience say to the poet: "Reveal us thy poem, *ebdaha 'alejna*." If a begging poet comes to a chief in whose honor he has composed a poem, he begins by saying: "There are a few words, O chief! which I should like to disclose to thee, O long-living one! *endi ĕlêmât jâ šejḫ abṛi ebdiha 'alejk jâ ṭawîl al-'omṛ*." "Out with it! *hâtah*." And the poet in a nasal voice begins to recite his poem. The first words he blurts out, the next he half swallows, and the last he utters in a falsetto. If the chief likes the poem, its author gets a reward. The begging poets are not held in much esteem, being reproached for their insatiability, for their disregard of honesty in praising even scamps for a reward, and also because they lie and steal. They steal the ideas, sentences, and even whole verses of others. It often happens that the hearers assail such a poet with the words: "Thou liest. Thou stolest it from So-and-So!" The poet defends himself, calling on others to be his witnesses, but the confidence of his hearers is gone, and they say: "A poet is a liar, *ḳaṣṣâd kaḏḏâb*." When the poet learns that his composition or some of his verses are claimed by somebody else, he complains to the chiefs or even in the courts, but they all refuse to listen on the ground that a poet cannot be trusted.

On hearing a new poem the Bedouins inquire its author's name, *limin hâḏi*. An anonymous poem is called *maġhûla*.

A poem is but rarely written down. As a rule the poet's friends learn it by heart, and others learn from them. Every Bedouin knows several poems but hardly ever the whole of

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538 any. He usually recites from six to ten verses and then says that perhaps someone else knows the rest. Hence, since every long poem must be collected piecemeal from a number of men, the order of the individual verses can seldom be accurately established. If two Bedouins know the same verses of the same poem, they never recite them in exactly the same way but change the original words and often whole verses. Sometimes these changes are due to later improvements by the poet himself, but in most cases his unconscientious or careless friends are to blame. The Bedouins often quarrel as to the original wording of the verses and frequently ask the poet himself about this, but even he is not always absolutely sure. Often the poet insists that a verse was at first worded in such and such a way, but his friends contradict him. This makes him exclaim that all the versions are good and original, and he ends by appealing to the omniscience of Allâh. After hearing this answer from a number of poets, I gave up the search for the original wording, as the task is not only most difficult but quite useless. At other times I found that the poet himself knew barely the first few verses of his own poem. The rest he had forgotten and was glad that his friends remembered more than he. Only poems dealing with subjects of common interest become widely known and are preserved, whereas poems describing particular events are recited only by the persons concerned and fall into oblivion when these persons are dead.

[181] It cannot be denied that the Bedouins are poetically gifted. The composing of all kinds of ditties and songs is mere play to them, and they do not hesitate even at longer poems. They also hold that the words used in a poem must be out of the ordinary, not those heard in common everyday life. The more unusual words the Bedouin can put into his composition, the better he thinks it. The poet therefore revises every verse most painstakingly, repeats it many times, substitutes some words for others, and asks the opinion of his friends before producing his poem.

The Rwejli always explains the reason or occasion of the origin of every poem, believing that the poet had some motive for its composition. Often he forms his own opinion as to the origin of some old poem simply from its contents and is firmly convinced that he is not mistaken, and yet no one but the poet himself could say what induced him to compose it.

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TYPICAL BEḌOUIN POEMS

I give below some poems of the Rwala and of others camping with them. In some cases these were explained to me by the poets themselves. 539 x

Lament of a Man Dogged by Misfortune

1. *Jâ râčeb alli mâ laheğha-l-ğenîni*
   ḥamra' tešûḳ alli 'ala-d-dawc ṣabbâr
2. *ter'a min aš-šâma ljamm aš-šenîni*
   eljamâ ṛada fowḳ al-abâher teḳel ṭâr
3. *jeṛdi-l-'amâs eḳrânaha w-aḍ-ḍemîli*
   w-rakkâbah mâ mall min kiṭr al-enšâr
4. *telfi labu bejdar min al-ṛânemîni*
   beḳrâjezen mâ ḥâfaha kill faššâr
5. *aḳšar mâ 'endi nahâr az-za'îni*
   čejf az-zemâjel bass ṭentên wa-ḥwâr
6. *belči jeṛdi min šṭûnen teğîni*
   'abbi-s-sebîl w-ḥoṭṭ bel-'aẓem lî nâr
7. *'azzi min miṭli 'aduwweh bebṭejni*
   lâ hw mšâwerni w-lâ jeṭî' al-ašwâr
8. *jâ-llâh ṭalabtak žâre'ât al-ḥanîni*
   bem'âḳeb al-bedwân werden w-ṣaddâr
9. *ḥatt-en afraḥ elja-l-msajjer jeğîni*
   jâ zeben min ḥallowh w-al-ğejš ṭajjâr.

1. O thou who ridest a bay she-camel not yet oppressed with a calf,
   Filling with desire those who dwell in the vast elongated!
2. From aš-Šâma to aš-Šenîni she grazes,
   Till, thou wouldst say, a long ridge with steep slope will rise above the fore part of her spine.
3. Her pace and trot permit of slumber
   And tire not the rider on his many distant raids.
4. To Abu Bejdar go, to him who is one of the takers [of spoil,
   With verses composed by no babbler.
5. The most painful day for me is when moving to another camp,
   And little wonder, as only two pack camels and one yearling I possess.

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539x 6. What I only imagine, may really happen;
Fill therefore my short pipe and lay fire in its bowl
formed from a bone.
7. Pity him who, like me, has an enemy in his own belly,
Who never consults me and takes no advice.
8. O Allâh! I prayed to thee for she-camels pitifully grumbling,
In order that, as with various Bedouins, the one might
be hauling water while the other was returning,
9. And that I might rejoice at the messenger's arrival
From thee who protectest the deserted, even when all
the camel riders fled.

'Amlûš ab-al-Wkal of the Kwâčbe tribe was dogged by misfortune. If he took part in a raid, he not only did not capture anything but usually lost his own animal as well; if he stayed at home, his herd was attacked and some of his camels were stolen. Finally all that remained of his property were two female pack camels and one calf. Then it was that he composed this poem and sent it to the chief Abu Bejdar, who had just returned with rich booty.

Verse 1. *Ǧenîni* is a calf yet unborn. *Laheǧha* is used of a calf which presses on its mother's womb or clings to its mother. 2. A she-camel that has grazed so well during the march as to become fat is the desire of every traveler. Aš-Šâma is the region lying east of the center of the Sirḥân depression; aš-Šenîni (or Umm aš-Šenîni) is a rain pool on the road from al-Ǧowf to Tejma. A *ṭâr* is a long, high, and steep escarpment. The hump of a fat she-camel as seen from either side resembles such a steep slope. 3. *Ekrân* is a long, fast pace; *ḏemîl*, the trot of the camel. *Teḏowmal* has the same [492] meaning as *tederhem*, she trots. Both the pace and trot of a she-camel are so quiet and even that they allow the rider to slumber peacefully, *'amâs* (or *na'âs*), and therefore he does not tire, *mâ mall*, even if making several long journeys, *enâr*. *Enšerû* is often used instead of *emšû*, meaning "Run!" "Go!" 4. *Ṣânemîn* are men who almost always return with booty, *ṣanime*. 5. *Nahâr aṣ-ṣa'îni* is the day on which the tent with all its contents is loaded on camels for removal to another camp. *Ẓa'âjen* are small groups of camels which carry the property of moving Bedouins. 6. A *šaṭne* (pl., *šṭûn*) is a thought, notion, or impulse of the Bedouin's heart, *ḫaṭṭâṛes alli bel-ḳalb*. It occured to 'Amlûš to send his supplication to

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the chief, Abu Bejdar. Having done so he waited for the result. In the meantime he filled his short pipe, *sebil*; but even that was no longer whole. The Bedouin often carves for himself such a pipe out of a soft stone. The bowl usually soon breaks off and is then attached to a bone. 7. While he smoked, ʿAmlûš contemplated his ill luck and pondered on the mystery, thinking it was as if he carried his enemy in his own belly, *bṭejn*. Whether he acted on advice or without it, ill success was inevitable. 8. Now he prayed to Allâh to give him two she-camels pitifully grumbling — that is, she-camels which have left their young behind and are still full of milk. All day and all night she-camels parted from their weaned young utter their laments, *jekraʿen ḥaninahen*. When the Bedouins camp far from water they keep two she-camels hauling water continually, one fetching it and the other returning. This is done for fear of thirst; hence they speak of two she-camels, of one bound for the water, *wârede*, the second returning with it, *ṣâdere*. 9. *Al-msajjer* is either a special messenger sent by ʿAmlûš to Abu Bejdar, or a Bedouin who comes to visit him in the evening and brings the news that he is to receive two she-camels.

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A Slanderer is Warned to Make Sure of His Own Paternity Before Reproaching Others.

1. *Jâ mčajjel al-ḥamlât lejtak tetṭabba*
   ʿalejk min ǧowf al-ḳabâjel ṭalâba
2. *ṣaʾîtem ʿejâlak lejt howčak jehabba*
   raʿîs nuwar teʿab ʿala ʿers jâ-ba
3. *low ent min ḥosn ar-romak má tšabba*
   min ʿadrat as-sâǧûr w-alli reba bah
4. *ja-l-hebd jâ-lli bel-ḳubâjed mlabba*
   turki lekam leh lokmeten má-htana bah
5. *jeǧîk abu nawcâf min fowḳ ḳubba*
   maʿ surbat al-âḏân hom w-aš-šijâba.

1. O thou who bringest loads [of reproaches]! make sure of thy lineage,
   For there are complaints against thee from the midst of the tribes.
2. Deprive thy little sons of health! May thy courage awaken!
   Thou art a gypsy chief and at dances playest, O dad!

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539 3. Even wert thou sprung of Turkoman stallions, thou wouldst not be used to breed,
Ay, even if thou hailedst from the manure heaps on Sâǧûr or from those who grew up there.
4. O al-Hebdâni! O thou who with poems adornest thyself!
Turki swallowed a single mouthful and nobody wished him good digestion.
5. Abu Nawwâf will surprise thee mounted on a mare with narrow high hoofs
And the Âḍân and Šijâb troops with him.

Meḥde al-Hebdâni, a poet from the Fed'ân tribe, had assailed the Rwala in a poem beginning with the words:

'Endi leben ša'lân ḥmûlen ta'abbo,
For Eben Ša'lân I have a good load [of reproaches].

These reproaches are answered by Muḥammad âl Mhelhel in our poem. Meḥde was the son of a man who joined the Fed'ân, there married a Fed'ân woman, and not long after the wedding left again. Slanderous tongues claimed that Meḥde was not the son of the man whom his mother had wedded; others said that his father was not a Bedouin and as such was not permitted to marry a Bedouin woman, and that he had disappeared through fear of being killed, should it become known that he had deceived the kin of his wife. Muḥammad advises him, therefore, to make sure of his descent rather than meddle with the affairs of the free Bedouins.

Verse 2. Because his descent is uncertain and he himself a coward, it would be best for him if he should deprive his little sons of their health, *saffem*. *Howš* is the excitement, bravery, which takes hold of men when fighting, *taḥâwešoun* (or *taḥârsboun*). "*Hebô*" is said in anger, instead of "*eḫs*" or "*ḫob*" meaning "Shame!" "Away!" *Lejt howšak jekabbe* means, according to the explanation given me by the poet: "May thy courage awaken." Others, however, maintained that the words signify: "May thy courage be spat upon; may it be gone; away with thy courage!" The Fed'ân tribe camps for nearly six months amongst the settlers who invite gypsies to their weddings for merrymaking. 3. In the neighborhood of [532] the river Sâǧûr, where the Fed'ân also encamp, the pure blood of horses is not of much importance, a mare being admitted to any kind of a stallion. But even there Meḥde could not

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find a girl to marry him, owing to the fear that he would beget cowards like himself. The pastures on the river Sâǧûr are called by our poet *'aǧra*, besmeared or polluted, because they are defiled by the excrements of countless flocks. No Rwejli would buy a mare from the neighborhood of the Sâǧûr. 4. Turki eben Mhejd, head chief and commander of the Fed'ân, once gained a victory over the Rwala but was soon afterwards attacked and killed by them. Therefore he could not digest the mouthful he had won by his victory. "*Hanijja*," meaning: "Your health, well may it become you!" is the common way of addressing one who has just taken a drink of water. Nobody spoke in that way to Turki, *má-Ataṣa' bak*. 5. Abu Nawwâf is the prince of the Rwala, an-Nûri. Âǧân are the members of the Âl Iǧen kin. *Šijâbe*, beasts of prey or wolves, is the name given to the members of the reigning house of Eben Nâjef, relatives of an-Nûri.

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In Honor of the Author

1. *Abdi bḫîr allâh 'ala kill nijje*
   rubben čerimen 'âlimen bel-ḫafijjât
2. *já rádeben min fowḳ ḫamra ṭenijje*
   ḫorra ḥamima min erčâb al-ḥarârât
3. *má ṣâmaḥa-l-ḥarrâji b'eddâ mijje*
   w-lá nawwaḫat leh-bêl dowmen ma'fât
4. *mirbd'aha beṭrâf neǧd al-'aǧijje*
   tar'a zahar nawâr ward aḍ-ḍwebât
5. *fowḳah ždâd w-al-mijâreh zehijje*
   w-asfâjifah lebb al-brisem ḫalijjât
6. *maddat min bejten 'elâmah ṭarijje*
   al-ḥejḫ ḥejjâl al-ḫmâl aṭ-ṭeḥlât
7. *min bejt abu nawwâf ǧlb az-zerijje*
   zejrûm maǧles čâseblu az-nafâlât
8. *fowḳah ṭlâmen má jiḫâb ad-dwijje*
   jowṣel čulâm lidjâren ba'idât
9. *elja lafejt adjâr hâk-az-zemijje*
   abdi-l-bedâra w-aid minno-s-salâmât
10. *ḫal ḫorren lafa min 'endakom leh nwijje*
    naǧmen šebîh az-shejl má beh rubdwât
11. *bâǧ al-bilâd al-'âmra w-al-ḫalijje*
    be'aṭi ruǧlh má jiḫâb al-'asirât

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12. *aš-šejḫ mûsa 'elûmeh šefijje*
ḥâfeẓ 'elûmen min duhûren muzemnât
13. *má ǧâbat al-ḫafrât miṯleh ḥalijje*
w-lâ leh šebîh beḫujûḫ al-bedâwât
14. *ḥâčem waziren 'ârefen kill šijje*
w-lî leh meṯîl kûd abu zejd beṣfât
15. *ḥelw-l-meṭâjel bekfûfen saḫijje*
šebîh ḥâṭem má jihâb al-ḫasârât
16. *sinneh ṣaḥûk w-ǧer'ateh báslijje*
firz al-ḫanâṣel w-al-meššâwer ṣa'îbât
17. *lejṭen ṣaṣanfar má jdâni-r-radijje*
der'an ḥasinan jiḏḫarûneh al-'âzât
18. *w-en jesser al-mawla w-zânat an-nijje*
lâzem jiǧîkom be'elûmen muṭemnât
19. *'elûm al-bawâdi wa-ḫzarha w-ar-ra'ijje*
dijâr ar-rwala w-feḍ'ân w-arẓ al-'amârât
20. *wa-djâr neǧed w-al-frû' al-ḫalijje*
ma' diret aṣ-ṣawwân w-arẓ al-ḫwêṭât
21. *hâḍi af'âl alli-ḫṣa' leh wafijje*
kanz al-faḫr baḫr an-neda w-al-mruwwât.

1. My every purpose I begin by remembering Allâh,
The good Lord who knows all things, even the hidden.
2. O thou who ridest a bay she-camel not yet five years old!
A thoroughbred, fleet of foot, of the Šarârât female riding camels,
3. For whom no buyer has yet offered a hundred other camels,
Who has never knelt for a load, being well cared for;
4. In *rabî'* time she grazes on the borders of the healthful Neǧd
Eating blossoms of many plants, such as tender roses;
5. She carries a saddle with a fine cushion upon which to rest the foot,
And her pied ribbons are of purest silk.
6. Out from the tent she rode carrying the latest news
Of the chief who burdens himself with heavy loads,
7. From the tent of Abu Nawwâf, that wolf of a picked troop,
The shield of those who gather there and whose booty of alms consists.
8. Mounting her is a hero who fears not vast deserts,
Who is to carry word to countries far distant.

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9. If thou reachest such countries, 539^a
With glad tidings begin and our greetings add.
10. Say: "From you a hunting falcon with a firm resolve came,
Like the star Canopus, which cannot be hidden.
11. Countries both settled and desert he explored
With mind acute, of distress unafraid.
12. Chief Mûsa, of whom are none but glad tidings,
Over ancient events holds sway.
13. To another like him no chaste beauty ever gave birth
And of all Bedouin chiefs none equals him.
14. A ruler he is, vizier, all things knowing,
And none is his equal except, perhaps, Abu Zejd the fabulous.
15. What fair examples his generous hand gives,
Like one who spends and fears no losses.
16. With smiling mouth, of will indomitable,
He excels all consuls, can offer advice in the hardest cases.
17. A reckless lion he, with only contempt for rascals;
Armor stout he has which the oppressed would desire for themselves.
18. If the Lord helps and his aim succeeds
He will return to you with tidings important,
19. With reports of Bedouins, the dwellers in the settlements and nomads, too, who breed goats and sheep,
Of the lands of the Rwala and Fed'ân and the 'Amârât
20. Of the regions of Neǧd, of valleys vast, [land,
Of the Ṣawwân country and the land of the Ḥwêṭât.
21. By these deeds he has gained for himself
A treasure of fame and a sea of knowledge and noble qualities."

This poem was composed by Prince an-Nûri eben Ḥazzâ eben Šaʿlân with the assistance of his clerk Ǧwâd, who recited it to me.

Verse 2. The Šarârât raise the best riding camels. 3. It was not for sale even if a hundred shé-camels of the common breed were offered in exchange. 5. *Mirâka* (pl., *miǰâreč*) is a leather cushion stuffed with wool or camel's hair, which hangs from the front knob of the saddle, covering the camel's neck and serving as a foot rest to the rider. These cushions are sometimes richly ornamented and cost as much as £T10 ($45). [231] [492]

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539* *Safájef* are variegated woven ribbons, often five to eig centimeters wide and over a meter and a half long, fasten behind the saddle and hanging down the sides of the anima belly. 6. *Šejjál al-ḥmál aṣ-ṣeḥíláť* means "collecting importa news with which he burdens his mind." 7. Abu Nawwáf Prince an-Núri. His tent is the gathering place of the nee who carry away what his munificence gives. 10. *Ḥorr* signifi a hunting falcon of the best kind. A small star is easily hidd by a little vapor, but *shejl*, Canopus, shines even in a ha night. 12. *Aš-šejḫ* Músa is the writer of this work. 14. A *Zeíd is the hero of the 'Antar tales.* 19. *Ar-ra'íjje* are t *felláḥín* who pasture their goats and sheep on the desert bord [101] and camp in tents. The Fed'án and 'Amárát are members the 'Anese group. 20. *Al-frú' al-ḫalíffe* is the territory of Wudiján stretching down to the right bank of the midd Euphrates. Díret aṣ-Ṣawwán is the district west of the Sirḥ depression. The Ḥwéṭát camp in southern aṣ-Ṣawwán and the Red Sea. 21. *Neda'* is experience, which makes every ente prise succeed in the same way that moisture helps the veg tation. *Mruwwát* are all the noble qualities which a mod Bedouin should have.

'Abdalláh Answers Fejḥán's Reproaches[9]

1. *Já rúčeb min 'endana ṣef'arijját*
   min sás 'ajrúten e'ráben etteládi
2. *banát ḫorren faḫḫalowḥ aš-šarárát*
   bel-ǧejš je'na' leh ǧaimí' al-baswádi
3. *bitr al-fḫúḍ wrúkahen mistaǧellát*
   ḫoṣ' ar-rúčb mufattalát al-'aṣádi
4. *Ḥb al-rawáreb w-al-maḥáfeb emšibát*
   min al-ḫofl má zejjen lehen at-twádi
5. *beš-šadd waṭnát w-bel-maki 'aǧlát*
   raff al-mesáme' w-an-nwáṣer eḥdádi
6. *mirbd'ahen kabádn lel-bedw maškát*
   limá beda' niǧm at-twejbe' wkádi
7. *w-en ḥáṣ min bén an-nehíſén hejját*
   jer'an zahar má láḥ bikill wádi
8. *ǧá' ḫakkenz behen w-hen ḫakkehen fát*
   ḫuf' al-ǧarájem w-ad-djár al-be'ádi
9. *aṣ-ṣubeḥ min rá'i nefi mistalǧát*
   jeḥden rebden mṣajjeren ma' ḫamádi

[9] See above, pp. 1314.

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10. *w-al-ʿaṣr bdâr eben ʿaskar mwejǧât*
ʿajrât ṭajjerhen semâr al-bilâdi
11. *eben ḥasan rāʿi ṭruken maḥallât*
ʿabdallâh alli lel-maʿâni sidâdi
12. *menâsfen behen eṯnûnen mellât*
jerma' behen aḏnâb ḥilen w-zâdi
13. *aṣ-ṣubeḥ dannowhen' mustadirât*
w-min ḥâjeṭ ad-dîre lahen ḫtilâdi
14. *ṣaôô as-sera' muʿazzeûden w-ṣamrât*
miṯl al-ḥanâja-lli ḥanâhen istâdi
15. *maśow w-ǧallowhen ʿala-l-waǧeh zâfât*
misrâḥahen ṭuruk w-arṣen ḥamâdi
16. *wakt al-maʿâśa miśrefinen ʿala bjât*
mâlen čema-l-ḥarra w-ḳubb teḳâdi
17. *w-enšed ʿan ar-ruḫmân w-al-ʿelem mâ fât*
zeml at-tḫût lešejl ḥemlen wkâdi
18. *w-illa an-alli hom w-ʿelwa' ḥrâbât*
mâ bênhom kûd eṣṭefâḳ al-ʿawâdi
19. *dowšân ʿalaf sjûfahom kill ǧumhât*
ʿala-l-ezda' w-illa ṣejr žâdi
20. *w-illa ʿan-alli bel-ḳaṣa jeḏbaḥ aš-šât*
fejḥân eben šâʿed ḥarîb al-bwâdi
21. *ḳil dazzejt li heǧnen ʿarâwi mʿarrât*
ʿendak ǧabar maḥsûbhen w-al-ʿadâdi
22. *sâʿat lefenna ṣâr beṣ-ṣadr farḥât*
lejle ʿalejna miṯl lejleṭ al-ʿajâdi
23. *jowmen lefenna w-an-neǧâjer msawwât*
w-al-ǧerz terz w-râʿ aṣ-ṣûf ṣâdi
24. *jilen ǧašab w-ṣûf wa-ǧlûd w-âlât*
w-ʿejâl ṣarfinen eḫfâf at-tanâdi
25. *w-ʿaṣjân ahalhen killahen ǧejzarânât*
woḳûfen ʿala-r-riǧlên mâ min eḳʿâdi
26. *ǧabbart râʿ at-têl daḳḳ al-makinât*
faḳḳah šemâl w-šerḳ w-aǧnab w-ʿâdi
27. *ʿaṭejt râʿ at-têl ḥasbet rijâlât*
ʿadm al-ǧabar ʿanneh ǧamî' al-blâdi
28. *w-ǧallejt nuṣf al-ǧejš ḥafâje w-raḏjât*
w-nuṣf al-ḫjar ǧâlhen ertaʿâdi
29. *w-sannadet li neǧd šiḫân w-râʿât*
w-min šâfni bhal-ḥâl ḫâl ar-rakâdi
30. *jâ šên lâ tamši ʿala ṣejr maṯhât*
w-al-ʿomr mâ jâti baʿad al-fukâdi

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31. *tabṛi teʿğezni ʿala kill marmât*
w-taḥoṭṭeni mâ bên ḳâfen w-ẓôdi
32. *madmûḥ čiḏbak jâ muʿazzi-s-salâmât*
w-maḳbûl ṣidžak jâ muẓannat fawâdi
33. *maširûf ḳalbi ḳabl ḳalbak behejhât*
w-lâni miṭlak jâ radij al-ğelâdi
34. *mâ jinfaʿ al-maẓjûm keṭr al-mnâhât*
w-lâ jiğzi aẓ-ẓâmi ḫaẓîz al-warâdi
35. *râʿ al-hawa čaḏḏâb w-iblîs mâ mât*
dawwer ʿaširak min ferîžak w-ṛâdi
36. *bênak w-bên ḥbejjebak tisʿat abjât*
ʿala-l-želîb w-manzeleh ber-rekâdi
37. *w-al-haḳwe ennak tanzereh bel-ḥabîbât*
min al-mrâḥ laḏ-ḏeraʿ lel-hawâdi
38. *w-illa maʿ alli bel-ḥeğaʿ mustačennât*
al-haḳwe enneh jesmaʿak low tnâdi
39. *lak šowfaten waḥede w-len-nâs šowfât*
w-lâ wâdi sejleh jefajjeẓ bel-wâdi
40. *w-elja brejteh saw ler-rağl marḳât*
aḫâf jedri bak ḫaṭât ar-rbâdi
41. *w-lâ tâḫoḏ ad-dinja eḫrâṣen w-haḳwât*
jeḳṭaʿak min naḳl as-semîl al-barâdi
42. *lâ taḫker al-maḫlûḳ tara bhom afât*
en ṭaʿetni jâ-ḫûk etbaʿ emrâdi
43. *an-nafes lâ trawwîk w-iblîs mâ mât*
tara ʿaširak muḥarramen ʿala-l-ğwâdi
44. *en čân tûteh al-oḫt bel-ḥesen w-al-laḏḏât*
w-illa elʿan al-malʿûn maṛwi al-ʿebâdi
45. *edḫel ʿala-lli ʿâlemen bel-ḫafijjât*
w-iblîs lâ jeṛawwîk bedarb al-fasâdi
46. *aš-šejḫ miṭlak mâ jedawwer al-ḫanâbât*
w-az-zejn ʿend ʿelwe min adn al-bawâdi
47. *kubb as-swâlef w-al-ʿelûm ar-radijjât*
w-otrok edrûben mâ mašowha-l-eğdâdi.

1. O thou who ridest from us at the head of stubborn she-
Hailing from she-camels of the best breed, [camels
2. Daughters of a pure-blooded sire destined by the Šarârât for breeding,
Which every Bedouin musters in the riding troop.
3. Thighs they have as if cut away, rounded hips;
Level are their necks, their shoulders muscular,

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4. The shoulder blades gray; below their belts they have white spots;
Herdsmen have not yet made sharp clamps from dry stalks for their teats;
5. At saddling they remain quiet; they hasten on the march,
Carry their ears high, and their eyes keep sharp lookout.
6. In the time of *rabî'* they graze in the Kabšân ridge, by Bedouins desired,
Surely as soon as the *at-twejbe'* star rises,
7. And if the rain of *at-twejbe'* moistens well the depression between its two scorched hillsides
They eat of such blossoms as in no other valley are found.
8. We can use our rights over them, for their right (to rest) has already passed,
And we can ride through defiles and far lands.
9. In the morning they will depart from the lord of the settlement of Nefi
Like dark-brown ostriches madly speeding over a gravel [plain.
10. In the mid-afternoon in the house of Eben 'Askar
The female riding camels throng, frightened by the dark gardens of the oasis.
11. Manners worthy of praise has Eben Ḥasan
As his name 'Abdallâh alone rightly shows.
12. On trays of straw are big platters heaped up with food,
To which he adds fat tails of sterile sheep and adds still more.
13. In the morning they bring the frightened camels, and
Because of the settlement's brick walls they are beaten.
14. Yesterday has made them empty, and sunken in are their loins
Like arches bent by an artisan. [speed on
15. At the start of the march they let one after another
And graze on low hills and gravel plains.
16. At supper time they see tents
Looking like land covered with lava, and then the stamping of hoofs is heard opposite.
17. Inquire for ar-Ruḫmân; the report will not deceive thee,
For it would take a stout camel to bear the load of true reports of him.
18. If he be not there, inquire for them who fight against the 'Elwa,
Amongst whom nothing but the clashing of spears resounds.

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539[1] 19. The sabers of the Dowšân kin feed on all skulls,
Whether they be hungry or not.
20. Or ask for him who, even when the guests are still afar, slays a sheep,
For Fejḥân eben Žâ'ed, who so dearly loves to fight the Bedouins.
21. Say to him: "Thou hast offered me female riding camels which came without saddle,
Both their price and number thou well knowest.
22. When they reached us, joy filled our breasts,
And we spent that night as a festival.
23. When they arrived, tips were paid and
The cost cast up, and a dealer with woolen bags, thirsting for gain, appeared.
24. Saddles, saddlebags, and water bags for the she-camels were wanting; also arms.
Greedy the riders were, needing no invitation.
25. Flexible rattans they held
And stood without taking a seat.
26. Their desires I reported to the telegraphist, who tapped his wires at once and
Announced it north, east, south, and then gave me the
27. A few reals I had to pay the telegraph clerk, [answer.
Although he received a report from no settlement.
28. Of the she-camels I dismissed one half, for they were galled and worn out,
While the other half shook with fever.
29. So I went up to Neǧd to the chiefs and semi-Bedouins,
And whoever saw me in that state said: 'Stay,
30. O stupid one! walk not by a way desired by none,
For thy life will not return shouldst thou once lose it.'
31. Thou wouldst declare me unable to face trouble
And wouldst place me amidst the strife of defenders and opponents.
32. Thy lie must bow its head, O thou who in safety takest thy ease!
Thy words those who suspect me may have believed.
33. Renowned was my heart long before thine,
For I am not like thee, thou baldhead.
34. Him that has once been oppressed no hints will help,
Just as the few drops in the bag of those who go for water will not suffice for the thirsty.

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35. He who by love is disturbed is given to lies, for Iblîs is not yet dead —
Seek thy sweetheart in the camp and beyond it.
36. There are nine tents between thee and thy sweetheart,
By the well and on a plain.
37. I think thou wilt see her among the darlings;
From the place where the flock rests look towards the curtain which protects from the wind and towards the three stones on which the kettle is placed.
38. Shouldst thou not see her, she must be with those hiding in the corner
And surely will hear thee if thou wilt call her.
39. Thine own view thou hast of it, others see it differently,
For no valley would allow its creek to vanish into another vale.
40. If thou desirest to go to her, let the men be watched,
For I fear that some of those idlers will hear of thee.
41. Take not the world so lightly or as thy fancy dictates,
For he who carries a pouch of cold water will destroy thee.
42. Despise not men, for thou mightst need them!
If thou obeyest me, thy brother, let my will guide thee.
43. Be not seduced by thy desires, for Iblîs is not yet dead—
See, thy sweetheart is forbidden to the highborn.
44. If only he would be satisfied with one of his kindred, so beautiful and charming!
If not, cursed be the damned seducer of Allâh's servants!
45. Put thyself under the protection of him who knows all secrets
And let not Iblîs lead thee on the road of sin.
46. A chief like thee does not seek his own ruin,
And beauties thou wilt find with the 'Elwa, the Bedouins nearest to thee.
47. Shun all stories and infamous reports
And such ways avoid, as our ancestors did not follow."

The poet was 'Abdallâh eben Sbejjel, lord of the oasis of Nefi; the reciters, 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, Mḥammad al-Kaẓîb, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. 'Abdallâh eben Sbejjel, while searching for a beauty much desired by Fejḥân eben Ża'ed eben Zrejbân, learned that she was the daughter of a blacksmith, ṣâni', thus a girl whom even a common Bedouin must not marry if he does not wish to be expelled from his clan. He

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539x therefore acquainted Fejhân with the result of his search but could not convince him, Fejhân's opinion being that 'Abdallâh either had no taste for his errand or feared the revenge of the girl's betrothed because he had found her another lover. 'Abdallâh answered by this poem in which he tells of his journey from the settlement of Nefi to Fejhân, describes his she-camels, reproaches Fejhân for having cheated him on the delivery of other she-camels as well as for suspecting him of fear and weakness. Finally he tells him to look for another girl, whom he may find in his very neighborhood.

539x 231 492 Verse 1. *E'râben* means a descent universally acknowledged. 2. The Šarârât are famous as raisers of pure-bred riding camels. 4. Their shoulder blades are gray and they have white spots below their belts, *šîb al-ṭawâreb w-al-maḥâžeb emšibât*, because they are on the road all the time. The shoulder blades rub against the cushion on which the rider rests one foot while the other foot touches the *maḥâžeb*, the spot covered by the breast girth, which holds the saddle behind the forelegs on the breastbone. The she-camels alluded to have had no young as yet, therefore the herdsman has not needed to close their teats with sharp clamps to prevent their young from sucking at will. 5. A good camel will utter no sound while being saddled; this is very important at night or in a dangerous territory. On a forced march a camel is expected to listen well and to observe the country in all directions so that she can, by quick breathing, arching her spine, or by a motion of the neck, call the rider's attention to any possible danger. 6. Kabšân is an extensive ridge in the 'Atejbe territory. If the *niǧm at-twejbe'*, Aldebaran, due about the middle of December, is accompanied by copious rain, the waters of this rain irrigate all the basins and in Neǧd produce luxuriant grass, and perennials spring up there as if by magic. 8. After exhausting marches the she-camels are given at least three months' rest; to this repose they are fully entitled, as their riders often require them to traverse by day and night regions where there is neither good pasture nor sufficient water. When these three months have expired, the riders are justified in setting out on a new trip. *Ḥarâjem* (sing., *ḥarîme*) are defiles or passages between steep slopes. 9. *Râ'i nefi* signifies here the inhabitant par excellence, or the lord of the oasis of Nefi; *râ'i-l-ǧowf* means an inhabitant of the oasis of al-Ǧowf. One may often hear "*râ'i mâred*," "*râ'i ḫna*," "he

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is an inhabitant of the Mâred fort" or "of the settlement of Ḳna," *"râ'i-l-ḳerije*, he is a settler." 10. 'Abdallâh eben Ḥasan eben 'Askar was the lord of another settlement. The Bedouin she-camels are easily scared by the shade and the rustling of palm groves, as well as by the high walls enclosing them. 14. *Ḳabb as-sera'* or *'oḳb al-bârḥa* means after yesterday. The well-fed she-camels on yesterday's march were still a little lazy, for their bellies were full and much of their food not yet digested. As they found no pasture on their whole trip from Nefi to Eben 'Askar and all they got in his house was a little dry grass, they digested all that was in their stomachs and emptied their bowels, which caused their loins to sink in. 16. The black Bedouin tents stood in the basin, while the she-camels were approaching across the plain. When they were in sight, the Bedouins sent out a rider to meet them and find out who they were and whither bound, also to inquire about the camping places of their friends. 17. Eben Ruḥmân was chief of a small kin of the Dowšân clan. *Zeml at-tḫût* or *zeml aṭ-ṭkâl* is a camel able to carry heavy loads (more than three quintals). 18. The Dowšân belong to the 'Elwa division of the Mṭejr but are often at war with the other Mṭejr, as they will not submit to the head chief. 20. Fejḥân eben Žâ'ed eben Zrejbân, the Dowšân chief who ordered the search for the beauty (21), offered 'Abdallâh the assistance of a large number of his tribesmen mounted on she-camels, but cheated him in this. *'Arâwi m'arrât* are she-camels on which the riders sit only on a piece of cloth fastened between the hump and hips. 23. *An-neǧâjer msawwât* was explained to me by Mḥammad to mean the same thing as *al-ešidde*, riding saddles, while Ḥmâr thought that it signified *ḫalâwa*, reward or gratuity given to the herdsmen. *Al-ḫerz terz* means, according to Ḥmâr, the bargaining for the pay to be given to the hired camel riders, while Mḥammad understood it to be the total expense of the expedition. *Râ' aṣ-ṣûf* is a seller of fancy bags for horse and camel saddles. 24. Before he could use these she-camels he had to have good saddles, *ḫašab*, bags, *ṣûf*, water bags, *ǧlûd*, and arms for their riders, *âlât*. The riders too had many wishes and were insatiable in their demands. 25. Their stopping and shaking the little sticks used in guiding their camels signified that they threatened to leave if 'Abdallâh would not grant all their demands. The rattans were sold by the dealer in bags. 26. 'Abdallâh relates in a sarcastic manner that he

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tried to telegraph for everything the riders asked for, but he could not get them anywhere. 28. *Ḥafâje* is the name given to she-camels with bruised soles which bleed at every step; such camels cannot, therefore, be used on long marches. *Erteʿâdi* means shaking of the loins, a sure sign of fever and sickness. 29. Having been deceived by his friend Fejḥân, ʿAbdallâh sought help from other chiefs in Neǧd and was in such haste about it as to rouse everybody's wonder. 30. He addresses Fejḥân. "*Jâ šên*, O shameful!" O rascal! is used in both a friendly and hostile sense. 31. Fejḥân would reproach him with fearing to win the beauty for him. 33. *Radij al-ǧelâdi* is a bald-headed man. 34. *Ḥaẓiz* is what remains of water in a folded leather water bag. 35. He woos for Fejḥân a girl of his own kin, as a kin usually forms a *ferîž*, smaller camp, of their own. 37. He can see her cooking behind the narrow partition which protects the fireplace from the wind, *ǧeraʿ*. 38. *Al-ḥeǧaʾ* denotes the corner in the women's compartment where women in childbirth or with abnormal menstruation rest. 39. Fejḥân viewed his beloved's beauty with his own eyes, but other people judged it differently. In Neǧd almost every settlement has its own valley without an outlet. These valleys are mostly large basins where the rain water accumulates, there soaking into the sandy ground and keeping fresh for a considerable time. None of these basins are connected, so that the water cannot flow on the surface from one to another. 41. He who is careless will perish, be he the most powerful. A person on foot carrying a pouch with cool water will overcome a rider dying of thirst. 43. A Bedouin may not marry a *šâneʾ's* daughter.

ʿObejd Eben Rašîd Lies in Wait in a Ravine to Fight the Âl ʿAli

1. *Hejh jâ-lli lak maʿ an-nâs widdâd*
   mâ tarḥamûn al-ḥâl jâ ʿazwati lejh
2. *mâ tarḥamûn alli ṛada damʿeh abdâd*
   ṭowl az-zemân w-ḥarrak ad-damʿ ḥaddejh
3. *min šowfeti lel-ṛarw mazbûr al-anhâd*
   mutmašleḥen jâṭaʾ ʿala-ždâm riǧlejh
4. *aš-šowk mâ leh ʿan mwâṭih raddâd*
   ejzan w-lâ sibten žiwijjen jewaǧǧejh

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5. *eben raḥiṣ nâzelen ḥadd al-aǧrâd*
ḳâl eżeblow w-entom hal al-bejt jâ hejh
6. *ḳilt al-ḥejżeri mâ jistwi kûd beblâd*
w-lâ jistwi ʿoḳb al-taḥażżori tabdwejh
7. *elja ʿâd mâ merren jizaṛreten bel-awlâd*
taraʾ-l-mważżi jeḏhal alli juważżejh
8. *elja ʿâd mâ nâṣal w-nażreb bel-aḥdâd*
hibbit jâ sejfen ṭwâl hamm râʿejh
9. *elja ʿâd mâ nirwi ḥdûdeh min al-aẓdâd*
waddeh jamm al-ʿarfaǧijje trawwejh.

1. Hejh, O thou who makest friends!
Will ye not pity my lot, O my relatives?
2. Will ye not pity him whose eyes weep
Unceasingly and whose cheeks are burning with tears?
3. And all because I gaze at a maiden with a bosom full and firm,
With sleeves thrown over her back and tied, as on tiptoe she walks away.
4. My sweetheart cannot be held back
And no sole so thick but she will wear it through.
5. Eben Raḥiṣ, he who camps at al-Aǧradi,
Sent word: "Come to us and like one family ye shall be, O Hejh!"
6. My answer was: "A settler thrives nowhere but in a settlement
And cannot live like a Bedouin, being a settler indeed."
7. Oh, may they who now grieve over their sons rejoice!
See, he who makes his last will has no one to whom he may dictate it.
8. Oh, may we fight again and with the [saber's] edge strike!
For that is my burning desire, O saber! which I cherish through all my sorrow.
9. Oh! that we may again give to its edge the enemy's blood to drink
Or bring it to al-ʿArfaǧijje in order that she may give it blood.

The author was ʿObejd eben Rašîd; the reciters, Mhammad al-Ḳaṣîb and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. ʿAbdallâh and his brother ʿObejd were driven out from Ḥâjel by the Âl ʿAli kin, supported by the Turks. Eben Raḥiṣ, the chief of the ʿAbde, offered them

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539* his protection. 'Abdallâh took refuge with him, but 'Obejd and his followers remained in a building erected in the nearly inaccessible ravine of al-'Oḳde, west of Ḥâjel, where he waited for an opportunity for another fight.

Verse 3. His wife brought him food through the almost impassable ravines which run down to al-'Oḳde. 4. Her feet were bruised, her soles worn through. 6. The name of Eben Rašîd's kin is aẓ-Ẓijâṛme, and it hails from the 'Abde tribe. 7. The women exult, *jizarreten*, either when they call on the men to fight or when they welcome them on their return with booty. 9. Al-'Arfağijje was a woman who poisoned the slayer of her husband and thus revenged herself, while his kin only desired the blood price.

'Abdallâh Eben Rašîd Bewails His Expulsion from Ḥâjel

1. *Ar-rab' dannow ẓummaren taṭwi-l-amrâs*
   heğnen jifillen ḥêl râ' ar-radijje
2. *taṛâzow al-me'bâr min 'enda daiwâs*
   w-ana 'ala-l-ḥâbûr mâ lî maṭijje
3. *killen tedakkar 'azwaten jamm al-aṭ'âs*
   w-ana-tḏakkar 'azwat aš-šammarijje
4. *low lâ sebîlen hâs beḳullet ar-râs*
   ṛarbi čehaf ḥamme bhâk az-zwijje
5. *mazzejt mâ jabbes ma'âlîži ajbâs*
   jibred lehîb al-ḳalb low leh ḥaṭijje
6. *low dakk bibâli ṭemânîn howğâs*
   aš-šâwri bel-čîs w-an-nâr ḥajje
7. *w-allâh lanṣa' neğd low leḳaṭ' ar-râs*
   w-abî' ana-l-ṛâli w-aḏbaḥ ebnejje
8. *al-ḥokm mâ jâti beḥebren w-ḳurṭâs*
   alla bdarb as-sejf w-terk al-ḥaṭijje
9. *min 'oḳob mâ-ni šejḫ wa-thâbni an-nâs*
   al-jowm mâ-hajjeb râ' ar-ra'ijje
10. *bičejt ana ḥâli w-lâ beh 'alejje bâs*
    ṭâ'at li al-bedwân hom w-ar-ra'ijje
11. *w-aḫatt 'ešr al-mâl w-ḥasabt al-ṛrâs*
    w-maḳsûbt al-ummâl elfên w-mijje
12. *mâ ẓall lijje mn:ki ma' ğimlet an-nâs*
    al-bedw w-al-ḥaṛrân killhom swijje.

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1. My comrades took with them poor
   Female riding camels that tread on their reins and exhaust the strength of their riders.
2. They wish to reach the ford at Dawwâs,
   While I sit by al-Ḥâbûr, for my she-camel is not strong.
3. All think of their kin there at the sand hills,
   But I think of my kin with the Šammar.
4. But for my short pipe my head would be in a whirl.
   West of Čehaf Ḥamme in that bay
5. I have sucked in what sears my heart's vessels
   And cools the heart's flame, even though it be sin.
6. Even if eighty cares were oppressing my mind,
   There is yellow tobacco in my pouch and the fire is alive.
7. By Allâh! with war I shall strike Neǧd even if my head be cut off.
   There I will sell my life, if only I may kill Bnejje.
8. Ink and paper will not recover thy dominions for thee,
   But a saber stroke and forbearance from sin.
9. What has happened? I am chief no more and yet men did fear me—
   While today I cannot strike fear into the herdsman of a single flock.
10. I bewail my lot—one can think ill of that.
    For till now Bedouins like sheep and goat raisers have obeyed me.
11. Tithes I took on their wealth, the palm trees I counted
    And what the collectors reported were two thousand and one hundred.
12. My skirmishes are not merely with one class,
    But with Bedouins and settlers, with them all.

The poet was 'Abdallâh eben Rašîd; the narrators, 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, Muḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. Abdallâh eben Rašîd was overcome by the former prince Âl Ali, assisted by the Turks, and driven out. The Wahhâbites supporting Âl 'Ali were commanded by Eben Bnejje of the Rwala tribe. 'Abdallâh with his followers fled first to Eben Rahîs and immediately after to the Fed'ân tribe, then encamped on the river al-Ḥâbûr. His followers hastened farther on to the Šammar âl Ǧarba' on the upper part of the river. 'Abdallâh distrusted the chief of the Âl Ǧarba' because he was related to the house of Âl 'Ali, whom 'Abdallâh wished to

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depose. The Fed'ân favored the Wahhâbites more than the Šammar, as the reigning family of the Wahhâbites originated like themselves from the 'Aneze group, and Eben Bnejje was well known to many of them. 'Abdallâh knew that from the Fed'ân tribe he could expect no active help and that they tolerated him as their guest only.

Verse 1. *Amrâs* is the word used by the settlers for reins. 3. *Aṭ'âs* or *ṭu'ûs* are isolated conical sand hills projecting above the Nefûd desert, where at the time of our poem the Rwala, Weld Slejmân, and also many 'Amârât clans were camping, all being supporters of Eben Bnejje. All these were relatives of the Fed'ân, who had their interests at heart. 4. Ḥamme is a hillocky region of volcanic origin between the right bank of al-Ḥâbûr and the left bank of the Euphrates. 5. The Wahhâbites forbade the smoking of tobacco as being sinful, but 'Abdallâh smoked nevertheless, seeking consolation in his pipe. 6. *Šâwri* is a superior sort of yellow tobacco. 7. *Al-ṛâli* signifies the soul, life.

[276]

Lament of a Father for Two Sons Killed in Battle

1. *Hannejt ḳalben dâlehen mitl ṣanḳûr*
   mâ hammeh illa-ṭ-ṭâr w-alli šiḳâ beh
2. *mâ hammeh alli ḥaṭṭow al-'aṣr beḳbûr*
   w-lâ bačeneh bîzen talâ'eğ 'aḏâbeh
3. *al-bâreḥa jowm al-ḥalâjež wara-d-dûr*
   ḥaṭîb jâ'ezni w-ḳalbi jehḏâ beh
4. *bičejt ana sâlem min al-ṛowš masṭûr*
   ḥowz al-menâja wâredeh mâ jehâ' beh
5. *elfen feda' sâlem w-elfen w-ṣanḳûr*
   w-lemhanna mâ je'added ḥasâbeh
6. *'abdal'azîz elja laḥež hw w-ṣâbûr*
   sawwa 'ala dâr al-ma'âdi ẓebâbeh
7. *jâ-llâh jâ ğâber 'aẓm kill maksûr*
   mâ li swâk min jedûr aṭ-ṭlâbe
8. *aḥeḏ ekẓâji min al-'eda mâ lijje ṣbûr*
   w-lâ-zenn anâm al-lejl w-ḥaḳḳi ṛadâ beh
9. *'alejk jâ-lli ta'lam al-ṛejb besrûr*
   aẓhart ḥakk ja'ḳûb min aḏ-ḏijâbe.

1. A demented heart I bless like that of Ṣanḳûr;
   Nothing he cares for but his drum and him who beats it.

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2. Not for those he cares whom they laid in their graves
at mid-afternoon,
And the white women who once led him to sorrow weep
not for him.
3. Yesterday when women were on the burying grounds
behind the houses,
The *ḫaṭib* reproved me, but in my heart I sneered at him.
4. I mourned for Sâlem by youths cut to pieces;
Yet he who will draw water from the fountain of death
must not fear death.
5. A thousand others I demand in vengeance for Sâlem
and a thousand more with Ṣanḳûr too,
And for Mhanna, their number cannot be stated.
6. As soon as ʿAbdalʿaziz joined us with the camel riders
He covered the enemy's camp in a cloud of dust.
7. O Allâh! thou who healest each broken bone,
None I have but Thee, who would seek for what I ask.
8. I lack patience to bring doom to the enemy
And yet doubt whether I can sleep at night as long as
my rights are withheld.
9. In Thee I trust, who knowest all the heart's secrets.
Who hast settled publicly Jacob's suit with the wolves.

The poet was Ḥmûd eben ʿObejd eben Rašîd; the reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ġwâd al-ʿÂni, and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. Prince ʿAbdalʿazîz eben Metʿeb went on a raid to the territory of the Eben Saʿûd. He was accompanied by his uncle, Ḥmûd eben ʿObejd, with the latter's two sons, Sâlem and Mhanna. On reaching the camp of the enemy, Ḥmûd with ʿAbdalʿazîz remained with the reserve formed of camel riders, while the horse riders, Sâlem and Mhanna among them, made the attack. It was repulsed and both Sâlem and Mhanna killed. ʿAbdalʿaziz then came to the help with his reserve, pressed the enemy's cavalry back, surrounded the camp, and after plundering it returned with rich booty. Ḥmûd carried his two sons away to be buried in the cemetery behind Ḥâjel. The funeral procession was accompanied by the negro Ṣanḳûr, who, being deranged, walked the Ḥâjel streets by day and night beating a small drum. He invited all the boys he met to join him, to come and beat drums like him. Ṣanḳûr had been a handsome fellow in his youth, and even the daughter of a prominent citizen of Ḥâjel had fallen in love with his

539[x] good looks. The enraged father seized the poor fellow and had his sexual organ crushed. Since that time Ṣanḳûr had been demented.

[463] Verse 3. *Ḫaṭîb* is a man who teaches religion, sometimes leads the prayers, explains the Koran, etc., but is at the same time employed in some handicraft or engaged in trade. 4. *Mâ jehâ' beh* means "he fears or trembles before nobody." *Ḥowẓ*, according to the Bedouins, is a deep leather trough standing on three legs and used for watering camels; the settlers use the word for a walled-in cistern for holding rain water. When water is needed, the *ḥowẓ* is the place to seek it. *Ḥowẓ al-manâja*, a place where death is drunk, is a battle field. He who dares to enter the battle field knows that death awaits him there. 5. To avenge Sâlem two thousand of the enemy should have been killed. 6. *Ẓebâb* is a dense cloud of dust, like *'aǧâǧ*. In 7 the poet asks for vengeance. 9. The sons of Jacob asserted that Joseph had been torn in pieces by wolves. Jacob complained bitterly to Allâh of this crime. Allâh then lent these beasts the gift of speech, and, coming to Jacob, they proved their innocence by witnesses.

In Honor of Muḥammad Eben Ḥaššûd

1. *Já hejh jâ-hal ḫâlijât al-mezâhîb*
   heǧnen telâfa min ba'id al-maṛibe
2. *šejb al-ṛawâreb sâjiǧât al-maḥâžîb*
   elfên mašdûdât kill šien teǧîbeh
3. *alli 'alejhen muštâhîn al-ma'âzîb*
   šâmow lrâ'i musneden jirtači beh
4. *le'aḳob ḫollen jefeǧǧ al-'arâžîb*
   linâr 'abdallâh jewaḳked lehîbeh
5. *šâmow limin fât al-awâdem 'ala-ṭ-ṭîb*
   aẓ-ẓejṛami killen lefe'leh derî beh
6. *ḫorren šahar bî'âlijât al-marâžîb*
   faḥḥaǧ 'ala-l-feṯḫân min zowd ṭibeh
7. *low jištahi ḫaṭṭ al-awâdem ḫawâṭîb*
   ṛaṣben bḥadd as-seif ṛalben ṛalîbeh
8. *min al-biẓ jahjen leh 'ajûn at-tešâbîb*
   w-al-mištebeh jinhaǧ 'ala šebheh jeǧî beh
9. *banât mâ ḍabbar 'alejhen betaḫsîb*
   w-lâ ḫâjelen werd ad-debeš min 'aṣîbeh

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10. *banât 'akob melarremin al-marâlib*
zijârmen 'akb al-ǧdûd al-'aribe
11. *já má 'afow min záhijât ed-debádlb*
w-kubben tenasseſ bil-ma'áder sebíbek
12. *ḫamm al-ǧenûb w-ḫamm šerken w-tarrib*
w-kowneh 'ala-l-wudijân má jinḥači bek
13. *adwa 'alejhom kubl wakt al-tarârib*
wa-tzabben al-bîri šarájed ǧekibe.

1. Glory to you, O riders! with your bags empty,
On female riding camels coming from far countries.
2. With shoulder blades gray and breast girths shifting;
Of saddled ones two thousand are bringing us goods of all kinds.
3. Those who ride them are yearning for hosts,
They look for him who leans against a cushion,
4. For the son of their friend who keeps clear the hillside roads,
For 'Abdallâh's fire and its ever-burning flame.
5. For him they look, who surpasses other men in honesty,
And for the Zejramit, whose deeds are known to all.
6. He is a noble falcon, who on the highest points is seen
Because of his great valor, standing proudly on his legs.
7. Should it occur to him to make men fuel pickers,
The vanquished he could compel with the edge of his saber.
8. The fair ones gaze after him with eyes like gazelles who guard their flocks,
For like follows like and desires to win him.
9. His daughters never are told of the budget
And need not longingly wait for the herds returning to water from far pastures.
10. They are daughters of the sons of ancestors who threw their fancy spears like lightning,
Of az-Zijârme, the descendents of Arabian forefathers.
11. Oh, how many fat camels have they given away
And horses whose manes are braided in the pasture!
12. The south he attacked, east, and west, too,
And of his raid to al-Wudijân much is related.
13. He rushed down on them before they departed for the settlers' land
And the far al-Bîri gave shelter to their fleeing herds.

539[k] The poet was a negro accompanying a trade caravan from Irak to Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd; the reciter, 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd.

Verse 1. *Mezhebe* or *mezwede* are bags in which food needed on the journey is carried by the camels. 2. *Šejb el-rawâreb* are camels with gray or white hair. From continuous sweating the hair covered by the cushion on which the rider rests his feet becomes white. *Hakub* is the breast girth, a rope of camel's hair which secures the saddle. When a long fatiguing journey causes the camel to lose its hump, the saddle shifts to and fro and the breast girth with it. 3. In the settlements the host sits on a rug and leans against a cushion. 4. *'Arkûb* is a slope, or a steep, rocky hillside. On roads leading across such slopes the merchants keep a sharp lookout for robbers who frequent such places. The camels often stumble, the loads on their backs lose their balance, and while the guides are picking up the fallen parcels, putting them back, and pushing the animals into the road again, robbers often take advantage of the disorder to make a successful attack on the caravan. Muḥammad eben Rašîd cleared the slopes from this pest, thus continuing the work begun by his father, 'Abdallâh, founder of the power wielded by the Eben Rašîd house. 5. The kin of Eben Rašîd hails from the Ẓijârme clan. 7. Gathering fuel on the plains and in the mountains for the camp or town of Eben Rašîd is a task left to the *serfa*, members of the despised clans. 8. *Jekûbbeb*, he examines thoroughly, is used of a gazelle standing on some high point and keeping guard over the grazing flock. On sighting a suspicious object it looks at it with the same attention as the women look at Eben Rašîd and the members of his family. *Mištebeh* is a man who claims to be highborn and who is considered as such by many people, while in reality there is a [554 582] blot of some kind on his descent. No honest Bedouin, even the poorest, would give him his daughter for a wife. He seeks a grandee of doubtful origin like himself and marries his daughter. 9. To the daughters of the house of Eben Rašîd nothing is too costly. They can pick out at the merchant's the best and most expensive dress goods. They never suffer from hunger or thirst, and to obtain a drink of milk need not wait longingly till the herdsmen drive in the camels for watering from a distant pasture. *'Arîb* is a pasture from which the camels are not driven home every evening. This

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is why the camp is without milk. Not before the fifth or sixth day, when the she-camels must be watered, can the women and girls drink as much fresh milk as they like. 10. *Mardîb* are spears ornamented below the blades each with a little wreath of ostrich feathers called *ṣulub*. 11. It is a custom with Eben Rašîd to offer a she-camel and a mare to every guest of distinction. *Debâdîb* are thoroughbred she-camels, which have been grazing for some time and are well rested. *Ma'âder* are pastures reserved for horses exclusively, usually in valleys shut in by steep slopes, where they can be easily guarded and defended. 12. In the territory of al-Wudiján, as the eastern half of northern Arabia south of the ridge of al-Bišri is called, are the camping grounds of the 'Amârât and Dahâmše, who remove in summer to the right and left banks of the middle Euphrates — that is to the east, although this march of theirs is called *ṭarrîb* (a going to the west). *Afwa* signifies the sudden swoop of a bird of prey. 539[K] [221]

In Honor of Bender, Prince of the Šammar

The enthronement of Bender, oldest son of Prince Talâl, as prince of the Šammar in 1869 was announced to all divisions of that tribe by special messengers who sang the following verse, composed by Râšed al-Hağli:

Já min yebaššer aš-šammar bağ bender
w-an-nâs ḥubleh min ṣala abûh ṭarlih.

Oh, who will tell the Šammar the glad news that Bender has become their prince?
For he was already esteemed by men because of the fame his father had before him.

For this verse Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd, who had overthrown Bender, sent Râšed to prison for three mon'ths.

Muḥammad Eben 'Arfağ in al-Ğowf Contemplates a Journey to Ḥâjel

1. *Âh w-'ezâh min ğifnen ğufa'*
ğarhadij an-nowmi min barden şerim
2. *[illegible]*
we-tḥallab w-eltelel ḥanni ḥağim

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3. *ǧakaren bard aš-šita 'aṣran maṣa*
inǧǧat eḍ-ḍinja w-ǧennāt an-na'im
4. *elja 'aṭṭna ibāṭ w-ḥarr semmah*
'end ahalna čunnah ajjām al-ḥamim
5. *low teḥalbaṣ waḳtena farraǧt li*
bel-mnādi w-al-waḥj ḥaza-l-kelim
6. *li ma' al-wejlān ḥowǧa' fāṭeren li*
min saṭarha tistafeš ḥowā al-ḥamim
7. *aṣl abūha min 'omān w-ummah*
waṣmaha al-meṣzel 'ala warč jetim
8. *mā jenāš ma'ḍar rāsah al-'aṣa*
ṣej'arijje mu'arrasa na'am an-nedim
9. *al-merāfek w-al-'aṣīd w-sowraha*
ḍāl ḍa min wesī' ḍa'an ḍa ǧerim
10. *mā ḥala nowṣat muzajjer wirčaha*
ler-radīf muḥaṣṣara raiken ḥadīm
11. *čenn 'ajnaha 'aju ǧamsen jowm tabdi*
jowm taḳlobha čenna 'aju al-'eḍīm
12. *ǧabbarow bah w-a'ǧebathom jowm ǧatna*
w-'eḍtaha billāh min 'aju ar-raǧīm
13. *ettečel billāh erkabha w-semm*
w-a'tepem billāh jaḳāk al-čerim
14. *raḳḳedah lejlān w-aṭ-ṭāleṭ 'aḳāk*
'enda-hal ǧubba w-low 'oḳb al-'atim
15. *w-ap-ṣubḥ aṭ-ṭāleṭ w-fejden teltefet lah*
min wara mambūz warčāha meẓīm
16. *w-al-'ān ar-rābe' bēlret 'azwaten li*
meṣṣāna [illegible]
17. *ǧoppahom li bis-saldīm w-ḳil inhom*
ḥājeren bel-ǧowf w-al-mar' wahīm.

1. Ah, who can bear this! Snatched from my eyelid was
My weakening slumber by the sharp cold.
2. My reason was going. I weakened, began to writhe,
Turned from side to side, and bound myself round as
if [my bone] were broken.
3. The women talked of the cold of rainy season in years
past,
They said that it was a joy of this world and paradise.
4. When the *ibāṭ* appeared, among our kinsfolk
Its poison was hot, as the days of hot baths.

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5. When our time expires, he who calls will dissolve my sorrows, 539x
And that sound will set at rest him who now speaks.
6. I have a fleet old she-camel grazing now with al-Wejlân's herd,
She gayly shakes her head but can be led like any thoroughbred.
7. Her father came from 'Omân, and her mother was marked
On the thigh with a spindle only.
8. To the cheek of her head the stick will not reach;
Hot-blooded and tame, as dear as a comrade, she is.
9. If thou observest her stretched knee, shoulder, and breastbone
The first is distant from the second, but this to the third
10. How prettily she lifts her fat, short hips, [is near.
On which a tiny space is left for one more rider, and how admirable is her whole shape.
11. Her hidden eye is like the eye of the rising sun,
But if thou strikest her, it is like the eye of a hero provoked.
12. With eager looks they all gazed at her and desired her as soon as she came to us.
And in Allâh's care I placed her against the evil eye of him who was stoned.
13. Put thyself in Allâh's care, mount her and call on Allâh's name,
Trust in Allâh and the Most Gracious will protect thee.
14. Grant her two nights' sleep, and on the third night thou wilt dine
With the people of the oasis of Ǧubba, even if thou arrivest there at dark.
15. On the third morning Fejd will be on the lookout for her
And will lie behind her hump.
16. And the fourth supper will be in the land of my kinsfolk;
And may the court decide, if thy leather belt thou wilt [not burst.
17. My greetings give them and say
That one forgotten dwells in al-Ǧowf on a poor pasture.

The poet was Muḥammad eben 'Arfeǧ âl 'Ali; the reciters 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd, and Ǧwâd al-'Âni. Muḥammad eben 'Arfeǧ was the representative in the settle-

639 ments of the oasis of al-Ǧowf of Eben ʿAli, Prince of Ḥâjel. He was not comfortable there. Although al-Ǧowf is protected against both the north and west winds, Muḥammad complained of the severe cold and wished to return to Ḥâjel. He meant to make the trip on his old but tried she-camel; in three days he would reach Ǧubba, a settlement lying about 230 kilometers south-southeast on the road to Ḥâjel; he would leave Ǧubba after midnight and on the fourth day reach Ḥâjel about supper time. Thus he meant to cover the distance of 320 kilometers in four days and half a night. It should be born in mind that this route extended for about 280 kilometers over sand drifts and that therefore he had to sleep out two nights.

[513] Verse 1. *Ǧarhadij*, destroyer, is said of sleep because it tends to weaken a man and to make him feel wretched. 4. *Šbâṭ* corresponds to our February. A north wind makes not only the inhabitants of al-Ǧowf but also those of Ḥâjel shiver with cold, as I myself have experienced. Muḥammad exaggerates in order to give more than due praise to Ḥâjel. 5. *Al-munâdi*, the crier, the commander, was the prince of Ḥâjel, to whom the settlements of al-Ǧowf belonged. The prince [233] could summon his governor to Ḥâjel. 6. In the neighborhood of al-Ǧowf there is no camel pasture. What grass and perennials grow there are cut by the settlers and dried for hay that they may have fodder for their own cattle and for the animals of their guests and also to sell to the trade caravans. It is necessary to drive the camels fifteen kilometers out before even a sparse pasturage is found. Any of the settlers who possesses a good she-camel places it under the care of a reliable Bedouin camping with his clan in the district of al-Ǧowf and sends for it a few days before he desires to depart. Muḥammad's she-camel was grazing with the herd of the Âl Wejlân Bedouins. A spirited, well-rested she-camel often stretches her neck backwards, catches the rider's dress with her lips, and touches him with her head. 7. From ʿOmân 439 thoroughbred camels are imported. Every tribe, every clan 231 brands its camels with marks commonly called *wasm*. Each 422 brand again has a name of its own. The brand of Muḥammad's camel is called *mejzel*, owing to its resemblance to a spindle. 8 means that the camel's neck is very long. 9. When kneeling, 539 the she-camel's front knees are extended far forward; her shoulders are drawn back and nearly reach the breastbone,

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which rests on the ground. *Dâl* stands for *dâlek*, that. 10. To get up on her legs a kneeling she-camel must go through three motions. First she lifts her breasts and kneels on her forelegs; this is called *tankaz*. Then she lifts her back, *nonṣa*, supporting herself on the toes of the hindlegs; the verb used for this action is *tanûz*; finally she gets up on all fours, *tafûr*. A *radîf* is a person who sits behind the saddle, holding on to its rear knob. This rear part of the animal's back is very short, as the hips fall away sharply to the tail. 12. The she-camel was brought to Prince Âl 'Ali as a gift, and he again presented her to his governor, Muhammad. *Šabbarow* indicates that they examined her thoroughly for any possible defects. If a subordinate chief brings a gift to his prince and it is found on examination to have a defect of any kind, he injures himself more than if he had given nothing at all. Such a gift the slaves then keep for themselves, telling the prince that the chief has only brought what he could best spare, because nobody wanted to buy it. To prevent his she-camel from being bewitched, Muhammad recommended her to Allâh's care. 13. *Sumu* stands for *semmi*, name or call [Allâh's name]; they say: "*Bismi-llâh*, in Allâh's name," in order to place the camel under Allâh's care. 15. Ġaw Fejd lies on the road south of Ġubba; Fejd therefore at sunrise was already to the north. *Mambûz warrêha* is the fat hump of a she-camel. *Mambûz* is often used instead of *senam*, camel's hump. Hence the verse:

Jâ râčebeu min fouk mambûz aẓ-ẓuhr
hw meurat alli wâheren žerâjibeh.

O thou who rides: a fat-humped camel
Desired by one who goes to his kin!

The larger and fatter the hump, the longer will the camel endure. If the journey is difficult and no good pasture is found, its waning strength is replaced from the fat accumulated in the hump. After using this up the animal becomes so weak as to be unable to rise. Then it may be months before it fully recovers. 16. *Barîm* was used only for the sake of the rime instead of the correct *ḥakw*, meaning a belt of from four to seven leather strips worn by men on their bare bodies. The *barîm* is worn by women. He will enjoy the supper given him by his relatives so much that those strips will burst

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539[K] *A Chief, Imprisoned by the Turks at Ḥama', Anticipates His Liberation by the 'Aḳejl*

1. *Jeḳûl farḥûd w-hw bel-ḥabes maʿtûf*
   wa' wejli mix ẓejm alli ǧera' li
2. *já bedd má jiżfen beṇa-l-heǧen bezlûf*
   jebṛen hit ḳabl 'aśra lejáli
3. *w-eḥda'aš denni lehen kill maššûf*
   niḳṭa' bihen šaṭṭ al-frât az-zelâli
4. *w-eṇa'aš jirma bihen ḥezzet aš-šowf*
   amma-l-meśâre' w-amma sidren 'awâli
5. *já má ḥala en hafen aš-šejḫ ma'rûf*
   we-zbejdet alli râs mabnâha 'âli
6. *telfi 'ala-l-ḳuṣmân rab'an bihom nowf*
   awlâd 'ali murḫaṣa kill ṛâli
7. *sláḥahom ǧowzen 'ala-l-warč marṣûf*
   daḳḳ al-franǧi miṭl neǧm al-maḥâli
8. *malbûsahom máhûd jiṛal 'amal ṣûf*
   wa-rǧâlahom bajjenin swât al-ǧemâli
9. *zebn al-ṛarib elja [illegible] 'ala-š-šowf*
   al-ǧejš ḥâżer w-bel-fa'al je'tena li
10. *má ḳilt ḥâḍa ílla-na biẓ-ẓil maʿtûf*
    'ejâl jâtûna ḥin as-swâli
11. *maǧhûdahom jeddûh w-lâ hom hal aḥsûf*
    má jiṣir miṭl al-jowm kûdhom ḳubâli.

1. Thus speaks Farhûd in the prison fettered:
   "Alas, woe is me for the bondage into which I have fallen!
2. Most surely the she-camels will leave with us on the day
   In order to reach Hît before the tenth night. [appointed,
3. An air-filled skin have ready for each on the eleventh day,
   For on the skin we shall cross the clear stream of the Euphrates.
4. On the twelfth with the first daybreak to them will appear
   The caravanseary either of al-Meśâre' or of ['Alêb as-Sidr] High Sidr Tree.
5. Oh, how sweet if they may fly to al-Šejḫ Ma'rûf
   And Zobejde whose monument rises on high,
6. And reach the men from al-Ḳaṣîm, among whom are famed
   'Alî's descendants, who find cheap all that is costly.
7. Their arms are a double pistol secured to the hip,
   Made in Europe, shining like stars;

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8. Their dress fine cloth made of the best wool.
Their warriors are like pack camels;
9. They protect the stranger if only at first sight he has asked their help.
Their riders on camels are ready and by deeds they prove their noble minds.
10. I would not say this, if I were not fettered in a narrow cell:
The youths will come to us at the desired time.
11. Their hard task they will accomplish, for they are not fickle men;
It shall not be otherwise — in a month from this day surely they will be with me.'"

The poet, Farhûd, a chief of the 'Amârât, was caught by the Pasha of Syria in the market place of Ḥama' and was imprisoned. His friends, 'Aḳejl of the 'Ali kin, who at that period escorted commercial caravans from Bagdad to Syria, sent him word that on a certain day they would liberate him and bring him back to Bagdad. Overjoyed with hope, Farhûd describes in his poem the manner in which the 'Aḳejl would carry out their plan. Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣîb recited it to me.

Verse 2. First they would ride from Ḥama' east to the Euphrates and then along its right bank to Hît, covering about 40 kilometers a day. 3. From Hît during another day along the right bank they would make 55 kilometers; the next day they would ford the river opposite the station Rabb. *Maḥûf* is a skin boat or small boat. 4. *Ḥezzet aš-šowf* or *sâ'at aš-šowf* signifies the first break of the day, when objects can just be distinguished. Al-Meḥâre' and 'Alûb as-Sidr were road taverns between al-Anbâr and Bagdad. 5. The monuments erected to aš-Šeḫ Ma'rûf and as-Sitt Zobejde, the wife of Harun ar-Rashîd, are on the right bank of the Tigris, where the 'Aḳejl have always lived and still live. 6. Ḳuṣmân is the name given by those of the 'Aḳejl who hail from al-Ḳaṣîm. This poem is known to every 'Aḳejli.

A Chief Is Reproached for His Extortions

1. *Dâren biha al-ḫaḳrân wuš meḳ'adi bah*
elja ġirt ġâren w-'an kawa'-n-nafs mardûd
2. *jâ sfûḳ thammes 'elleti w-ente ġîḫah*
kazzajt ḫowmi kazz ḫaffen be'arfûd

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3. *hâḍi ṭṣadderha w-hâḍi teǧîbah*
w-hâḍi ṭṣadderha 'an al-ḥaḳḳ beškûd
4. *čam sâbeǯen jâ šejḫ ḥenna neǧîbah*
neǧîbeha jâ sfûḳ w-ḥarb maždûd.

1. O camp where conceit reigns! how can that be my resi- [dence,
When I should be a neighbor without freedom?
2. O Sfûḳ, thou tearest my wound anew, thou art its wolf;
Thou shakest my followers as the hand shakes a bunch of dates.
3. This claim thou settlest, again thou bringest another,
And this plea thou rejectest in spite of law, though witnesses are here.
4. How many victorious runners, O chief, we must yet bring to thee,
And bring them we will, O Sfûḳ, and the flame of the war still grows.

The poet was a chief of a smaller Šammar clan camping in Mesopotamia; the reciter, Prince an-Nûri. Sfûḳ âl Ǧarba', a Šammar head chief in Mesopotamia, arbitrarily oppressed the tribes and clans subject to him, extorted payments of all kinds from them, and at the slightest sign of resistance raided them as if they were enemies. In consequence a number of the smaller chiefs with their followers, *ḫowm* or *ǧemâ'a*, then moved away from his territory and encamped as neighbors with other tribes. Our poet had to move too, but fearing to lose, as a neighbor of a mean foreign chief, his personal liberty, *ḥawa'-n-nafs*, he reproached Sfûḳ in his poem with driving him to rebellion by his extortions and with compelling him to emigrate.

Verse 2. *'Arǧûd* is the strong stalk from which a bunch of dates hangs. When the stalk is struck with the palm of the hand the ripe dates fall to the ground. In a manner similar to this did Sfûḳ shake our poet's followers, extorting from them various payments and dues.

A Rebellious Leader Appealed to by the Poet to Make Peace with His Chief

1. *Já smejr eben zejdân wuš lak bel-abîdî*
wuš lak brub'en má lak w-allâh jaṭî'ûn
2. *wuš lak bnakl as-seyf taḥrîk bidbâdî*
elja 'âd má bis-seyf rûsen teḫuṣûn

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3. *elja 'âd mâ bil-bejt tis'în ḥarrâs*
tis'în ma' tis'în w-elfen je'axxûn
4. *'abdalčerîm ad-dâbb lis-sâk nahhâš*
en hazz rab'ak jâ-ben zejdân jâtûn
5. *w-allâh mâ tek'od meriḥen 'ala frâš*
w-lâ tehteni bin-nowm miṯl all beh ğnûn
6. *elja 'âd mâ lak ṯin ṭenâjak nattâš*
tara-l-laḥem mâ yinneteš ṛejr bisnûn
7. *sejfen belejje rğâl mâ jeṯî hauwâš*
mâr aṣ-ṣulḥ aḥsan mimmâ tkûlûn.

1. O Smejr eben Zejdân! what profitest thou from thy vain efforts?
What of thy suite, who, by Allâh! does not obey thee?
2. What hast thou of the sword-bearer, whom thou canst buy for cattle,
If with the sword thou cuttest off no heads?
3. If ninety guards are not in the tent,
Ninety with ninety and a thousand will rise against thee.
4. A poisonous snake is 'Abdalčerîm, biting the calf;
If he beckons, thy suite, O Eben Zejdân! will instantly reach him.
5. By Allâh! thou wilt not sit on the rug in peace
Nor sleep in health; thou wilt be as one possessed by a demon.
6. If thou hast no teeth that can bite,
See, meat cannot be eaten without teeth.
7. A rebel will not obey a saber without men;
Hence peace is the best of all ye now relate.

The poet was one of the Šammar subject to 'Abdalčerîm, camping in Mesopotamia; the reciter, Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣîb. Against the chief 'Abdalčerîm of the Ĝarba' house his kinsman Smejr eben Zejdân rose in rebellion. At first he gained many followers by distributing his numerous herds, *dbâš*, among them, but soon one man after another left him, when they found that Smejr did not know how to command. For this reason he is appealed to by the poet to make peace.

Verse 1. *Abâš* or *balnâšt* are vain efforts, enterprises, aspirations; *leh tebellel ḥâlak* means "why dost thou tire thyself uselessly?" 4. *Dâbb* is any kind of long snake. 5. *W-lâ tehteni* or *w-lâ tehtenni* means: "but thou wilt not feel easy; thou wilt sigh as one possessed by an evil spirit."

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539[K] *An Anxious Father Sends a Message to His Two Sons Absent in the Ḥawrân*

1. *Jâ râčeben min fowḳ ʿašran ʿala-l-lown*
   ši'len jehâwezen az-zelle ḫawâti
2. *ʿašran ʿala ʿašran ahalhen jetbârûn*
   miṯl al-ǧerîd reḳâbahen ǧâsijâti
3. *feǧǧ al-menâḫer ṭûlahen teḳel mâzûn*
   ḳubb az-zlû' metûnhen nâbijâti
4. *jâ ṛowâ čân entom leḥawrân tebṛûn*
   jâ muwaffeḳîn al-ḫejr ġullow wṣâti
5. *ḫoḏow čalâmen beṣ-ṣanâdîḳ maknûn*
   čalâm aḥla min ḥalîb al-fetâti
6. *ballâh ʿalejkom rajjeẓû širb ṛaljûn*
   elja mâ naḥoṭṭ al-ḥeber fowḳ ad-dwâti
7. *w-ḫûfow ʿalejhen elja nawejtu temeddûn*
   w-ḫoṭṭû ḳarâmîš al-ḫala' al-wâlmâti
8. *ḫoṭṭow al-ǧedi jeminakom lâ tetîhûn*
   w-eṛ'ow an-naʿâjem saba'aten bajjenâti
9. *sallem ʿala-lli maddadûni w-ḫallûn*
   sejf w-ḏwardi nûr ʿajni šefâti
10. *ḳil lahom abûkom ḥâlefen ṛejr tâtûn*
    w-en mâ lefejtu ḥâlefen ṛejr jâti
11. *en čân ṣejdak žillet al-mâl wa-ḫzûn*
    mâ ttawwel al-ʿomr al-ḳuṣîr al-ṛanâti
12. *dinjâk mâ dâmat lal-âjde w-saʿdûn*
    w-tiffen ʿala-d-dinja warûḥa-l-mamâti.

1. O thou who ridest on one of ten [camels] of the same [color,
   Light gray, which shy at their sisters' shadow;
2. All alike are big with young, therefore their owners [follow them.
   Their necks are hard as bucklers,
3. Their chests broad; of equal height they are, as if they had been weighed;
   They have arched ribs and bulging shoulders.
4. O youths! if ye desire to go to the Ḥawrân,
   O ye who will succeed! deliver my message.
5. Take my word, in boxes conceal it,
   A word sweeter than young camel's milk.
6. By Allâh! I ask you to halt the time to smoke a pipe
   Till we put ink into the inkpot.

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7. Order all the burdens to be taken up when ye resolve to go on,
   And load the camels with everything that in the desert is needed and that is ready.
8. Keep the North Star on your right, so ye may not lose the way,
   And watch the seven stars of the Great Bear that are visible.
9. Greet also those who went away from me and deserted me,
   Sejf and Šwardi, the light of my eye, my healing.
10. Thus to them speak: "Your father swears that ye must return,
    And if ye come not to him, he swears that he must come to you.
11. If thou toilest because thou art poor or to gain treasures
    [Know that] wealth does not lengthen a short life;
12. The world thou livest in lasted forever neither for al-Âjde nor Sa'dûn,
    So it is best to spit on a world beyond which there is death."

A certain Šammari had two sons, Sejf and Šwardi, who went to the Ḥawrân to earn money. This is done every year by many people from the settlements of inner Arabia. They generally join the Rwala in their march to Syria, which takes place in the latter part of June. In the Ḥawrân they help as shepherds, reapers, or threshers, receive grain or clothing for their work, and return home again with the Rwala. Some stay abroad only two months, others several years. As the sons of our Šammari had been a long time away, their anxious father composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm. When a chief sends out a mission he takes care that all ride camels of the same color. The prince of the Rwala sends out an embassy of this kind to the Ḥawrân every year, before he comes there himself. He sends letters and verbal messages to the elders of various settlements, to certain officials, and to his confidants, in order to assure himself of an undisturbed sojourn and of plenty of supplies. Our Šammari happened to see this party, consisting of ten youths on ten pale-gray she-camels, this color being the most favored in these animals. They resembled each other like sisters.

539x Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârû* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Tekel,* [231] instead of the correct *tekûl,* "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Muwaffekin al-ḫejr,* has the same meaning as *šûjefin al-ḫejr,* perceiving luck. *Ṣullû* for *waṣṣelû* or *ṣelû,* "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Ṛowâ,* or *'ejâl,* indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [H15] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣandûḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjeẓû, waḳḳefû, waḳfû* or *ta'awwaḳû,* mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṛaljûn* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. "*Ḥûfû 'alejhen*" [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarâwiš al-ḫala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wâlwâṭ.* 8. The road from al-Ǧowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem sebe'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjâs is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifeḳ tribe.

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A Bedouin Yearns to Live in the Settled Country

1. *Lejtani min al-ḥaẓrân w-askon bdîre*
   bdîreten nabtah basâtîn wa-nḫîl
2. *biren wasî' w-žammteh mustadîre*
   w-adni 'alejh ar-reǧǧa' al-kunnas al-ḥîl
3. *wa-dlijena mâ žîl bihen ṣafîre*
   w-sâ' al-frûṛ muǧaddefât aš-šaḫâlîl
4. *w-akûl ḫal' lowlâ jâ nḫîl al-čefîre*
   mâ kw ṛala' bemkarkamât aš-šemâîl
5. *manâḫen mâ jireṭ 'alejna ma'îre*
   w-tinṣâk min ba'ad ar-raǧâl al-marâmîl
6. *neǧren w-miḥmâs 'ala ǧâl čire*
   w-adni dlâl aš-šâm hen w-al-fanâǧîl
7. *ḳalbi jwedd alli ṣaḫîfen ẓamireh*
   aṣ-ṣâḫb alli waddar al-ḳalb tawṭîr
8. *jâ ṛoṣen mowz nâ'emen bižebîre*
   râseh 'ala ṭall w-ǧiṭ'eh 'ala sîl
9. *'aḍrû bah mâr tawha ṣafîre*
   jâ mâl jâ ṛoṣen aš-šebâb at-temâḫîl
10. *nakdeh zbejdi lebbeten bemḫîre*
    jâ nazz mirxen muǧaddefât al-ḥemâlîl.

1. Oh, may I be of the settlers and live on lands cultivated,
   In regions where gardens and palms thrive.
2. To a large well with a round footboard
   I would bring tried, fat, sterile she-camels.
3. Our buckets no one would call small,
   And when emptied they would pour forth water in floods.
4. Thus I say, how sweet it were if many palm trees
   With yellow luxuriant twigs would sprout.
5. If we had a house hospitable, not to be ashamed of,
   Sighted from afar by men who have consumed their supplies,
6. And a mortar with pan for roasting coffee by a heap of red-hot coals,
   And Damascus pots with cups at hand.
7. My soul would desire a slender-waisted
   Mistress who would cut out my heart.
8. O twig of the gentle banana in the orchard
   With its head moistened by the dew and its roots by the creek.

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539x 9. They pleaded: "But she is so small yet,"
O my dear! O twig to whom for its youth respite must be given!

10. Her breast is a *zbejdi* growing in an overflowed vale,
The drops of sweat of the black clouds, pouring forth a rain shower.

The poet was al-Herbîd eben Swejd of the Singâra tribe belonging to the Šammar in Neǧd; the reciters, 'Eḅi, a Šammari serving as a herdsman with the Rwala, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓib, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. The poet had several times visited the settlements lying on the lower Euphrates to buy grain. Being greatly pleased with his stay there, he longed to live in the settled country permanently, and to this wish he gives expression in our poem. He would have liked to own a large palm grove and an extensive orchard, which he would irrigate from a spacious well by a big leather bag with the help of fat she-camels. On the palms he desired many yellow twigs to sprout, growing into bunches of dates. There was to be a common house for entertaining guests, with a coffee set. Then he would marry a very young girl, for whom he would have to wait some time yet.

Verse 1. *Dire* is the name given by the Bedouins to the tilled territory where they go for their supplies and the inhabitants of which pay them tribute. 2. *Žammateh mustedire* signifies a round hard footpath trodden by the animal raising water. *Ar-reǧǧa' al-kuwwas al-ḥil* are she-camels accustomed to turning a flush wheel and not used for breeding purposes; they graze in the garden. 3. On a large flush wheel there often hang twenty buckets made of either burnt clay or leather, *dlije*, which are emptied into a trough opening into either a reservoir or an irrigation ditch. *Muǧeddefât al-ḥeḍâl* are such large buckets from which the water pours in a flood. 4. *Mkarkamât al-ḥeṣâl* are the yellow twigs growing luxuriantly in the top of the palm tree from which, later on, bunches of dates will hang. 5. In the settlements a certain room is usually set aside for the common guests, where they live during their sojourn and where they also receive food sent them from the different houses in succession. This guest room should bear a sign on the outside, so that it may be found easily by the traveler. 7. *Weǧǧar al-ḳalb tawǧîr* implies that he would marry, for love, a girl who would cut

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out his heart as if with scissors or a knife, and keep it. 539x
8. *Žebíre* is a well cultivated orchard in which the banana bush thrives. His beloved must resemble a banana branch which grows from a strong stalk, is thin in the middle, but spreads out towards the top where it bears the ripe or ripening fruit. 10. *Zbejdi* are truffles, small, round and of delicate taste. *Mahíre* is a shallow basin fertilized by evaporating surface water. In the *ṣejf* season rain, *ḥamálil*, pours down from the dark clouds copiously but is of no long duration. It is said that after such rains the soil sweats and the drops of sweat appear in the shape of mushrooms. A mushroom emerging from the ground is called *nazz*.

A Ṣlubi Yearns to Be a Bedouin

1. *Já-lláh ṭalabtak ṛafran w-ǧenna*
   w-'usa naṣíbi 'enda mawláji mábiḥ
2. *sallem ǧwáden 'end-ahalna mupanna*
   ḍer'ánaha jaḥden aḍ-ḍerf as-sebábiḥ
3. *af'an la'ajni ǧill ḥalfáthenna*
   w-'aláǧeren terfa' leḥess al-maṣálih
4. *af'an w-alḥeǧ al-'úd fenna*
   elja ḍall 'aláẓ al-bnijját aṣ-ṭamámiḥ.

1. O Allâh! pray, forgiveness and paradise grant me;
   May my fate, as willed by my Lord, be made clear to me.
2. Greet for me the steed which our kin knows,
   Whose forelegs imitate the swimmer's motion.
3. I long to stab, for the sake of the eyes of the large milking camels
   And the camels big with young, returning when they hear the voice of the careful herdsmen.
4. I long to stab and strike with the spear cunningly,
   When fear fills the heart of the hero of the women who are weary of their husbands.

The poet was an unknown Ṣlubi; the reciter, Nawwáf eben an-Núri eben Ša'lán. A certain Ṣlubi, or member of the despised Šlejb tribe, hired himself out as a free servant, *fedawi*, to the chief Eben Ġandal of the Rwala, fondly hoping to become a rider and warrior like any Rwejli. This wish he expressed

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539x [231] Verse 1. *Mawlâji*, my Lord, is Allâh, by whom the fate of every man is foreordained. 2. The Ṣlejb come in contact with the Bedouins when they camp in the inner desert, and thus the poet's relatives had the opportunity of seeing the horse which he, as a *fedawi*, was now to ride. 3. *Ḥalfât* are she-camels which are milked after giving birth to young. *'Aššâjer* is the name given to the same she-camels, when, after ten or twelve months, they are led to the male camel and become pregnant again. Then they cease to give milk. When a she-camel becomes pregnant, she is called *'aśra*; if she remains barren, *ḥâjel*. On the return from the pasture a good herdsman constantly shouts a certain phrase in order to direct his camels, so that they will not wander astray with others. 4. *Fenns* are the various methods and feints used in throwing spears, which the Ṣlubi desires to learn. *Aṭ-ṭamâmiḥ* are married women dissatisfied with their husbands and longing for better and braver men. The favorite of such women surpasses all others in bravery, but our Ṣlubi means to stand fast even when the favorite becomes afraid and flees.

A Bedouin Warns the Ṣlubi Against Changing His Vocation

Our Ṣlubi spoke like a true Rwejli, but his comrade, a Rwejli serving with Eben Ġandal, answered in this manner:

1. *Jâ-bu-l-ḥala ḥaṭṭejt bel-ḳalb wexne*
   kubb al-ḥejâla jâ mnuwwi-s-sanâniḥ
2. *kârak bwejten bel-ḥala lâ tzel 'annek*
   we-ẓlâb ǧiddak ḳaṭeran aṭ-ṭanâbiḥ
3. *jâ-lli ḥamirak kill resses wafannek*
   tarfa ḥadâmeh bel-ḥaṣab w-ap-galâṭiḥ.

1. O dweller in the barren desert! thou hast laid up sorrow
   in thy heart.
   Do thou no longer ride a horse, O thou maker of leather
   patches for elbow and knees!
2. Thy work is in the small tent in the barren desert, so
   leave neither it
   Nor the dogs inherited from thy grandfather, the dogs
   who always bark.

539[x] 3. O thou, whose donkeys have trampled down every fountain where they have drunk,
What is destroyed thou must repair with timber and stone.

The Rwejli warns the Ṣlubi not to change his vocation and urges him to return to his people.

[619] Verse 1. The Rwala call every Ṣlubi Abu-l-Ḥala, the father of the desert, i.e. the dweller in the barren desert. *Al-ḥala* is to the Bedouin any region where his camels cannot subsist in a particular year. But the Ṣlubi remains with his asses and a few goats even in such places. In the plural the Ṣlejb are not called Awlâd al-Ḥala, but Awlâd Ṛânem, owing to their belief that they all have the same progenitor, Ṛânem. The Ṣlubi has laid up sorrow in his heart because he will be disappointed. The word *kubb* is used of spilling dirty water or [229] casting aside a useless occupation. *Zanâṣiḥ* are oval pieces of antelope skin which the Ṣlejb tie over their knees and elbows when crawling after game. They usually cover themselves with the twigs of perennials, giving themselves the appearance of long bushes, and then crawl carefully on their elbows and knees to the herds of gazelles, of antelopes, and even of ostriches. [231] 2. The Ṣlejb keep many common dogs, which guard their flocks [312] against the wolves and hyenas by day and night. 3. They never camp near the large watering places, where they might meet with the Bedouins, whom they avoid as much as possible. However, they know every shallow well in channels filled with coarse sand. In the rainy season the water flows down into the rocky channels, forming after long rains a stream which fills the scorched channel for several days, until the surface water evaporates in the hot sun and only the remainder flows under the coarse sand, filling all the hollows and pits of the rocky bottom. These hollows are known to the Ṣlejb, who shovel away the sand and gravel, wall in the hollow so that it may not sink in, cover it with branches and turf, and then pile on sand, to keep out the sun and hide the water from strangers. When in need of water, they open these hollows, water their donkeys, fill their water bags, and carry them to their tents. The thirsty donkeys frequently trample down the water hole which they have just emptied, compelling the Ṣlubi to repair it before the coming of new rains, if his family and his flock are not to suffer from thirst.

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§39* *The Poet, Bitten by a Mad Dog and Abandoned by His Kin, Laments to a Friend*

1. *Já wenneti wennet ṛarîb ad-daráwiš*
   ḳaṭṭî' al-ḥáǧǧ alli 'ala-d-dár ḫalli
2. *já ḥmûd 'azzed li w-ani ṭeḥet berðiš*
   w-lá min ḥali wledat ḥalálen faṭan li
3. *ana 'aziz al-ṛalṭ low žil má biš*
   al-arba'în muẓarreben ḥetnašen li
4. *amši 'ala 'ajn al-'arab čann' má biš*
   amši w-low má ḫáṭri musfehel li
5. *al-ma'ana já ǧáwid 'áfin ḥali léš*
   nelḥûn miṯl al-kalb wa' lá čenn' ḥalen li
6. *tamm al-wa'ad já ǧwád w-bânat ṭwâriš*
   al-jowm w-al-jowmên má-ni-tmalli.

1. This is my lament, the lament of a strange dervish
   Parted from the pilgrim throng and left on the camping ground.
2. O Ḥmûd, take care of me who have been ensnared,
   For among my kin is no honest man who would think of me.
3. I am bitten by a mad dog, though they say nothing ails me.
   Near is the fortieth day appointed for me.
4. I could walk before the Arabs as if nothing ailed me,
   Walk I could, though my entrails were filled with unrest.
5. What should it mean, O daring one! that my kin shun me?
   Like a dog, driving me away; ah! they cannot be my kin.
6. My time is drawing to its end, O hero, and the symptoms
   In a day or two I shall no more enjoy life. [appear;

The poet, a member of the Dahâmše tribe, had been bitten by a mad dog. His relatives dragged him to a water hole, gave him salt, flour, and dried dates to last him forty days, and threatened him with death should he leave the place and come near them before the forty days had expired. About that time the rabies is supposed to declare itself. The injured man had to stay in the desert all by himself. His faithful comrade, Ḥmûd, was on a raid at that time. Hearing on his return of the misfortune, *ḫerr*, which had befallen his friend, he rode to him despite his kinsfolk's warning of the contagion, thirty-eight days having passed since the accident. The sick man is supposed to have composed this poem for Ḥmûd. The reciter was Ṭâreš eben Melfi ad-Dahmali.

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Verse 1. The wandering dervishes come from China, India, and Persia to Irak, where they join the moving clans or the pilgrims, so that they may reach al-Medina or Mecca. The Bedouins look after them, passing them on from tribe to tribe, but the pilgrims pay no attention to them. If a dervish is stricken with disease, they leave him lying on the camping ground without any scruples as to his fate, which is usually death. 2. *Walad al-ḥalál* is an honest, godly man. 4. *Musfekel* has the same meaning as *mukajjef*, in good spirits, happy. 6. *Ṭwáriḥ* or *'alájem* are symptoms of disease. 539x 609

RIDDLES

The Rwala love to solve riddles, *ḥubáwe*, clothing them always in poetical garb. The following were told me by Ġwâd al-'Ân: the third one having been known also to Ḥmâr abu 'Awv . 539x 524

Anšedk 'an sabá' mazmijját
lá jetlhen w-lá jebíhen 'atíšát ǧedídát
kill men miša' miša' bihen alli ḥajj w-alli mát.

I ask thee for seven already named:
They err not, cannot be forgotten, are both old and new,
Whoever walks in them walks in life and in death.

Answer: *Sbá'*, the seven days of the week.

Anšedk 'an ḫamseen ǧill
lá ken ḫejl w-lá ken bil
efnén bidúma w-ṯaláṯen bzil.

About the important five I ask thee —
It is not horses, not camels; —
Two are in the sun and three in the shade.

Answer: *Ṣalawát*, the five prescribed prayers.

Anšedk 'an hí'en salla-l-ḫejl w-an-núk
w-kill al-bwádi bil-maḥabbe sallúha
teḍḥak leh al-bíṭ al-'ajára
sahaf rewk jarmi ḫarúnig al-ḫuṭa' min sumáh.

For a thing that rejoices mares and she-camels I ask thee —
That cheers the whole desert with love;

639x
524 Fair women have smiles for it.
While anxiety for it brings down even the wild foes of
the ḥaṣṣ' from heaven.

Answer: ʿAnaz, progeny, offspring.

Saḥaf rock is grief, sorrowing or anxiety for children. Ǧwād said "ḳardāṣ," Ḥmār "ḳardāṣ." *Ḳardāṣ* means "birds already feathered," thus "adult." *Ḳardāṣ al-ḥaṣṣ'* are the old ḥaṣṣ, sand grouse, who abandon their flights when anxiety for their young seizes them. They nest generally in low plains covered with luxuriant grasses and perennials, the seeds of which furnish the young with their first food. From these nesting places the ḥaṣṣ' often flies as much as a hundred kilometers to watering places. According to Ḥmār *ḳardāṣ al-ḥaṣṣ'* are falcons hunting the ḥaṣṣ'. They too abandon hunting when overcome by anxiety for their young.

A Šarâri who had never seen a goose asked a Rwejli what it looked like and said: "What has it in common with a gazelle?" The answer was: "Its unsteadiness and timidity." "And what with a white antelope?" "The smoothness of its hair and the eye." "What with an ostrich?" "Thin calves and its manner of moving." Then our Šarâri said with glee: "Allâh be praised! now I know what a goose looks like!"

CHAPTER XI

CAMELS

According to a Rwala tradition the Bedouins originally had no camels and the Jews no horses. The Jews camped in the almost inaccessible mountain rifts of the al-Ḥaǧb district in the Ḥeǧâz. No Bedouin would ever visit them, fearing to lose his way and fall into some of the rocky gorges there. But once the Bedouins made a raid on a tribe encamped alongside al-Ḥaǧb. Their guide, a herdsman, claimed knowledge of every path in the whole district; yet even he lost his way among the rocks of the Ḥeǧâz. This impressed on the Bedouins the inhospitality of this territory, and they begged Allâh not to send even their worst enemies there for punishment when they died. The raiders crawled from one ravine into another but could not disentangle themselves from the wild rocks. They ate up everything they had taken with them for the raid, killed some horses, and cooked their flesh, but still could not find their way out to the plain. At last they met a traveler, whom they asked for the nearest camp, and were told that there were some Jews close by. Then the traveler conducted them by a narrow path across isolated crags divided by ravines, till they saw in a large gully shut in by hillsides the black tents of the Jews and before and among them curious animals, such as they had never seen before. The traveler told them they were camels, *bel*. The Bedouins concealed themselves on the heights and after sunrise, leading their horses by the reins, descended into the gully, where they prepared to attack the Jews. These fled in fear on sighting the strangers mounted on animals unknown to them, but their white she-camels escaped even before them. Every pure white she-camel, *waḍḥa*, in the camp broke the tent ropes barring its way and ran to the neighboring gullies, while the she-camels known as *zerḳa*, which are also white but with some black or almost blue hairs, looked at the Bedouins and their horses inquisitively and were captured with ease. Then it was that the Bedouin leader exclaimed: "May Allâh not bless thee! *Id jehdred bil*," and commanded his men

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173 to kill every *serḥa* calf found in the camp. Again led by the traveler, the Bedouins now surrounded the place to which the Jews had fled and robbed them of the she-camels still in their possession. Since that time the Jews have kept no camels, satisfying their needs with sheep and goats but still hoping that the she-camels will return to them. They never tire of making leather buckets for drawing water as well as leather troughs; they fill them with water every Friday and, rapping on them, expect the camels to appear, but in vain, *rafw al-jehūd min al-bel*.

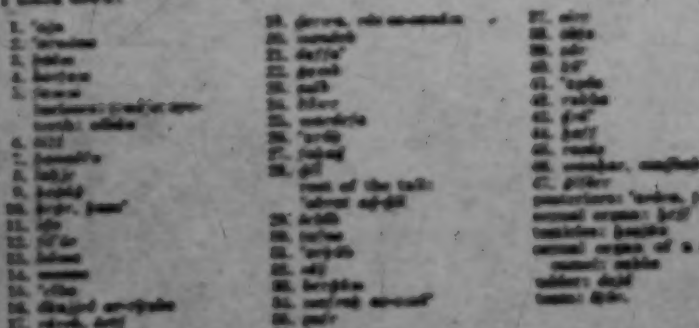
CAMELS OF DIFFERENT AGES AND KINDS

231 *Bel*, a feminine noun, means camels in general. This word is never used in speaking of particular animals. "*Al-bel suḥḥidat*, the camels were captured," is a common saying. Camels belonging to a certain clan or kin are designated by the words *ferā* or *debeā*. For "your camels were captured" the expression is "*ferākom*" or "*debeākom suḥḥid*," for "an attack was made on them," "*ṣār 'alejh*." "*Debeākom wēn wegah*" means "whither are your camels gone?"

Be'ir is the common name for a camel, regardless of sex. The sentence: "Your camel is lost, *lekom be'iren ṣādi*," implies that one animal was lost, without stating whether a he- or she-camel is meant. Up to ten heads the plural is *be'irāt* or *be'rin*; a larger, unspecified number is *abā'er*.

Gemal is the word for a camel between its sixth and twentieth year. A plural of this word is never formed. "How many grown camels (males) have you?" is expressed by the

* Of the names given by the Rwala to the various parts of a camel's body (Fig. 31 I cannot discover:



2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

short sentence "*ʿăm ǧemal ʿendakom*," the answer being: 231
"We have four or nine grown camels, *ʿendana arbaʿa la tisʿa ruḍmel*." Thus instead of the plural of *ǧemal* a different word, *ruḍmel*, is used. A herd of grown camels (males) is

FIG. 36—Diagram of a camel.

never called *raʿijjet al-ǧemal*, but always *raʿijjet ar-reml*. *Remdjel* are male or female camels that carry loads, if they do not number more than ten.

Nâḳa (pl., *wijâḳ*) is used only in speaking of a grown she-camel — that is from her fifth year onwards. In the year in which the *nâḳa* bears a calf she is known as *ḫalfa*, the next year when again led to the bull she is called *ʿâriḍ* (pl., *ʿâḍḍjer*). When seen to be big with young, she is referred to as *liḳḥa* (pronounced *ʿḫaḥḥa*). A sterile *nâḳa* is called *ḥâǧel* (pl., *ḥîl*).

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231 A *ruḥûl* (pl. *ruḥâjel*) is a *nâḳa* which can be used for both riding and carrying lighter loads.

Ḍelûl means solely a riding camel regardless of sex, although the idea of a she-camel predominates. No plural is made from this word, *rôâb* being used for ten or less, while a larger number is expressed by the word *ǧejš*. This may refer, however, to the riding camels and their riders also.

232 Camels are divided into the thoroughbreds, *ḥorr*, and the common kind, *'aṭi*. A camel is considered a thoroughbred only when, on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, it springs from a thoroughbred sire and a thoroughbred dam. If the mother was covered in the absence of trustworthy witnesses, then her calf is not recognized as thoroughbred, as in such a case it is uncertain whether its sire was of pure blood, *mâ jin'aref abûh aṭleḥ mâ ḥu maẓbût*. If a well-shaped she-camel of the common sort is covered by a thoroughbred bull and the same is done with her female descendants, then a she-camel sprung from this line is recognized as a thoroughbred, *ḥorr*, in the fifth, and the male camel in the ninth, generation, *jarǧa' ḥorr 'aḷa tis'a*. The best camel breeds are the *'omânijje, šarârijje, ḥtejmijje*, and *tihijje*, indicating the place of their origin: 'Omân, and the territories of the Šarârât, Ḥtejm, and Tijâha respectively.

231 A stud camel is called *ḥedûde*. The rutting period is the coldest season of the year, from December 11 to January 21. A rutting camel, *jehîš, hâl az-zeml, ḥadir, jehadder* or *jehâder*, is very restless, kicks, hits out with its head, bites, murmurs, and froths at the mouth, *jenabbed* or *taṭla' deritek* (sic). The question is frequently heard among the Bedouins: "When are you going to lead in your she-camels? *mata theddûn babâ-'erkom*," the answer generally being: "We are waiting for a favorable sign on this or that day, *natna al-wajbet al-flânijje we-whedd*." On Monday, Thursday, and Saturday they do not like to lead their she-camels to the bull, for these days are considered the most suitable for undertaking raids, and the Bedouins fear lest with the she-camels the enemy should capture also their young begotten on these days. Therefore they prefer Friday and Sunday, but only with such animals as are unmistakably ready. A she-camel in that condition, *mujasser*, kneels down every little while, is loath to rise, murmurs, *tarṭi*, and as soon as she hears the murmur of a rutting male even breaks her fetters, runs to the bull, kneels, spreads out her

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

hind legs, *tefaḫḫeǧ*, and urinates. No charge is made for leading in, *ǧrâb*, the animal. On the seventh day the she-camel is brought to the camel again. If she refuses to kneel, holds her neck arched, *te'aǧǧed*, neither lifts her tail, *teššiwel*, nor murmurs, it is certain that the seed, *menn*, has acted. Then she is called pregnant, *'aššarat*; up to the forty-fifth day she is known as *me'ǯer*, after that as *lḳaḥa*. 231

She-camels big with young must be watched carefully lest they pasture on injurious plants. The most dangerous plant in this respect is the *kurb*. If a pregnant animal eats much of it a miscarriage, *as'adat*, is sure to follow; she is then called *ṣa'ûd*. Such a camel can be milked only when a calf is standing close by. In the last month of her pregnancy the camel is called *mûṭi* (pl., *mwâṭi*). Then it is again necessary to watch her because of her natural impulse to run away to some deep gully or to hide, *tenza'* or *naza'at*, among crags or sand drifts, there to bear her young. If not found soon by her owner or herdsmen, the calf generally perishes by falling a prey to wild beasts. The place where a camel should parturiate is in front of the tent.

A she-camel carries her young at least twelve months, bears it in February or March, and nurses it a whole year. During the suckling time she is called *ḫalfa*. For the first ninety days the calf is fed on milk only, *jemuṣṣ leben*, which it can have whenever it wishes. During this period it is called *ḫwâr* (pl., *ḫirâa*). Beginning with the season of *al-ḳêẓ* (June-October), during which it is allowed to suck only three times a day and learns to graze, it is known as *maḫlûl* (pl., *maḫâlil*). At the first appearance of fresh grass the calf is weaned and is then called *mafrûd* or *mefarrad* (pl., *mafârid*). Thus a camel is in its second year by the time it is called *mafrûd*.

In its third year the camel is called either *ḫeḏḏ* (fem., *ḫeḏḏe*; pl., *ḫeḏûjeẓ* or *ḫeḳeḳa*), or *ḫâḍi*, or *leḏi* (fem., *leḏijje*; pl., *leḏijân*), meaning "meeting," as it will meet its little brother or sister which its mother is going to bear in the beginning of the third year.

In the fourth year it is called *ǧeḏ'* (fem., *ǧeḏ'a*; pl., *ǧeḏ'ân* or *ǧill*).

In the fifth year, when it is known as *ṭeni* (fem., *ṭenijje*;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 three years of the she-camel's life are called *ǧilâs*, the different years being known as the first *ǧils*, *aswal ǧils*, the second and the third *ǧils*. In her tenth year a she-camel is known as *naṣûf* (without a plural), and this name she retains to her twentieth year; from then until her death she is a *fâṭer* (pl., *fuṭṭar*).

Young she-camels between their first and eighth year of age are commonly called *bakra* (pl., *abkâr*); between the sixth and tenth year, *fetijje* (pl., *fetât*).

Young male camels for the first six years, until their eye-teeth, *nibân*, become fully developed, are called *ḳa'ûd* (pl. *ḳa'dân*).

From his sixth to his twentieth year the camel is called *ǧemal* (pl., *zeml*, *zwâmel* or *zemâjel*) and from his twentieth year to his last day, *herê* (pl., *hereša*).

A good she-camel has small ears pointed like a spear blade, *eḏânaha miṯl al-eḥrâb*; eyes shining like red coals *'ajûnaha miṯl al-ḥalâṣa*; a neck arched like the stalk of a date bunch, *rukubatha miṯl al-ǧerîda*; the shoulders are muscular, *'aḍûdaha mubramât*; both the breastbone and hoof small, *zowraha w-ḫaffaha ṣaṛîr*; the shoulder blades bulging *nâbijet al-menčeb*; the axillae, *obṭaha*, the lower rib borders *ṭafḥ aẓ-ẓlâ'*, and the chest, *ǧifêr*, are broad; the thighs finely shaped, *zênat al-fḫûḏ*; she is narrow in the loins, *ẓâmerat aṣ-ṣulb*, and the hump is exactly above the abdomen, *senâmaha markûz fowḳ sirraha*. A hard and therefore erect neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and a bulging hip covered with flesh are likewise signs of the good qualities which a she-camel should have.

The camels are variously colored, the Bedouins having a special name for each shade.

[825] They dislike white animals with some black hairs, *zerḳa*. Calves of this color are generally killed. Those that are not killed are sold to the settlers but never used for breeding.

Pure white is the most favored of all. A white she-camel is called *waẓḥa*. Up to ten heads the plural, *wuẓuḥ*, is used; for a larger, indefinite number, *maṛâṭir*. If the brows and the tail of a she-camel are also pure white, her name is *waẓḥa rḫama*, but if she has black hairs there she is called *waẓḥa mukaḥḥala*, and if she is creamy white all over, *waẓḥa ṣafra*. A white she-camel with a shade of pink color is known as *šaḵḵa* (pl., *šiḵḵ*); if of rose tinge, *šaḵḵa' wurdîja*.

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A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). 231
If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥaǧla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra ṣrube'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damân*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra ḍrume'*.

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabse'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet alkhawe*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ḥa'la* (pl., *ḥi'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ṣurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *meǧehmât*; for larger numbers, *meǧâhim* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to [552]
her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuǧûhah*. For example: Ṭâfḥa, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', 'Aǧla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awǧa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêza, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḥejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabâa, Ṭamla, 'Ejda, Ĝerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc.

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of [422]
the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*.

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. 825
Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous 231
trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuṣuḳ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâtir*. A herd of white 422
she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the 471
control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâtir* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâtir* 231
are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd 556
has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years

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since it is universally known that the enemy always tries first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'arf w-nowwâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *maṛâṭir* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *ḥeśle* (pl., *ḥśel*); a larger one, *ru'ijje* (pl., *ru'ḍja*) or *ḳuṭ'a* (pl., *ḳuṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zowd*. A little herd owned by a small family is called *ḏwejd*.

Each herd has its own herdsman, *rê'i al-bel*, who is hired for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meǧîdijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely six *meǧîdijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either a *maḥlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥeźź*. It is also his duty to help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeṣaḥḥiken*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *meǧrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ade*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeǧǧeb lehen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'ade*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jefalli*) *bel-ba'rîn ǧamîn al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṣ-ṣarâ as-sârah*, usually form a single line,

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mǧowdalát, keeping in the path trodden by camels for centuries past; it is very seldom, and then only in a level plain where the grass is fresh, that they move side by side, *muſaraddt*. Once on the pasture grounds, the she-camels graze together, *mera'á't ḫwdíkhen*. The herdsman sits down in some higher place the better to overlook his herd, sings, carves something, or seeks edible plants and bulbs. About noon when the heat is at its highest, *ḥakmat* (or *sanḥarat* or *ḫujjalat*) *el-ḥá'ile*, the she-camels leave off grazing, kneel down, *jebarreken* or *mubarreḳát*, and chew their cuds till two or three o'clock. Then they rise again and graze till supper time, *je'ádden*, when the herdsman turns them in the direction of the camp and drives them back, reaching the tent at sunset. At that time all the youths and slaves ride out from the camp, on horseback and in small groups, *serfát*, to protect the returning herds from a possible attack. 233

When satiated the she-camels move very slowly, stopping every little while. The herdsman mounts the leading animal, ḫa'ada, and rides at the head of his herd, urging it to greater speed with a short drawling song, *jeḥdje'*. The ditty sung by the herdsman to keep the returning herd together is called *meḥjé'*. Every herdsman has a song of his own, which differs from those used by others in the words as well as in the cadences of the tone and the length of the syllables. Were it not for this singing, the camels of the same herd would never keep together, but would get lost among the thousands of animals returning home after sunset. On arriving at his tent the herdsman remains sitting on his she-camel, which he halts; he keeps on singing the *meḥjé'* while he waits for the whole herd to come in. Then, dismounting, he takes the cords handed to him by the host, makes each animal kneel down in the place allotted to it, *jemarrekhken bel-mrákh*, fetters its left leg above the knee, *je'aḳḳelken*, eats his supper, and lies down among the herd, so as to watch it at night also. Next morning before sunrise he unties the cords again, *jeḥallekken*, and, having counted them, gives them back to the host. The milking of the she-camels is done by the owner himself or by a slave or servant. After the milking the host, or anyone bidden by him, drives them a short distance from the tent, where they graze till the dew has evaporated. [533]

The best camel-pasture consists of plants called *ḥamḍ* 233

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233 137 *orejnbe, ḥemure, roṭol, rimṯ, rāṭa, zrejje, ḥa'rān, ḥadu, ṯḥama, ṣamrān, 'ajram, 'arād, ṭaṭrāf, raṣa', fira, fidfla, ḥuṭaf, ḥuzḥāz, ḥulān, maḥarāt, muwāṣal, nejtāl, ḥejfin.*

WATERING OF CAMELS

233 As to the right time for watering the camels the pasturing ground and the season of the year are the deciding factors. When grazing on the salt *ḥamṯ* plants exclusively they can hold out no longer than four or five days without water. If their food consists of dry plants, *ṭfaa*, like some dry grasses called *ḥemri* or the perennials known as *naṣi* and *soboṭ*, they can endure from six to fifteen days. In the time of *rabī'*, when they eat nothing but fresh, juicy grasses, they will not touch water for even as long as thirty days. In the hot season, *al-ḥēṣ*, when the Bedouins encamp in the settled territories, the herds are driven to the watering places every day.

A thirsty she-camel murmurs pitiably, *taḥeaa*, refuses to graze, her eyes overflow with tears, *teddma' 'ajūnaha*, every little while she makes an attempt to urinate, and her loins sink in more and more. On seeing the camel herds in this condition the traveler inquires of the herdsmen: "How long have the camels thirsted? *ṣmu' al-bel wudu*," the answer being: "They have thirsted four, five, seven, eight, and even fifteen days; *rib' ḥems semḥ ṭemān laḥadd ḥamste'aš*."

The watering of camels is described by various words. *Hodad* is used when the camels leave the pasture, are watered, and return all in one day; *ḥamir*, when they reach the watering place in one day, spend the night there, and return to their pasture on the following day; *ḥarab*, when the camels going to be watered spend the first night far from their pasture, reach the water the following noon, stay there over night, approach the tents on the third day, and do not return till the fourth day from the time when they set out.

When the Bedouins move and encamp towards evening by some water they let their herds drink at night, calling this *nazelna bel-ḥemla*. If they camp far from the water, it is *menda*"; *nazelna bel-menda'*. If the camp is situated near a watering place, but with no pasture in the whole neighborhood, the herdsmen drive their animals a long distance from the camp, to which they return only when it is necessary to water them. They camp by the water, but the herds spend

233 some nights far out alone; *nazulow el-ʃaw w-ʃi'azzebán jiḥe-ʤún ḥems aw sewá*. A traveler who does not see the herds in a camp where he has stopped for the night is told when asking about them: "The camels sleep out in the loneliness guarded by our warriors, *el-bil 'azlb w-ʃerabba ra'ak*."

238 312 The watering of camels is done either at the wells or at rain ponds. If there is nobody at the well, it is called *firie*; if surrounded by a throng, the saying is: "*Hal-ʔelib 'alejh 'ark*, at this well there is a crowd (or noise)." A man called *rarráf* crawls into the well and fills the leather bucket, *delw*, which is let down to him. The full bucket is pulled up by another man, *mattáḥ*, who empties it into a leather trough, *ḥowy*, and lets the emptied bucket down the well again, *faʃʃaḍha bal-bir*. The larger the bucket and the deeper the well, the more men pull the rope, *ʃsanán* or *sanadʃin*. Often also the rope is tied to the saddle of a camel which is then made to pull.

Fig. 36—A water hoist, *maḥdam*.

406 In case the Rwala want to draw water from a deep well for some time they put up a water hoist, *na'úr* or *maḥdam* (Fig. 36), over it. This consists of two stout poles, *'amúdda*, made fast in the ground in such a way that they lean over the well. In holes bored through these poles an iron rod, *maḥḥar*, is then fitted, with a wooden roller, *maḥdála*, over which runs the rope, *rás'*, holding the *delw*. "Put up the hoist" is expressed by a Rwejli with the words: "*Erkey an-na'úr*" or "*raff an-na'úr* (or *maḥdam*)."

312 Watering from an *'aḍa* well causes the herdsmen much labor, as such wells are partially filled or even entirely caved in after each heavy rain and have to be cleaned or dug anew. Their depth varies from two to five meters; they are never walled around. The silt or earth dug out is usually just dumped about the mouth of the well, often forming a mound half a meter or a meter high. In this two or three passages are left

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312 to admit the water carriers, who pour out the water outside of the mound either into the leather troughs or into a large bowl, or finally into pits dug in the earth and covered with leather. The mound also prevents the camels from coming too near and falling into the well.

312 When a leather trough, *ḥoug*, is lacking, a shallow pit called *ǧâbîja* is dug and the water for the camels poured in.

233 The watering of the camels is carried out at the various rain pools and reservoirs in the same way as at the wells, and only at the large pools, *ḥabra'* (pl., *ḥabâri*), can whole herds go right into the water and drink. Büt, as the camels generally drop their excrements while drinking, the *ḥabâri* are soon defiled beyond measure. At their edges a layer of offal is formed; the water smells of urine and becomes dirty yellow and brackish, *ṭobe'* or *maṭrûk*.

233 When the camels have drunk their fill, the herdsman drives them away from the water, allowing them to kneel or graze for about half an hour, *jenaddeu*. Then he drives them back to the water again, urging them to drink more, *jeḥaṭṭe*. If they do drink again even a little, both the herdsman and the host are satisfied that the animals have drunk enough to last them until the next watering. If there is not enough water in the place, the herdsman drives the herd away after the first watering, complaining to the host: "Our camels did not get their second drink today, for there was not water enough; *ebê'erna al-jowm má ṣâḥ leha ḥaṭṭa al-ma' ṭelîl.*"

To make the camels drink the herdsman uses the words: "*Ṭerr ṭerr ṭerr!*" In urging them to the morning pasture: "*Di di di maḥḥow di!*" In the evening: "*M'aššow he' he' duh!*" If he wants to calm his she-camel he calls: "*Ethi hi hi ethi!*" To halt the animal: "*Kḥa kḥa!*" To make her kneel: "*Ethi ḥ ḥ ḥ!*" To make the resting she-camel rise quickly and flee from the enemy her rider shouts: "*Jê' jê' jê'!*" shaking his sleeve or mantle at her, *jenfoẓ 'alejha*.

Ditties Sung When Camels are Watered

539* While watering, the herdsmen sing the short *ḥedâwi* ditties.

233 *Jê 'aḍâbi min 'aša* Alas, I have been kept from my supper
kaẓben ḍêl ar-raša' By holding the end of the bucket rope.
lâ ṛabâḥ w-lâ 'aša. Not a drop of milk nor bite of supper have I had.

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He holds the rope end when it slides down from the roller of the water hoist and then again he waits till the full bucket comes up. *Ṣubûḥ* is the milk which serves the herdsman as a substitute for supper. If no supper has been left for him he milks a she-camel. During the watering he has no time to do any milking; furthermore, the owner has generally milked all the she-camels before they are driven to the watering place. 539* 233

Al-bel wurdat já bezbáz
w-ent tráhez lak 'agûz.

The camels have moved to the water, O thou thin skeleton!
While thou wert playing with an old hag.

Taw hom ǧaw	They have but just come;
mâs w-zaw	Hither with knife and shears
lelḥâhom	For the chins of those
lǧlli ǧaw.	Who have arrived.

The helpers of the watering herdsmen were late in returning; wherefore, to disgrace them, their chin beards are to be cut short. *Zaww* are the scissors with which the chin beard is trimmed, and *mâs* the knife with which the beard is shaved. [302 412]

Bâčer raḥilen žible	Tomorrow we move south;
ḫuḥ al-ṛazi w-eržib leh.	Beckon to thy sweetheart and then watch her.

Eržib leh means "look out," "have a care," "watch" when she leaves camp with the laden tent and in what direction she drives her camels; for on the march there is many a chance to speak to her unobserved.

Ḏawdak má hen šarrâbât
já rafîḳ al-ḥaṭṭâbât
rağôl al-ḥâjel ḳâlow mât
min šaharna ḏâk all-fât
ḫalleh jewalli leḏ-ḏalfât.

Thy little herd has not yet been watered,
O thou companion of women seeking fuel!
The husband of the childless is said to have died
The month before that which has just passed.

539x 233 *Delfât* is a region where neither moon nor stars shine and to which men who have sinned against their tribe are sent by Allâh.

Râ'i-l-bwejt ad-dûni — On the little bed of the owner
bifrejjeâeh ḥoṭṭûni. — Of the next tent lay me.

Jâ lâbs ab-ḥanâber — O thou wearing a variegated shawl!
jâ riḥtak 'anâber — Oh, thy scent is like amber,
jâ ḥabber min hw ḥâber. — Let who will say what lies on his mind.

Ḥanâber, a pretty shawl in which the fair ones wrap themselves.

Rummântên be'ûdah — Two pomegranates on the stalk,
bêẓ al-ḥamâm nehûdah. — Or eggs of a pigeon, are her breasts.

Al-bel w-ummi — Thou who wouldst beat the camels and my mother
jâ ẓirebha lâ tâmenni — Hadst better look out for me.

Aṭ-ṭawîl abu 'aba' — The tall one in a black mantle
w-at'arḳaâah w-arḳah — I shall seize and climb up to her,
abṛi ḥabbe ṭenâjah. — For her teeth I want to kiss.

Ta'arḳaâ is said of a man pulling himself up with his hands and planting his feet firmly against the ground with great exertion in order to climb a steep rock.

Ḳalbi jweâd aḍ-ḍi'a — My heart loves a lewd woman
'ala-l-wa'ad seri'a — Who is wont to hasten to the meeting
jâ mtakkat al-'aba — Dressed in nothing but her cloak —
râs al-ḥajje lâ telḥah. — Her body she must not shave.

[831] *Ḍi'a* is a woman commonly known as granting her favors to any man. This applies to the divorced women who cannot marry again. *Mtakk al-'aba'* signifies a man whose shirt has been washed and hung up to dry, while he, clad in his cloak, sits or walks about waiting for it.

Ḥalamt w-ana nâjem — In my slumber I dreamt
bim'aḍrak al-weššâjem — Of those adorned with blue tattooing;
jâ lajt ḥelwi dâjem. — Oh, may my dream last forever!

Ḥubbi bil-ǧâl Against the rocky wall beat
já delw ǧbâl Thou, O Ǧbâl's bucket! [drawn by]
be'ażûd rejâl The strength of arms of men
má hom ǧehâl. Who are not heedless.

The bucket strikes against the rocky sides of a deep well, making the work of the men drawing it exceedingly difficult. When they feel that its edge has caught on some bulge of the wall, they must not jerk at the rope lest they injure the bucket or tip it and spill the water; they should, rather, merely rock the bucket slightly so as to bring it into the center of the well. Such deliberation, of course, is possessed by real men, *rejâl*, not by harebrained, hasty, inconsiderate lads, *ǧehâl*, who think that all things can be accomplished by violence.

Já mal'âna Oh, the full bucket,
sallamha-llâh min ǧildnah. May Allâh save it from the sides of the well!

Má jarwi-l-bel He shall not water his camels
rajr muserbel. Who does not pull up [the rope] steadily.

Abjen abjen More visible, more visible,
čânha bil-bin If visibility be the question,
al-waṣha-bjen A white she-camel is the more visible.

čânha bin-zin If beauty be the question,
al-ḥamra-zjen A brown one is more beautiful;
čânha bil-Ḥil But if a load be the question,
al-malḥa-ǧjel. Then a black she-camel can stand more than all.

Tawwa' tfaṣṣa' bâli Now my mind has cleared,
al-ḥous bah efżâli. For in the water trough there is a surplus.

Ab-ǧoul ǧirîd The camels need
joum at-tawrîd On the watering day
'abdên w-eîd Two slaves and one master.
en čell al-'abd If one slave gets tired
má čell as-eîd. Not so the master.

539 *Suwl* has much the same meaning as *bel*, camels collectively, and forms no plural. Two slaves (negroes) and the master attend 233 only to the watering, while the herdsman watches the camels.

Ḳum ṣubb (sic) *w-esḳi-l-bájel*
náḳt esṭám al-ʿájel.

Rise, pour in, and water the sterile one,
The she-camel of him who tames the violator.

Ṣubbú-ʾale-l-ʾsáájer	Pour in water for the sweethearts,
mwaswezát al-bájer	Wedded to a sluggard,
al-bájer eben al-bájer.	To a sluggard son of a sluggard.

[461 581] *Bájer* is the name for a squeamish fellow afraid alike of the sun's heat, the night's chills, or of much exertion, and therefore one who loves to loiter in the tent most of the time. No girl would marry such a man voluntarily, but, as by the law of kinship he can claim his nearest cousin, her parents must give her to him. Small wonder that, once married, his wife prefers other men; nor can he even rebuke her for this, as she would run away and he could never get another wife. [827] Because of the Rwala belief that the son inherits his father's qualities, the father in this verse is no better than the son, and the wife, who has no wish to bear him a son, looks around for others; such a wife is a called *famáḥ*.

Já rubb já mawláne	O Lord! O thou Ruler of ours!
bedder lena bḥwáne	Help us quickly to what we desire,
eskí-l-ʿedád awdáne.	Fill with water our vessels which have tired us out.

233 461 When forty to fifty camels of one herd must be watered from a well over thirty meters deep, or from a shallow well that has caved in and into which the water flows very slowly, even the hardiest men become tired partly from the labor of drawing the water and partly from watching the crowding camels, who, if very thirsty, press around the well, into which they would fall if not driven away constantly by the herdsmen. One man can hardly keep three thirsty animals from breaking away from him and running to the water trough, there to squeeze in among those already drinking. Often they knock over the watering vessel, tread on each other's feet, bite, and knock about the men who are raising the water,

causing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are 233
to be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but 461
slowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No
wonder, then, that the waterers pray Allāh to help them do
their task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, 539x
'eddd, with water.

Jā rnajjelen bumm iḍen Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iḍen!
jetli maṣabb el-mṭren. She goes there where rain fell
from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge 233
their direction and where their sluices may open. They even 821
send a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a
favorable report (i.e. that the rain has been abundant) they
move to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle,
a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iḍen, had
come there after having followed the rain cloud which had
filled the pool.

Jā mizen ar-ra'ādi O thou cloud rumbling with thunder! 539x
emṭer 'ala-l-ḥamādi. On al-Ḥamād let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamād is the western half of north Arabian desert
between Palmyra and the Nefūd.

Al-bir tabṛi ḥdder Into the well should descend
eben ḥalā'en ḥdder. A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalāl* is a man against whose father there is 554
no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain.
The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring;
therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and
origin are clean and pure.

Welli 'ajūzen ṣiba Run from the gray-haired woman!
allāh jikfa' naṣibah May Allāh cut her fate, for
ted'i 'ala naṣibah. She curses her son-in-law.

Allāh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death.
Ted'i 'ala, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good
and bad sense. *Naṣīb* is the name that a mother gives not 601
only to the man who has married her daughter but also to

539[2] *Já marḥaba ǧá ḥelna* O hail, O ye camels of ours!
233 *ǧá mab'adat manzelna* Oh, how far is our camping ground!
w-elja barejna-ḥelna. Faith! if we wanted to cheat you we could.

The owners of camels which are to be watered live in a distant camp and cannot watch their herdsmen, who could therefore water the animals only partly. By this they would save themselves much labor, but, of course, the insufficient watering would make the camels grow thin.

Já bir low tšúfi O well! if thou couldst see
sûd al-'ajún wuḳúfi The black-eyed ones bending over thee
ǧemmar miṯl al-ḥeśáfi. Slender, like young gazelles!

Girls very often help with the watering; when they come for water they must bend over the wide well, *'aḳla*, only two to five meters deep where the underground rain water accumulates, in order to fill their bucket or to hand it to the person standing in the well.

Dárna bel-ḳnéne Our camp at al-Ḳnéne
saḳáho-r-ra'ad Was filled, after thunder peals, with water.
dár majjáḥ al-ardán That is the camp for him who would draw water with sleeves,
w-ṣáfi al-ḥa'ad. And desires a warm place to abide in.

[312] Al-Ḳnéne is a watering place. The rocky bottom of the broad channel there is covered with gravel and sand to a depth of about a meter. After heavy rain the water remains on the rocky bottom for a long time, being protected by the gravel from evaporation. The Arabs dig little wells, *ḥesján*, in the gravel, which are filled with water to the depth of half a meter, so that it can, as the Bedouins say, be drawn even with sleeves. *Majjáḥ al-ardán*, drawing with sleeves, is a lazy fellow who does not like the fatigue of drawing water from a deep well and praises the shallow sources from which he can water his camels without any effort. *Ṣáfi al-ḥa'ad* signifies camps protected against the wind, therefore pleasantly warm.

Má jimess al-ǧarab mess He will not firmly grasp the rope with the bucket,
ǧejr alli mákúleh dess Who does not eat hidden food,
alláh min jiḥebb w-ḥess. Who, by Allâh, does not kiss and touch.

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Jimess means, properly, a steady and equal pull on the rope. It is held in the left hand, caught below with the right, and is thus pulled up hand over hand. *Ṣarab* is the same as *rša*, the rope to which the leather bucket, *delw*, is tied. As some of the wells are as much as a hundred meters deep, the drawing of water is very fatiguing, especially on account of the bulges in the rocky sides which impede the bucket in coming up. The right hand must not only hold the rope firmly, but must shake it most of the time so as to keep it in the center. *Alli mākūleh dess* means "he who finds his food by feeling or searching for it." He eats more than the others, because his sweetheart has hidden something for him in a place he knows of, in order that he may eat it at night after returning from the pasture.

LOST CAMELS

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Many camels get lost. Finding good grazing in some deep gully, they stay there, kneel down during the hottest part of the day, and, having rested, graze again. When there is a spot with good soft sand, the truant animal rolls about in it, grazes once more, and when the sun sinks in the west cannot find its herd, which, pasturing slowly, has in the meantime passed out of sight. Sometimes a she-camel may like only certain plants. She is rested, fat, and can satisfy her desires. Some days she will not touch anything except her favorite dainty, hunting for it on all sides, leaving the herd, and moving on. At noon, kneeling for a while to chew her cud, she catches sight of her plant at some distance, sets off for it, and, then, in the evening moans for the herd she can no longer find. The lost she-camels run around all night and kneel down before sunrise, but with the evaporating of the dew they get up and run in almost any direction. They seem entirely to lack the sense of smell or the natural instinct which might enable them to find their herd. Being accustomed to follow the leading she-camel, they are at their wit's ends when they do not see her, and they wander aimlessly even if only one kilometer from the camp. On the other hand, the herdsman cannot look for a lost animal for long. On returning to his tent towards evening he rides through the camp in all directions calling in his singing voice, *meššje'*, for the

233 stray beast to come back to its place. Often the lost she-camel joins another herd, goes with it to the camp, moans when she does not hear the familiar voice of the herdsman, and moves towards him as soon as his ditty catches her ear. In case the stray animal is not in the camp, the owner and his friends mount their horses and ride out the same evening to hunt for it. If it is not found, they return the next day before noon, saddle their female riding camels, and the search begins anew. During their absence a member of the owner's kin rides up and down the camp every evening shouting: "Who has seen such and such a she-camel?" If someone happens to have seen her, the usual answer is: "O thou who hast lost a she-camel, know that she is at So-and-So's." No one would ever keep such knowledge to himself. A stray or lost she-camel is called *ḍâḥeba*, the man who has lost her, *meḍḥeb*.

[739] Although sucking, young camels are constantly threatened with danger from many beasts of prey, mainly wolves, the herdsman cannot always watch them, especially in a rocky territory or sandy desert, full of drifts and pits. However, in order to preserve them he draws a circle around them with his staff or a sharp stone and says: "The circle of Solomon, son of David, is between us and thee [wild beast]! If thou breakest it, Allâh will break thee! *ḥoṭṭa slejmân eben dâûd bênana u-bênak w-en ḥuṭa'taha ḥuṭa'ak allâh.*" This circle is also called *loǧâm*.

VALUE AND USES OF CAMELS

231 511 438 Without camels the Bedouins could not live in the desert. The she-camels give them milk all the year round; this forms the principal, and in many families the only, food for months. With the money received from the sale of camels they buy clothes, arms, and grain for both themselves and their horses. The camels they usually sell to the *felláḥin* or to the merchants who import in caravans the various goods needed in the towns and settlements situated far from the sea or from railways; some camels are also sold for meat in Egypt and Irak. The *felláḥin* use the camels in plowing, hauling, and threshing, for raising water, and for bringing their various products to the market. Fat she-camels more than twenty years old are bought for their flesh by the 'Aḳejl.

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In 1909 the price of a 231

maḥâlî was	10 to 12	*maḥâlîyât*	($ 9.00– 10.80)	435
mafrûd	15 „ 20	„	($13.50– 18.00)	
ḥeilân	18 „ 28	„	($16.20– 25.20)	
ǧa'ad	30 „ 40	„	($27.00– 36.00)	
ǧemâl	40 „ 60	„	($36.00– 54.00)	
rubâ'	60 „ 80	„	($54.00– 72.00)	
good riding camel	85 „ 200	„	($76.50–180.00)	

The prices fluctuate according to supply and demand; the price of fat old she-camels varies in accordance with the price of cotton in Egypt. If the *fellâḥîn* in that country have had a profitable year, they do not stint themselves in camel meat.

For camel's hair the Bedouins get but little. The largest 237
quantity of hair and the longest is given by male camels up to their seventh, and by she-camels to their ninth, year. The older the animal the thinner its hair, the old ones being almost entirely bald on the shanks, belly, and both sides of the neck. Toward the end of April and in May camel's hair is gathered by girls, *al-bel farr weberha*, who make it into saddle bags, blankets, and sacks.

The camel is ridden by the Bedouin on lengthy marches. 492
Indeed, such marches are always made on camels, never on horses. The she-camel is more enduring than the male, persisting longer without abundant pasture or water and not weakening even in the rutting time, whereas the males in the month of February are exhausted to such a degree that they cannot rise from the ground.

The most highly valued are those riding she-camels which can eat their fill while on the march without stopping or deviating from their course. An animal of this kind is called *ḥaulâ*.

Hedijje is the term applied to a she-camel which grazes only near her resting rider and will not go far enough to lose sight of him.

A female riding camel who is loath to part from her 231
young or herd moans grievously, *taḥenn 'an welef*, for several days and is called *wâlif*. But often the murmuring becomes a habit lasting for months. Day after day, and often at night as well, the rolling murmur is heard at regular intervals. It will not cease unless the animal's mouth is tied with a cord, but even then a subdued sound is heard. No sooner is the

2;idwell S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 cord untied than the murmuring starts again, *tarrī*, in which case nothing remains but to kill the poor brute, or to sell it so that it may torment some one else. The Bedouin prays Allāh to free him from such a she-camel, which he calls *rarrāja*.

492 There are four habits sure to make even the strongest and most enduring she-camel fiercely hated, *ḫubṯ aṣ-ṣabe'*: *ḥrūd*, shying and starting to run away the moment the rider dismounts; *'utūk*, refusing to be guided by either the heel, stick, or rein; *'aǧīs*, when on the march running from plant to plant smelling but not eating any; and finally the habit of kneeling suddenly when on the march and throwing off her rider. A camel that does this is called *ḫallāja*. A she-camel with any of these bad habits is called *dāmijje*, guilty of death,
[432] because she may cause her rider's death. The purchaser of a female riding camel in which one of these habits is found within twenty days, can return her, and his money must be repaid in full.

CAMEL SADDLES

The supports of a camel saddle (Fig. 37) are four stout boards about 70 centimeters long and each fashioned in such a way as to form an obtuse angle on the outside about the middle. Above this point a hole 4 by 1 centimeters is cut through each board. The boards are placed together in pairs and fastened with strong nails. Wooden stakes, *ḏḏā* (sing., *ḏaḏaš*), 30 centimeters long by 4 wide by 1 thick, are driven through the two openings and project 8 centimeters on each side. The upper portions of the united boards are turned into the shape of cones with knobs at the top. Each knob, *rās* (*a*), has a diameter of about 8 centimeters; the cone, *randīle* (*b*), below the knob measures 11 centimeters, and just above the obtuse angle 32 centimeters, in circumference. The lower parts of the boards are fashioned like shovels, *ṣlāf* (*c*), about 27 centimeters long by 1 thick, 20 centimeters wide at the top and 22 at the bottom. The inner sides of each pair of "shovels" form a sharp angle.

These two pairs of united boards form the front and hind parts of the saddle and are connected by four crosspieces (*d* and *h*) called *'aṣāṣa*, *mesdīlib*, or *'aṣāṣed*. Two of these are straight, 48 centimeters long by 1 thick and 3 wide at one end but

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

only 4 wide at the other. The other two are bent, 52 centimeters long by 9 wide at one end and 6 wide at the other. Each straight crosspiece is tied with its broad end upwards to the *daḥal* stake of the front pair of boards and the narrow end

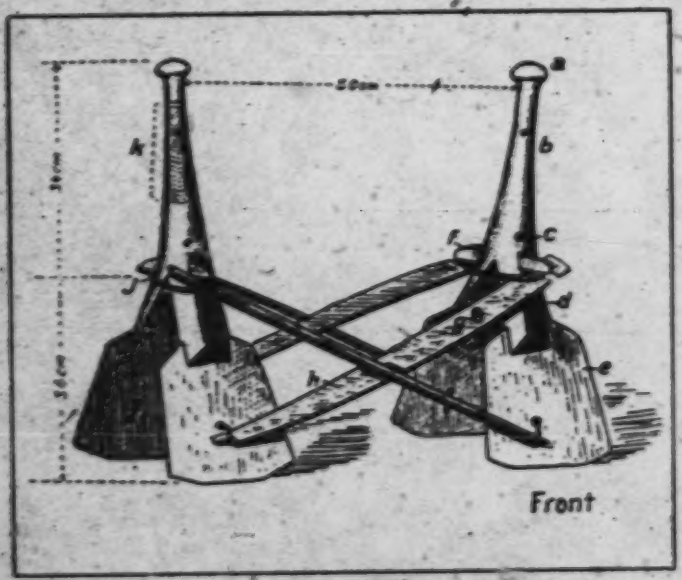

FIG. 37—A camel saddle.

to the middle of the "shovel" of the hind pair. The bent crosspieces are fastened in the same manner, with the broader end upwards to the *daḥal* stake of the rear pair, and with the narrower end to the "shovel" of the front pair. At about the middle of the bent crosspieces is a notch into which the straight pieces fit. In each "shovel" two little holes are bored. The fastenings consist of dry camel tendons, *wsúr* (*j*).

The width of the frame thus constructed at the base (i. e. the distance between the lower edges of the two "shovels" of each pair) is about 42 centimeters; from the base to the sharp angles formed by the junction of the "shovels" is 36 centimeters. On the inside of the "shovels" two cushions filled with camel's hair, *kundjef*, are tied (Fig. 38). Between them a cushion, *wiṭr* (Fig. 39), 22 centimeters high by 10 thick by 130 long, folded in the middle and stuffed with short straw or wool, is laid in such a way that the folded end is to the

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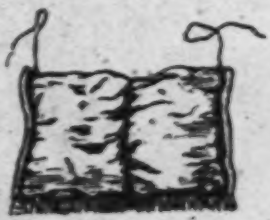

FIG. 38

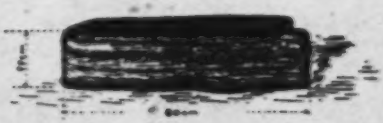

FIG. 39

FIG. 40

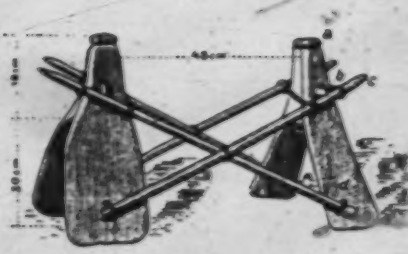

FIG. 41

FIG. 42

FIG. 43

FIGS. 38-43—Saddles and saddle cushions:

FIG. 38—A *kusi'a* cushion. FIG. 39—A *wijr* cushion.
FIG. 40—A *mirake* cushion. FIG. 41—A *meedme* saddle.
FIG. 42—A *kedija* saddle. FIG. 43—A *wijr* cushion for the pack saddle

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rear. This cushion is also called *madfûna*. To the upper half of the right-hand straight crosspiece a camel's hair rope or breast girth, *ḥaḳab*, is tied; a similar rope forming a belly girth, *bṭâne*, is fastened in a semicircular notch to the upper half of the right-hand bent crosspiece. 492

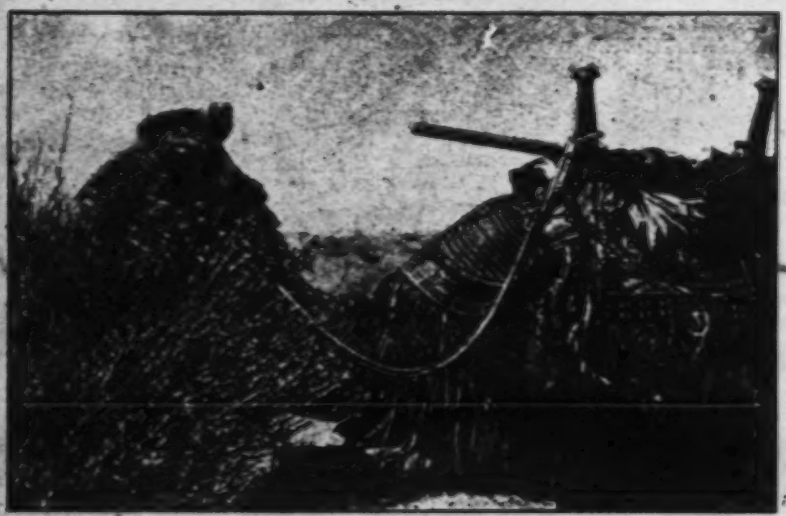

Fig. 44—An ornamented camel saddle with a *šâ'ed* blanket.

The saddle is placed on the camel in such a way that the hump enters between the cushions and the saddle can tip neither forwards nor backwards. The breast girth, *ḥaḳab*, is drawn under below the breast close behind the forelegs, then passed inside the upper half of the left-hand straight crosspiece, to which it is secured after being tightened slightly. The belly girth, *bṭâne*, is drawn under the belly between the navel and the udder, passed inside the upper half of the left-hand bent crosspiece, and is likewise made fast. To the forward, upper side of each bent crosspiece a ring, *ḥalḳa* (*g*), is fastened with strips of leather, *naṭâješ*, from which hangs a cushion, *mirake* (Fig. 40), that rests on the camel's shoulder blades. This *mirake* is ornamented with a fringe, *ḥadab*. Behind the rear cone, which is called *ṣurâb* or *miḥar*, either two or four woolen or camel's hair ribbons, *safâjef*, about a meter and a half long by ten centimeters wide are tied; they flutter to right and left with each movement of the camel on the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

492 march. On the saddle a leather quilt stuffed with camel's hair, *naṭa'*, is spread in such a way that both the cones can be stuck through it. More ornamental is the blanket called *žâ'ed* or *žâ'ada*, made of the skin of a black goat with long [531] fine hair (Fig. 44). The knob of the front cone and the whole of the rear cone are usually ornamented with small metal nails, sometimes of silver or gilded, and variously shaped. A saddle with silver ornaments is called *mukammar*; with gold, *muṣaffar* (*k*). The "shovels" and crosspieces of the finest saddles are often inlaid with little plates of engraved metal.

A *mesâme* (Fig. 41) is a saddle to which the water bags are tied. Its wooden skeleton resembles that of the riding saddle, except that both its cones are lower and flattened. The crosspieces are replaced by round sticks about eighty centimeters long. Inside a *mesâme* only the *wiṭr* cushion is used. This saddle is also provided with breast girth, *ḥakab*. A *mesâme* with a thicker cushion and a stronger wooden structure, known as a *rabîṭ*, serves for carrying water bags made of camel skin.

A *ḥedâǧe* (Fig. 42) is a saddle used for carrying loads. Its wooden frame consists of four boards 42 centimeters long by 10 wide by 1 thick. These are fastened together in pairs, their broad sides being joined at the ends by metal plates to form almost right angles. About ten centimeters below the angle two holes are bored through each board and wooden stakes, *dḫâš* (*a*), driven through; a stick, *'aṣa'* (*b*), is tied below the stakes on each side. The *wiṭr* cushion (Fig. 43) to which this frame is fastened is almost a meter long by 35 centimeters high in the front and 65 centimeters high behind. Its back ends in an ornament, *'ejz*, resembling a red Turkish cap, with a tassel, *širšib*.

[462] The camel halters, *rasan*, are usually made by women; the iron parts only are bought from traveling merchants (Fig. 45: *a*, *muḫṭama*; *b*, *'aḏâr*; *c*, *'aššâreb*; *d*, *sinsile*; *e*, *šarâšib*; *f*, *ǧedîla*).

A rider about to mount sets his left foot on the left front knee of the kneeling camel, places his left hand on the front, his right on the rear saddle knob, and springs off the ground, throwing his right leg over to the saddle. At the same moment the camel gets up in three motions: first she lifts her breast and kneels on her front legs, this movement being called *tenhaz*; next she raises her back, *nowṣa*, and thrusts against

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the toes of her hind legs, *tenûṣ*; finally she stands up on both fore and hind legs, *teṭûr*. 492

A good she-camel will utter no sound while being saddled or loaded at night. A spirited, well-rested animal will stretch her neck backwards, catch the rider's dress with her lips, and touch him with her head. She will shy when passing a dark shadow, houses, or palm trees.

CAMELS ON THE MARCH

The rider, *râčeb* (Fig. 46), crosses his legs, *jelwi riglejh*, or lets them hang down on the left or right side, *jedir al-wirč*. To make the camel go faster, he kicks her with his heel in the right or left shoulder blade, *jelhasha be'ažbeh*, and, waving his little stick, shouts: *"Hej hej hej!"* To guide her he taps the animal gently on the right or left side of the neck, *jeṗadderha bel-'aṗa'*. The rein must not be drawn too short by the rider nor left too loose. If he draws it tight, the animal cannot graze; if left loose it might be easily stepped over with the left foreleg while the camel is grazing.

If the saddle is not well secured it rocks to right and left, *mâjel*, or slides now forward, *ḳâlaṭ* or *meḳalleṭ*, now backward, *twaḫḫar*, *minfaked* or *minfesen*. Then the rider dismounts and arranges the saddle anew. In case his slave is with him, he orders: "The saddle is rocking; fasten it on tighter! *'aššedeh*"; or: "It inclines forwards, push it a little back! *waḫḫereh*"; or again: "It slides backwards, push it forward! *ḳalleṭeh*." In order to do this the slave must loosen, *arḫa'*, both the breast girth, *ḥaḳab*, and the belly girth, *bṭâne*, balance the saddle, and then tighten, *karab*, both girths.

Should the rider fall asleep and the animal change her course while grazing, his companion calls to him: "Set thy riding camel right! *jammen ḏelûlak*." In the daytime the rider guides himself in the desert where there are no roads by some prominent landmark, at night by the North Star. The older man advises the younger: "Mind the North Star! *ofṭon al-ǧedi*"; "Lay the North Star on the face of thine animal," meaning a northerly course; "Lay it on thy left brow," meaning a north-northeast course; "Lay it on thy left shoulder," indicates "go northeast"; "Lay it on thy saddleback from the left," "go eastwards"; "Lay it on the back saddle knob," "go south," etc.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

492 To stop his she-camel the rider clicks his tongue, *ṭančar leha*.

The pace of a female riding camel varies. The most pleasant is a light, regular, long step called *ḫaṭwa zêna*. An animal with a heavy step is called *leḥûḥ*; if it rocks much, *redûḥ*.

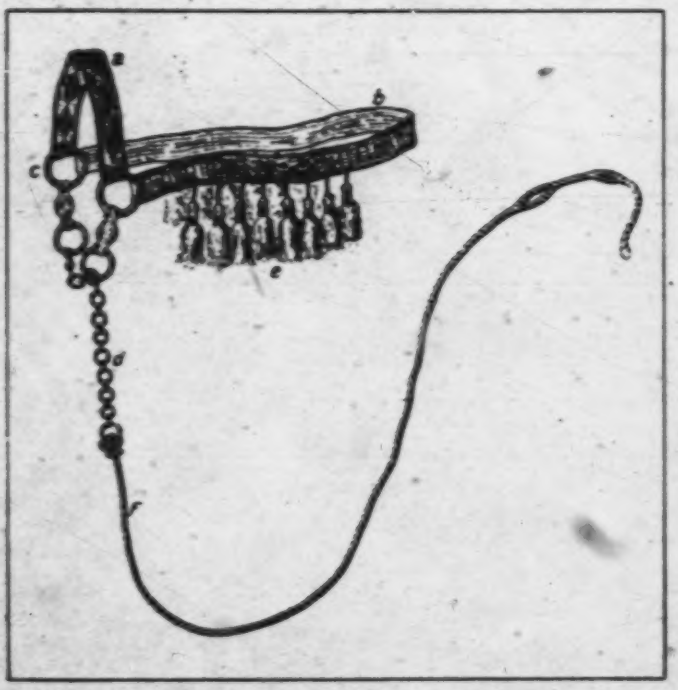

FIG. 45—A camel halter, *rasan*.

As a rule the she-camel walks, *maši*. Only rarely does she trot, *derḥem*. A long trot is called *da'âḳ*, a fast one *ḏemîl*. A she-camel gallops only when on the attack for booty or when fleeing to escape death, *amma 'ala ṭum' amma 'an mezelḳa*.

A riding camel (Figs. 47, 48) runs best before and after sunset. The rider, when she is in full swing, must not hold her back or he will tire her. A good riding animal can make more than 200 kilometers in twelve hours. My companion, Nâzel eben Ṭnejjân, started before sunrise from Radîr al-Ḥejl and by sunset was in ad-Duḫejne, having covered 300 kilometers while being pursued. A courier of Prince Muḥammad

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eben Rašīd left Ğaw Jâṭob shortly before sunrise and at sunset reached Brejda, 250 kilometers distant; leaving there the next morning, by sunset of the same day he was back in Jâṭob again. 492

After exhausting marches camels must rest at least three months. If no pasture is found on their route and all they

FIG. 46—Camel riders.

can get is a little dry grass, they soon digest what was in their humps, their loins sink in, and their strength disappears. They are therefore entitled to a good rest after their rides have made them traverse by day and night countries where there is neither good pasture nor enough water. After three months the riders may take them out on a new trip. When a riding camel needs a rest, she kneels down, *brakat*, or her rider makes her do so, *jebarrekha* or *jenawweḫha*. The place where a camel has rested is called *mabrak* or *manâḫ*. *"Lakejna mabrak arčâbhom* or *manâḫ arčâbhom*, we have discovered the resting place of their riding camels," report the scouts

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

492 on finding a place where the she-camels of a small raiding troop have rested. When speaking of a dog or donkey lying down, the words are: *"Al-čalb rabaẓ"* or *"al-ḥmâr rabaẓ"*; of a horse *"al-faras rabaẓat."*

Songs Relating to Camels

539* The Rwejli's delight in riding camels is expressed in many of his songs.

Jâ 'amm ḳum denni li ḥamra'
w-min al-heǧen 'amlijje
šiddû 'alejha šdâden zên
ma' žirbeten ǧild neǧdijje
ḫalli drejbak ma' ṣummân
arẓen želîle beha rijje.

Uncle, rise, and bring me the bay [mare]
And a tried riding camel.
With a saddle saddle her as is fitting
And put on a water bag from a Neǧd goatskin.
I heed not thy advice to travel through Ṣummân land,
For it is a land of few watering places.

An uncle advises a youth preparing for a raid to go through the Ṣummân territory. The youth declines the advice and asks the uncle to get a bay mare ready for him and a she-camel known for her endurance. *Neǧdijje* is a large goat or sheep of the Neǧd breed. A water bag made of the skin of either of these animals holds as much as forty liters.

Fuṭṭaren mâ sa'an bimḳâm
w-ar-radi mâ jištaḥenna
ṭâla'an diret al-aǧnâb
w-aṣbaḥan bidjâr aḥalhenna.

The old camels were not content with a long and quiet [rest
Nor cared for any pastures.
Having examined the land of a strange tribe,
They came again to the land of their owners.

Old camels are very particular as to their food and soon become disgusted with even the best of pastures. They are used on raids to distant places, from which they return too exhausted to lead the other camels in the herd into disobedience.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Al-bel eḥmû laha-l-bîr
samnat wṭâlat ḏerâha
wa' ḳorob ḥajjen tenaṣṣâh
wa' ba'ad ḥajjen warâha.

Go, seize the well for camels!
Their humps have become fat and have grown high.
Ah, how near the kin to which they hasten!
Ah, how far the kin they have left behind!

Whenever the Bedouins intend to encamp at a large watering place consisting of many wells, their youths ride ahead of the moving tribe on horseback or on camels and each seizes some of the known wells to make sure of water for his herds. Having seized a well, he unsaddles his animal, sits down by the saddle, and waits for the arrival of the tribe. At its approach he beckons to his own people to pitch the tent where he is sitting. If the spot is not suitable, the tent is put up farther away, but the youth watches the well till all the Bedouins are encamped and everybody knows to whom each of the wells belongs. As the water is not equally divided among all the wells, the owners of smaller herds to whom no well has been allotted ask their happier fellow tribesmen for leave to water from theirs.

[484 312]

Ḏelûli jâ ša'êle	O thou, my dark ashen-gray riding camel,
ḏelûl eben 'îd	Camel from the Eben 'Îd breed,
Žirbeti šowšelijje	Know that my water pouch is but small
w-al-mrawa ba'îd.	And the watering place distant.

The rider urges his camel to keep up her speed. *Žirbe šowšelijje* is a leather water pouch holding no more than six liters.

Al-heǧen jâ ḫaj jâ ramṭân
mâ jenlaḥeḳ ǧezâhenne
ams aẓ-ẓaḥa bidjâr al-ḳowmân
w-al-jowm bidjâr ahalhenne.

For the riding camels, O Ramṭân, thou little brother of
Naught can be found that would reward them. [mine,
Yesterday when dew evaporated they were still in hostile
And today they are in the land of their owners. [land

Mâ jenlaḥeḳ ǧezâhenne, no reward will be found for them. When a man does a kind act for another, the recipient acknow- 000

576 When a man does a kind act for another, the recipient acknowledges it with the words: "*Mâ alḥaḳ ǧezâk, mâ eǧâzik beǧmîl miṯl ǧemîlak.* I am unable to reward thee. I cannot do thee such a good turn as thou hast done me."

539[2]

Li fâṭeren mâ t'aḍri
w-an-naḍel mâ testwîlah
jaḥram 'alejha-t-ṭhazzri
w-al-bâb wa-lǧat naḥîla
tefraḥ elja ǧît aǧri
w-al-bišet jowmi šelîla.

I have an old camel that needs not make excuses.
A coward cannot govern her.
Forbidden to her is the settlement,
The gate and the rustling of palms.
She rejoices when I gallop to her
And signal to her with the hem of my light mantle.

1. *'Asa-l-ḥaja jeszi mawârîd majḳû'*
   jeszi-l-želîb aṭ-ṭâref ma' maraddeh
2. *ḥejṭa makarr lel-farâžin w-an-nǧû'*
   w-killen jwallem leh maḳâm w-'edde
3. *šifet al-ṛâzi ṭowbeh 'an as-sâḳ marfû'*
   mutmašleḥen lirša' jabṛi jišiddeh
4. *w-allâh jâ lôla-l-ḥabel maṭni w-marbû'*
   mâ ṭâwa' al-laḳḳâj low ḳâl ruddeh
5. *ḥassejt îdi min al-'azed lil-kû'*
   raddejtaha bil-jowm tis'în radde
6. *waddak tebîḥ as-sedd 'ala miṯl ǧedû'*
   karmen elja šâf al-ḥana' mâ je'addeh
7. *zabn aḍ-ḍelîl elja haba' kill manzû'*
   sejfen šaṭîr w-jiḳṭa' ar-râs ḥaddeh
8. *ḳel en čân ams miṯl al-jowm mâ massâni ǧû'*
   w-ašûf ḥâli bšaḥam mustareddeh
9. *alli-skâni min ṭanâjâh ḳarṭû'*
   jâ ǧwejḥbi wa'-ḥlêl ḥebb al-mwadde
10. *w-allâh laḥalli ben-nezel ṣâje' w-mazjû'*
    w-allâh laḥalli kill bedd jetla' lebeddeh.

1. May the rain fill the watering places at Majḳû'
And fill to the top the first well from which the rope returns with the bucket;

:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

2. Where there is room for camps both small and large, 539x
And where all prepare the water hoists and the needed gear.
3. I saw a conquering maiden there, with her dress tucked up above her calves
And sleeves tied behind the neck, stretching taut a rope with the bucket.
4. By Allâh I swear! if the rope were twice or four times as long,
The pourer out would not be obeyed, even if he shouted: "Come back with the rope!"
5. With my hand I felt her arm down to the elbow,
Drawing back my hand ninety times at least that day.
6. Mayst thou keep the secret like Ǧedû',
That noble man who never told when he saw some game of love.
7. He protects a scamp when every idler is afraid,
And he has a saber, the edge of which splits heads.
8. If I had fared yesterday as today, hunger would not have pained me,
For as I look at myself I see my fat is restored
9. By thee who didst allay my thirst when I kissed thy teeth.
O sweetheart, how sweet a permitted love kiss tastes!
10. By Allâh, I shall not suffer a violated or a violator to be in camp,
By Allâh, I shall not permit one tribe to come out against another.

The poet was Zejdân ar-Rwejli; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. The poet is drawing water at Majḳû', the last large [312] watering place at the south end of the Sirḥân depression, the vicinity of which is always full of both small, *farâšin*, and large, *nǧû'*, camps. As some of the wells are as much as 483 thirty meters deep, a hoist is set up in the stony ground by the mouth of the well. The free end of the rope is held by one or two persons who draw the water. A third person stationed close by the hoist takes care that the rope does not slide off the roller, *bakra*, and shakes it occasionally to submerge and fill the bucket; he tells the drawers to walk till the bucket comes in sight. Then he shouts to them to stop, catches hold of the bucket, empties it into the leather trough, *hawz*, and then bids them return and let the bucket down

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

483 again. When a woman has to pull the rope she tucks her gown, *ṯowb*, up to the knees and throws the long, open sleeves over her shoulders, tying them behind, lest they hinder her when at work. If the rope is worked by two persons, they hold a short stick tied to the rope's end. The poet remembers how near he was to his beloved, praises Ǧedû', the pourer of the water, for not gossiping about them, and promises, stimulated by love, that he will quell all troubles between individuals and tribes too.

Verse 1. *Maradd* is a firmly trodden footpath for the persons hauling up the water bucket. 2. *Farâžin* are camps numbering less and *nǧû'* those numbering more than ten tents. *Wallam*, or *jwallem*, implies that he will prepare, put up for himself, a hoist, *maḳâm*, with the necessary utensils, *'edde*, such as the bucket, *delw*, the rope, *rša'* or *ḥabl*, and the trough, *ḥowẓ*. 3. *Mutmašleḥen*, or *mitmašleḥen*, for *mutšallaḥen*. 4. The deeper the well, the longer the rope must be and the more work for those who pull it and impatiently wait for the pourer's call: "*Laḳḳâj ruddeh.*" The poet feels such satisfaction in the company of his sweetheart that he means to disregard the pourer's command. 9. *Ḳarṭû'* means a
539x slight lick lasting only a moment. 10. *Bedd* for *bedide* means the same as *'ašire* or *žabîle*, clan or tribe.

1. *Jâ 'amm wa' waǧdi 'ala wsaḳ ḥorra*
   ba'idet al-merwâḥ low dirt ana-l-warč
2. *tišrab ḥaṭâfil al-ḳalaṣ jowm afarrah*
   w-al-ǧejš min fowḳ al-žwâ'ed lahen 'ark
3. *tiǧfel elja sama'at ma' al-ḥazm farra*
   farrat ḳaṭât ḥarrekat bêẓaha ḥark.

1. O uncle mine, ah, I long to saddle a thoroughbred camel
   On which, crossing my legs, I would go far in a day;
2. When I bid her drink she will drink the last drop
   from a small bucket,
   While all around riding camels crowd together rubbing
   the leather covers of their saddles.
3. She shies on hearing a swift flight in the hills,
   The flight of the *ḳaṭa'* birds, who as they rise set their
   eggs moving.

The poet was an 'Atejbi; the reciters, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i and Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb. A young 'Atejbi, whose father had died,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

paid a visit to his uncle camping with the Šammar. The childless uncle meant to make him his heir, but the youth yearned for his comrades and after a stay of six days prepared to leave again. 539x

Verse 1. *Wsaḳ* means the same as *šidd*, "to saddle a camel." *Dirt al-warč* means "the rider crossing his legs above

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FIG. [illegible]—Riding camels.

the knees." 2. *Ḳalaṣ* is a leather bucket holding about six liters, such as the raiders take with them. Some camels drink only when there is still plenty of water in the bucket and stop as soon as their lips touch the bottom. *Afarrah* (for *afarrah*) means "to be urged to drink with the sounds *ṭerr ṭerr!*" *Ẓwd'ed* are saddle covers made of the skin of the black Negd goat, which has long, fine, slightly curly hair. The skin is tanned without the hair being taken off; this is clipped short and holes for both the front and back saddle knobs are made; it is then hemmed and laid on the saddle with the hair uppermost. When watered the she-camels crowd so that their saddles touch. 3. The *ḳaṭa'* sand grouse nests on small patches of flat ground in hilly country, *ḥazm*. It sits quietly till the rider comes near, when it flies up suddenly, striking the eggs with its legs and thus disturbing them. Its flight is very noisy, somewhat resembling the sound of the word *farr*. [281]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x The uncle, angry with his nephew for leaving him, seized a *rebâba*, struck a few chords, and began to recite:

1. *Abûk jâ-lli ṭalbetak bass ḥorra*
   bêni w-bênak sâmeč al-ʿarš jeḳhark
2. *mâ ḳilt bezowd čemma ḫašm ḥarra*
   w-bejten čebîr w-ẓâmer al-baṭn jinḥark
3. *ʿaslûğten telʿab bʿûd al-meğarra*
   tenhab ḳlûb ahl al-hawa' w-ent teshark
4. *en čân rabbak nâwi lak mesarra*
   aḥdar lak aḥbâl al-asbâb w-aẓhark
5. *w-en čân rabbak nâwi lak muẓarra*
   low ent brûs aš-šwâhîž aḥdark
6. *ʿamʿûm lâ tâḫod ʿala-l-ʿaẓm ḳarra*
   ajjâk ṭumm ajjâk lat-titen jeğraḥk
7. *jâ šên an nâṣeḥk w-bârrek mubarra*
   wâğed ʿejâl an-nâs w-lâ wuddi âṭark.

1. Cursed be thy father! O thou who askest for a thoroughbred camel only
   Between me and thee is He who sits on a high throne and who will tame thee.
2. Did I not tell thee of a great herd of camels black as the spur of lava,
   Of a large tent, and a slender maid that will come to thee?
3. A tender one who, playing with a stick on the dancing ground,
   Steals the hearts of gallants and will charm thee?
4. If thy Lord intends to grant thee luck,
   He will show and throw down to thee the ropes of chance;
5. And if He means to visit thee with trials,
   If thou wert on high mountain summits He would cast thee down.
6. The pipe of bone, O ʿAmʿûm! be not thy consolation,
   Beware and again beware of tobacco, for it will harm thee.
7. O little fool! seest thou not I advise well and feel for thee?
   Some sons of good families will be found, but I hate to vex thee.

Verse 2. A *zowd* is a herd numbering seventy to eighty camels. The ʿAtejbe are famous for raising black camels. 3. *ʿUd*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

al-maǧarra is a long staff or saber brandished by a girl while dancing to keep away the youths who press on her. 4. *Aḥbâl al-asbâb* are opportunities for achieving success. 5. *Šwâhiż* are high, steep, impassable mountains. Here they mean the greatest glory, affluence. 6. *Al-ʿaẓm* is a piece of bone used by the Bedouins in mending a broken short pipe. 7. *ʿEjâl an-nâs, eben an-nâs,* are sons of respected families, whom the uncle could adopt.

1. *Li fâṭeren maʿha tûmi*
   ḳaṭ al-fejâfi mẓarriha
2. *bčetfaha laḥḥ berǧûmi*
   min kuṭr mâ-ni malâḥiha
3. *al-ḥorr elja ṣâr mazḥûmi*
   jeṣbeḥ bnâbi ʿawâliha
4. *čam lejleten mâ beha nowmi*
   ʿalejje min abrak lejâliha
5. *jâ mâ ḥala ḥaẓẓ umm ḫarṭûmi*
   w-aṣ-ṣubḥ jaʿǧibk taḥalliha.

1. I have an old camel with a rocking gait,
   Which I train to ride over level plains.
2. A bald spot has been worn by my heel on her shoulder [blade
   By my constant rubbing.
3. [She is like] a falcon of gentle blood, by hunger frightened,
   Resting on the peak of the highest mountains.
4. Oh, how many sleepless nights
   Have been to me the nights most blessed of all!
5. How sweet the urging of a long-lipped camel,
   And in the morning thou shalt wonder how strong
   she looks.

The poet is unknown; the reciter was Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'. Verse 2. A camel used for long journeys generally has on her right shoulder blade a bald spot, the size of the palm of a hand. The constant friction against the shoulder blade causes the skin to become bruised and bloodshot, especially if the rider's footgear is made of hard leather and he must urge the animal to greater speed with kicks. 3. If a pure-blooded falcon fails to catch its prey for a long time and is hungry, it settles on the highest summit, whence it has a wide view and can sooner sight the desired prey. 4. When the Bedouin is asked a large price for the girl he loves, he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

takes part in predatory expeditions and raids to far and dangerous countries, in order to gain the required number of camels. The night marches through the enemy's country bring him the greatest profit, as the booty is obtained and brought away more easily. 5. At night the speed of a good camel is fastest and also she tires least at that time. *Umm ḫarṭûm* is the name given to camels with the underlip hanging down, so that it looks larger than the upper one.

1. *Bakratî ḥelwen ḏemîlah bel-ǧalâwi*
   mubrama wuddi btašjiʿ ṭibe
2. *ummaha min ǧejš ḥammâd al-ḥâwi*
   bakraten min raʿijje ǧatna ṛaṗibe
3. *mâ ṭemanha ḳaṭʿânen w-mzâwi*
   binten labu rîmân waʾ waj neǧibe
4. *šarbet min bežže w-zâʿat lel-eǧrâwi*
   wa-mraḥat ʿend el-mḥejẓer bel-ǧeḏibe
5. *jowm teṭḳaʿ čennaha al-ḥorr an-nedâwi*
   aw ẓelimen zâʿ min dawwen ramî beh
6. *naḥḥarah ahl al-karam w-ahl al-ḳahâwi*
   jeʿabberûnak ḳabl taʿḳel an-neǧibe.

1. In the desert my young camel has a pleasant gait;
   She is muscular, and I desire that only good be said of her.
2. Her mother hails from the Ḥammâd al-Ḥâwî's riding camels;
   My young camel came to us with a herd against her will.
3. With gold she was not paid for, nor with black cloaks,
   She is a daughter of Abu Rîmân — ah, glory, the noble one!
4. She drank at al-Beʾže, ran as far as al-Ǧerâwi,
   Having spent the night by al-Mḥejẓer.
5. When excited by a gallop she is like the best hunting falcon,
   Or the ostrich running from a plain when a shot has been directed at it.
6. People both generous and fond of good coffee flock to see her,
   Offering money for her before thou couldst fetter the left foreleg of the noble beast.

The poet was Raṭîṭ, a servant of Prince an-Nûri; the reciter, Raṭîṭ himself. He praises his camel which he had

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

captured during a raid in the Šarârât territory. Verse 2. Ḥammâd al-Ḥâwi, chief of the Šarârât. These Arabs devote themselves to the breeding of thoroughbred camels, producing famous males whose name is known everywhere. 4. Al-Beʾîe is a watering place near al-Mzêrîb in Syria. The well of al-Ǧerâwi lies in the Sirḥân depression, thus 370 kilometers southeast of al-Mzêrîb. Al-Mḥejzer is the name of wells 105 kilometers northwest of al-Ǧerâwi. 6. Whenever he stops with his camel before a tent in a strange camp, men come running from all sides offering to buy her from him. After making a camel kneel, the rider ties, *jaʿḳel*, her left foreleg with a short rope above the knee. The camel is *neǧîbe*, pure-blooded, noble, because both her sire and dam were recognized as thoroughbreds.

1. *Madden min al-ʿâreẓ erkejben teṛîfi*
   jetlen eben ʿarûǧ meždem beni lâm
2. *zaḥâbaḥom ḳamḥ al-ḳerâja-n-naẓîfi*
   wa-slâḥaḥom muḫḫ al-franǧi w-ar-rwâm
3. *waʾ má ḳaṭaʿ besâḳteh min ʿasîfi*
   waʾ min fâṭeren táḥod ʿan al-ǧejš ʾiddâm
4. *ʿokb aš-šaḥem wa-mlâfaǧeǧ lar-radîfi*
   adarreǧč čenneč ḳaṣimt al-aždâm.

1. A small troop on riding camels left al-ʿÂreẓ at a quick pace,
   Following Eben ʿArûǧ, the commander of the Beni Lâm.
2. Their supplies consist of clean wheat bought in villages
   And their arms are the best the Franks and Greeks produce.
3. Ah, how many camels barely trained he has already tired with his haste!
   And old ones too, while [his she-camel] always keeps ahead of [other] riders.
4. Gone is thy fat, gone is thy gay teasing of thy second rider,
   Nevertheless, I force thee to walk as if thy forelegs were broken.

The poet is unknown; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi.

Verse 1. *Teṛîf* is the term applied to a she-camel walking at a long, fast pace, grazing all the time. This saves time for the rider. 3. By constant urging, *besâḳteh*, he has left behind *aṣḥaṭa'*, not only many a young camel that had not been

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539* ridden long, *'asîfe*, but also old camels. 4. Owing to this treatment his own camel has lost all the fat of her hump, *šaḥam*, as well as her spirits, which made her touch with head and lips the second rider, *mlâfaḥ lar-radîf*, who was sitting bareback and had tickled her slightly.

To save his animal's strength the rider lets her rest a little before sunrise and after sunset; this is called *šofratên*.

A tired camel is known as *mutlajješe*. If so exhausted that she cannot rise with the rider any more, she is called *ṭâwije*; she has, they say, used up all the marrow of her bones, *má bâži beha muḫḫ*. Then she needs a rest of at least three months and a good pasture in order to recover completely.

DRINKING FROM A CAMEL'S PAUNCH

271 There is hardly an adult Rwejli who has not on some occasion drunk water from the camel's paunch. If the raiders are tormented with thirst, they kill a few camels, cut out their paunches, *ḍarš*, which are full of water, let the water settle, and then drink it. Meṯḥem eben Ğandal attacked the Šarârât in the al-Ḥunfa territory and captured large herds of camels just returning from pasture. Being short of water himself and fearing lest the pursuing Šarârât would occupy the nearest wells, he had about fifty camels with the biggest bellies killed and the water bags refilled with the water from their stomachs; then he steered clear of the wells and returned to his people, who were encamped in an-Nuḳra south of Damascus and about 1000 kilometers from al-Ḥunfa, without suffering any loss (see above, pp. 94f.).

DISEASES OF CAMELS

232 The camels suffer from many diseases, the majority of which are due to inflammation of the bowels and joints. As it is impossible for me to define the various ailments with any sort of precision I quote them exactly as they were explained to me.

Ḥmâr: inflammation of the bowels of young camels; incurable.

Ṣudda: inflammation of the brain of young camels; incurable.

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Lowa': inflammation of the bowels of grown camels; 232
treated by burning three times with a red-hot iron around the abdomen.

Šowka: inflammation of the bowels and constipation; treated by burning three times around the kidneys.

Roll: inflammation of the bowels causing diarrhea; treated by burning seven times on the abdomen.

Čalba: stomach ulcers; treated by burning on the back.

Tejr: muscular paralysis; incurable.

Ẓal': inflammation of the joints, as follows:

Ṣabba': general inflammation of the joints; treated by burning around the particular joints;

Mowaḥ: inflamed and swollen legs; treated by piercing the swollen places with a small sharp peg, *ḥlāl*.

Ṯifen: inflammation of the lower thigh accompanied by swelling; treated like *mowaḥ*.

Raṣāṣ: inflammation of the hoof; treated by piercing the fore part of the hoof.

Arčāḍ: inflammation of the whole of the hind leg; incurable.

Čerad: inflammation of the shin bone of the foreleg; treated by a light singeing with burning *naṣi* plants or dry *ḥemri* grass.

Nisam: inflammation of the knee; incurable.

Maf': inflammation of the fore shoulder; incurable.

Futk: inflammation of the armpit; treated by burning.

Bhāṣ: inflammation of both forelegs above the knees; treated by burning.

Niḍab: inflammation of the whole foreleg; treated by burning all round.

Farṣ: swelling of the *ṣāreb*, withers; treated by burning three times.

Rekab: swelling of the knee; treated by piercing.

Hajfā: ulcer above the stomach; treated by burning three times.

Adla: ulcer on the shoulder blade; treated by burning three times.

Hāfra: ulcer inside the head which then breaks through into the jaw; incurable.

Nāṣāb: ulcer on the back; incurable.

Ṯāla': ulcer on the breast; incurable.

232 *Sarar*: ulcer on the breastbone; treated by burning with sulphur.

Ḳaṣer: contraction of the back; treated by burning.

If a riding or pack saddle does not fit well on the hump or sides of the back, there appear on the galled spots blisters called *lḥâd*, which disappear if the galled animal is not used for several days for either riding or carrying loads; otherwise putrefaction sets in. This condition is called *dabar*.

When a camel accustomed to walking only on sand or small gravel must walk for some time through a volcanic area, the skin under her hoofs becomes bruised and bleeds, *ḥafa'*.

Rhaṣa' is a camel in whose hoof either a thorn or sharp stone has stuck.

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CHAPTER XII

HORSES

The Bedouins assert that no horses were created by Allâh in Arabia. According to their tradition they brought their first horses from the land of the settlers whom they raided. In the inner desert the horses have no place and would perish, did not the Bedouins look after them better than they look after their own children. A runaway horse cannot live long in the desert, while a camel will persist even without a man. Horses are of no economic value but serve merely as weapons for the getting of booty and influence. For this reason they are called *al-murnijât*, the enriching. It is said that the mares' bellies contain treasures and their backs help to win power, *al-ḫejl buṭûnahen kanz wa-ẓhûrahen 'azz*; for they give their owner colts which can be turned into money at any time, and it is much easier to make or repel an attack on horseback than when mounted on camels. The more horses a tribe has, the more feared it is by its neighbors and the greater its power. But successes gained on horseback are not lasting. The defeated neighbors unite for revenge, and soon both the riders and horses are annihilated. Hence the saying: "The horse reins are snakes, and death dwells on their backs; *al-ḫejl ersânahen ḥajûja wa-ẓhûrahen manâja.*"

HORSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

The Rwala classify horses[10] as common ones, *kdîš* (pl., *kudš*), and thoroughbreds, *aṣîl* (pl., *aṣâjel*). The common horses are not kept in the desert. Of the thoroughbreds they raise for the-

[10] The different parts of the horse (Fig. 49) are called:

1. 'arṭûna
2. mirâjer
3. ḥarfeina
4. 'aḍrus
5. mdaḥdaḥa
6. ḫanak
7. marâkib
8. ḍahba: in the middle, -al'al
9. ḫuṣṣa
10. mukâbaṭ al-'aja
11. 'aja
12. ḫafrat al-'aja
13. ajra
14. gurṣûr al-ajra
15. fâ'da
16. mu'ârraf
17. rukûba
18. ḥârraf
19. ahâkir
20. gabr
21. mgararaq
22. ḫaṣṣ'
23. 'akrat aṣ-ṣâk
24. mâlâh
25. faḫaḍ
26. ḫaṣṣa
27. 'urâb
28. kirš
29. dejâl, ubbar: ḍâr, tanâs
30. surra, sîrr
31. baṭn
32. ḍamâ
33. kâbala
34. kâ'
35. mahjam

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232 most part mares of the following breeds: 1. *kḥejle*, 2. *ṣaklâwijje žudrânijje*, 3. *dhama*, 4. *ma'naḳijje*, and 5. *ǧilfe*. However, the following are also recognized as thoroughbreds: 6. *ḥamdânijje*, 7. *'obejjet ummu ǧreje*, 8. *ṣwêtijje*, and 9. *amm 'arḳûb*. The *kḥejlet al-'aǧûz* breed is supposed to be the oldest, from which all others have descended. The stallions of any of the above-named breeds can be admitted to cover, but the colt always bears the name of its dam's breed.

A thoroughbred mare is called *faras*, the plural being expressed by the word *ḫejl*, and as, with but few exceptions, only mares are bred, the word *faras* has come to mean horses regardless of sex, the rider being known as a *fâres*; the plural, *fursân*, is rarely heard, *ṣanam* or *ḫejl* being used instead.

231 Each horse and mare bears certain marks indicating its value. These marks are called *sijâse*, and whoever understands them, *jesûs sijâsetha*, decides whether a mare is good or not. A good mare has long ears, legs, and neck; the croup, the root of the tail, and the coronet, *žên*, are short. The nostrils and eyes are large and the distance between the foreknees, *faḫǧa bên riǧlejha*, broad and spacious. The forehead should bulge forward, *ǧebhatha nâṭṭa'*, the breast should be arched, and the forelock, mane, and hair of the tail should be thick, *'elematha w-'ačwaha*.

Curling hair from the navel to the udder is called *dumejṭir*. Two curls one above the other, between the eyes are *sa'dên*; *ḫejčelên* are curls on the right and left side of the neck, and *zîbdet as-saḳf* are curls on either side of the sexual organ. All these curly spots of hair, *fatâjel*, are signs of good qualities in the mare.

On the *dhama*, *ma'naḳijje*, and *ǧilfe* breeds the Rwala love to see white spots called *niššân* (pl., *nijâšin*) either on the forehead or legs. A small round spot on the forehead is a *naǧme*; a long one a *ṣurra*; if it extends to the upper lip it is a *ḳedaḥ*. A white spot on the leg is a *ḥaǧela*. A mare with short white spots on both hind legs and on the left foreleg is known as *meḥaǧǧelat aṭ-ṭalâṭe muṭleḳat al-jemîn*. If there

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36. *'efejne*
37. *rukbe*
38. *ǧrê'*
39. *mḫaddade*
40. *ḥôn*
41. *ḫâṣer*
42. *ǧenb*
43. *wurd*
44. *silkme, rukme*

45. *rusan*
murusî, posteriors.
ṣubra, sexual organ of the mare
saḳf, labia of the sexual organ of the mare
ḫaṣâṣa, testicles
ḫaṣa } sexual organ of
zubb } the stallion

a. *'aǧûne*
b. *mḫejra*
c. *mḫaddade*
d. *ḥôn*
e. *manḫaṭṭ al-ḍa'r*
f. *ḫâṣer*
fi. *'efejnt al-ḫâṣer*, the inner fleshy part
g. *ḫâ'*, horseshoe.

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is such a short white spot on the mare's right foreleg, the leg is called *jad al-kâteb*; if only on the left hind leg, *al-merčebe*; spots on both hind legs only are known as *sirwâl*. 231

Ḳâṣât are mares which bite the bridle tightly when running. They must, therefore, breathe carefully and can run much longer than mares with open jaws.

Signs of bad qualities are: a curly spot above the nostrils, *ḳabr*; one at about the middle of the neck in front, *šaḳḳ al-ǧejb*; such spots (known as *trabijjât*) on the lower part of the thighs, *ṭafne*; and similar spots above the heart. Other unfavorable signs are: a white spot on the lower lip, *'aẓẓ an-nâǧed*; a white spot on the left foreleg only, *naḳḳâlt al-čefan*; a white spot on the left fore- and right hind leg, *ǧebrâṣ*; and finally such spots on both forelegs only, *žejd*.

To destroy or at least to moderate the unfavorable significance of these marks, *sijâsât an-nijâšin*, the owner of the mare lays a black goat on her shoulder blades, kills it, and lets the blood run down over the mare. This is called *naṭṭâḥ aš-ša'ûr*.

The Rwala prefer a pure white mare without any other color or shade. Such a mare is called *ṣafra'*. The chiefs appear on mares of this color at all the local festivities, *aṣ-ṣifr markûb al-amâra len-naẓâra*, but never use them on their raids, as pure white objects are visible both by day and night at a great distance.

A *zerḳa'* (Fig. 50) is a white mare with many fine black hairs. If the dark shade predominates, it is a *zerḳa' nîlijje*; if it is reddish in places, *zerḳa' rabša'*.

A dark brown mare is called *ḥamra'* (Fig. 51); if without any white spots, *ḥamra' talsa'*; if there is a white spot on one of the legs, *ḥamra mḥaǧǧela*, and *hamra mhammasa* if the color reminds one of roasted coffee.

A light yellow mare is called *šaḳra'*. If she shines like gold, *šaḳra' ḏhûb*; one with all her legs white up to the knees is *šaḳra' mḥawwaṣa*.

A dark colored or black mare is known as *dhama'* and as *dhama' ṣurâbijje* if she has the bluish luster characteristic of a raven.

The Rwala imagine that the speed of a horse can be guessed from its color; they also say that the *šaḳra'* mare will not be overtaken by one of any other color, if the gallop be not of long duration. The *šaḳra'* is the fastest but not the most enduring of the mares. The palm for this quality belongs to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 the *ḥamra'*, which can gallop or trot all day without sinking from exhaustion.

BREEDING OF HORSES

232 The large clans have, as a rule, only one stud horse; this they never keep in the camp together with other horses but intrust it to the care of a specially selected slave, who pitches his tent in some gully beyond the camp, from where the stud horse can see no mares. To prevent the horse from catching sight of some runaway mare the slave hangs a full nose bag over its head early in the morning, leaving it on until evening and only taking it off while the animal is being watered. No more than two mares a day are covered, *šabbûh* or *'allûh*, by the stud horse, one in the morning, *naṭṭ*, and the other in the evening, *ḥaṣm*. When a mare is in heat, *mu'ṭi*, she must be led in as soon as possible; otherwise her heat might pass, *ekṭafat*. The owner of the stallion asks the owner of the mare whether he wants a morning or evening cover, *naṭṭ walla' ḥaṣm*, or both. If he decides for both, no other mare will be led in that day. For one cover the charge is one or two *meǧidijjât* ($0.90—1.80) and is called *mohr al-ḥṣân*.

The period of twenty-five days after the mare's covering is called *'edijet aš-šba'*. After that time she is led to the stud horse again, *je'arreẓha*. If she kicks out against or repulses him, it is judged that she has conceived, *akẓabat*; she is then known as *lḳaḥa* and has to be well nursed and fed so as to avoid a miscarriage, *ṭaraḥat* or *ramat*. In the last month before foaling the mare is called *muḥres*. When she has foaled, *afradat* or *waledat*, she is known as *raṭûs*. If a male colt is born, it is simply buried in sand or thrown into a gully so that the mother may not be weakened needlessly. The birth of a filly is the cause of rejoicing to all the owner's family and of congratulations from both his kin and acquaintances, just as if a boy had been born. Such a *raṭûs* mare is then wrapped up in blankets, taken to the tent on cold nights, and gets better food than the owner himself; for a whole year thereafter no one would think of saddling and riding her, in order that the quantity of her milk may not be reduced and that the filly may be well nourished. The filly also gets camel's milk both in the evening and morning, and often the owner and his family go to bed without supper so that the mare and her young may

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

have sufficient food and milk. The ears of the new-born filly are tied together with a silk thread to make them grow close together and symmetrically; they also shorten the root of its tail to make the mare when grown-up carry it upright in a 232

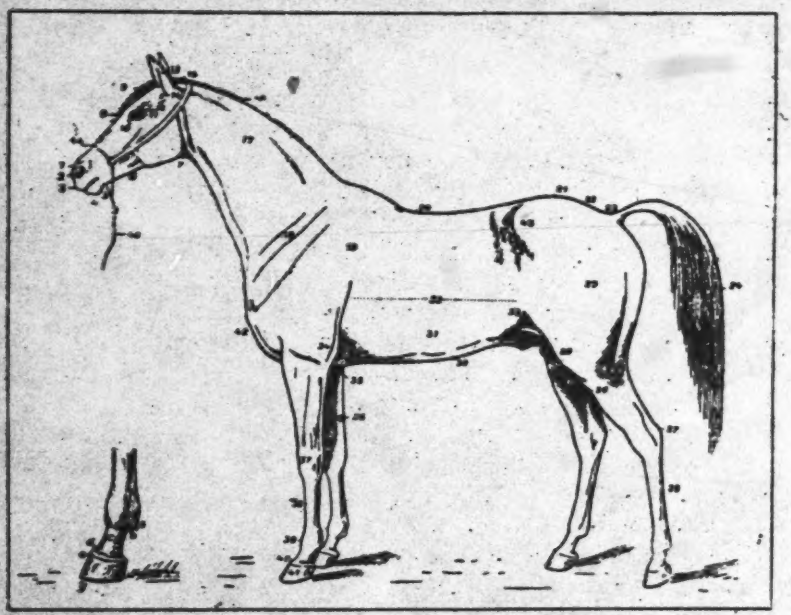

FIG. 49—Diagram of a horse.

gallop; they blow into its nostrils to widen them; shout the name it has received into its ears, and even smear the filly with tar to protect it from the effect of noisome smells

In its first	year	the filly	is	called	*felw*		
„ „ second	„	„	„	„	„	*howli*	
„ „ third	„	„	„	„	„	*ǧeḏa'*	
„ „ fourth	„	„	„	„	„	*ṯenijje*	
„ „ fifth	„	„	„	„	„	*rbâ'ijje*	
„ „ sixth	„	„	„	„	„	*ẖâreḥ* or *awwal* (first) *ḳarḥ*	
„ „ seventh	„	„	„	„	„	*ṯâni* (second) *ḳarḥ*, etc.	

After the fifteenth *ḳarḥ*, i.e. beginning with her twenty-first year, a mare is called *'awda*; between her first and tenth years she is a *mohra* (pl., *mohâr*).

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231 The word *rumaka* is applied both to a mare and to a woman who is neither too young nor too old. One may ask: "*Hi bint*, is she a virgin still?" and receive the answer: "*Lâ w-allâh hi rumaka zêne*, no, she is a pretty woman in her best

FIG. 50—A *zerḳa'* mare.

age." "*Has-surba ma'aha ḥoṣon*, are there stallions with this troop?" "*Lillâh killehen rumak mâ beha ḥṣân*; no, only grown mares; not a stallion among them."

Ḥṣân (pl., *ḥoṣn*) is a stallion between its fifth and twentieth years; after that time it is called *'awd*.

422 231 There is hardly a mare that is owned by one man only. As a rule she belongs to two men or even more, *šeriče bel-faras*, who share anything she may give, *tetaḫâšer al-beḫût bejn aš-šeričên*. If a mare is bought by two Bedouins on the understanding that her colts also will be their common property, the deal is called *bî' ḥeǧra*. If the agreement is that the mare will belong to one but the first and second colt to the other, it is a *bî' meṭâni* deal. When a man buys a mare for himself alone without any other agreement, a *bî' meḳalfa'* is spoken of, though only

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a city man or a European buys in that manner—never a son of the desert. 422 231

The mare owned by two men is called *mărbaṭ*; the part owner who takes care of her is *râ'i-l-marbaṭ*. He is responsible

FIG. 51—A *ḥamra'* mare.

for her health and must give compensation should the animal die or miscarry owing to his negligence. If the partners want to annul, *jetaḳâṣarûn*, their agreement, they go to the chief's tent and declare it before witnesses, so that they cannot blame each other afterwards, whatever may happen. A partner can also be compelled to give up his rights, *muḳâṣara*, if the other or others desire it or have to sell the mare. For instance, the chief may be satisfied that the man who insists on breaking the agreement is unable in any way either to provide himself with new camels, to procure the amount needed to buy a bride for his son, or to buy weapons demanded by the avenger for blood that has been shed. Possibly the chief may be convinced that the part owner would not get as much for the mare from his own people as a stranger or a European offers him. Under 231 422 425

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231 422 425

such circumstances the chief might well decide to sell the animal in question himself and to give the unwilling part owner one half of the proceeds. The latter also is privileged himself to buy out the other's share in the mare at the figure offered by the stranger. The price paid for a mare is called *sijâḳ*.

EQUIPMENT, USE, AND VALUE OF HORSES

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The word for a horse saddle (Figs. 52, 53, 54) is *meršeḥa*; "Saddle the horses! *meršeḥû-l-ḥejl*." The saddle consists of a leather or quilted, woolen cushion, *žerijje* (Fig. 52*a*), sewn to a cloth cover, *libbâde* (*d*), and firmly fastened to the saddle. The saddle is also supplied with girth and stirrups; *b*, *râs al-bedd*; *c*, *karbûz*; *e*, *ḫrûǧ al-meršeḥa*; *f*, *ḥelâḳ*; *g*, *ḥzâm*; *h*, *bṭâne*; *j*, *zamḥa*; *k*, *bzîm*; *l*, *rukb*.

The rein is very simple; the bridle proper, *ʿanân* (Figs. 55, 57, pp. 392-393) with an iron ring, *ʿaẓeda* (*a*), is but rarely used.

The forelegs of a mare are nearly always fettered with an iron chain called *ḥadîd* (Fig. 56, p. 392). "*Ṣakk al-ḥadîd ʿala-l-faras*," means "he fettered his mare's legs"; "*Ḥaddedû-l-ḥejl*, put fetters on the horses!" The single parts of the shackles are as follows: *a*, *ʿarejža*; *b*, *ḳṣuba*; *c*, *sinsile*. They are closed or opened by a key which is usually in the care of the owner's wife, daughter, or sister. It is also the duty of these women to harness the mare, especially when an alarm cry is given. Then the rein is thrown over her head and the bridle put in the mouth, *saffafatha* (or *ṣaʿaṭatha*) *al-ʿanân*, or *alǧamatha*. "*Saḳlab aw zabb beẓahr al-mohra w-dafaʿaha*" means: "the rider throws himself into the saddle of the mare and rides off."

The Bedouin never undertakes a long trip on a mare but always on a camel. Only when he pays a visit to a neighboring camp, or rides out to meet a dear guest, or repulses an attack, or assails the enemy's herds will he use a horse.

With a rider on her back the mare will walk with a light, long pace, *teḫudd ḳadda*. When defiling before their prince or commander, *ʿarḍa*, on a festive occasion or in time of danger, the Bedouins hold their mares up short so that they leap forward, rise on their hind legs, back slightly, and then leap forward again. This performance is called *heḏeba* or *tehaḏḏob*. In a mock battle, *leʿeb al-ḥejl*, or during a man-to-man fight, *ṭrâd*, the mares will spring in the same manner. Mares gallop

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

only when racing or in the attack, *ṛâra*. To stop his animal the rider cries: "*Hamš ḥaj;*" to start it: "*Ġhara ġharab.*" 492

If I call a person, I say of myself: *aṣîḥ.*
" " a mare " " " *at'i.*
" " camels " " " *eššâje'.*
" " a donkey " " " *eḥarreš.*
" " a dog " " " *ešli.*
" " sheep " " " *ethi.*
" " a falcon " " " *ad'i.*

As mares are hardly ever sold, they have no fixed price. 435
If a man wishes to buy a certain mare, he must pay whatever the owner asks, and the latter generally wants more than the buyer offers. It is said in the desert that the price of a thing is fixed by him who wants it, *as-sil'a tetba' ar-râṛeb.* The Bedouins pay each other as much as ten camels for a yearling mare; for a three-, four- or five-year-old mare they offer from fifteen to thirty thoroughbred riding camels. An adult stud horse is usually cheaper than a yearling mare.

LOSS OF HORSES

When a Rwejli's mare has been captured by the enemy 425
and then recaptured by another Rwejli, the latter is obliged to return it to his fellow tribesman but must be paid a she-camel as compensation. A colt of the same mare captured by a Rwejli must also be given back to the owner, six camels being the reward in this case. Such a colt is known as *ṛî'*. The question then asked is: "Didst thou get thy [captured] mare or her colt? *ǧâtak farask wallâ-l-ṛî'.*"

On learning who has recovered the colt of his captured mare, her owner goes to him, saying: "The daughter of my mare is with thee, I demand her from thee, *ana ǧâri'ha 'alejk.*"

"That is not true, this is not the daughter of thy mare. I myself paid so-and-so many she-camels for her;" to which the owner replies:

"Good, now keep to the figure thou sayest thou hast paid, *ok'od li bimâ sikt,* till I bring my witnesses."

"I will do so," agrees the other, and those present declare:

"We are thy witnesses that he will keep to such and such a figure and that he will neither sell nor take away the colt."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

425 Then the owner goes to seek the captor. The owner in search of his animal is called *ḳaṣṣâṣ*; he is free to go even to the enemy, who in this case must help. On arriving at the latter's tents, he inquires after his stolen mare and her colt.

[492]

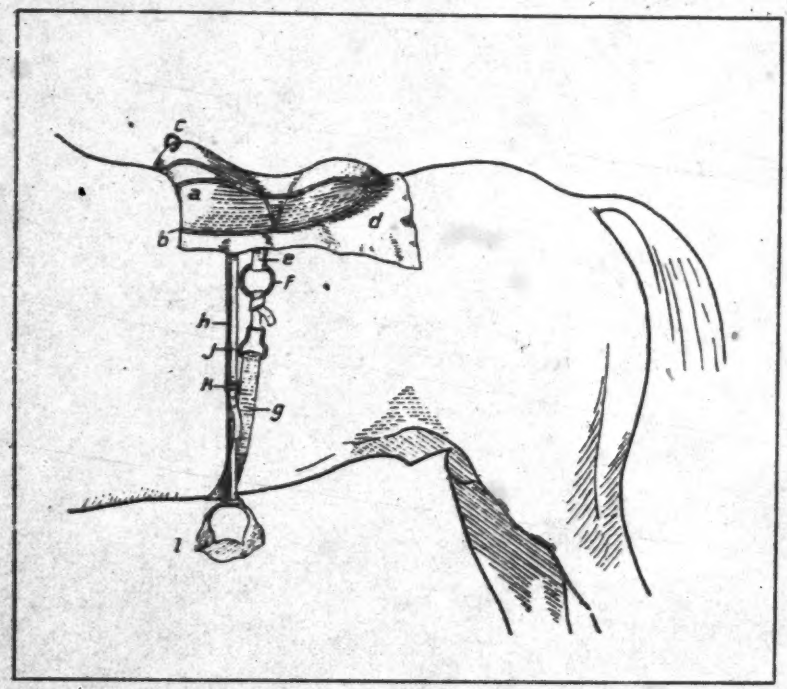

FIG. 52—A horse saddle, *merṣeḥa*.

On finding what he seeks, he asks one of the enemy to come with him as a witness that the captured filly is actually the daughter of his stolen mare. Testimony of this kind being indisputable, his tribesman says: "Give me the proper compensation and take her! *hât li sowḳaha w-ḫoḏha*." He then gets five camels, the witness helping in the search, *jaḳoṣṣ 'anha*, gets one, and the animal is returned to the original owner.

The owner of the captured mare tries first to ascertain who has captured her and where she is kept. For the earliest reliable report of her whereabouts a reward of five *meǧidijjât* ($4.50) is paid. Often the new owner, although an enemy, sends a report every year of the mare's condition and of the colts born to her.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

492

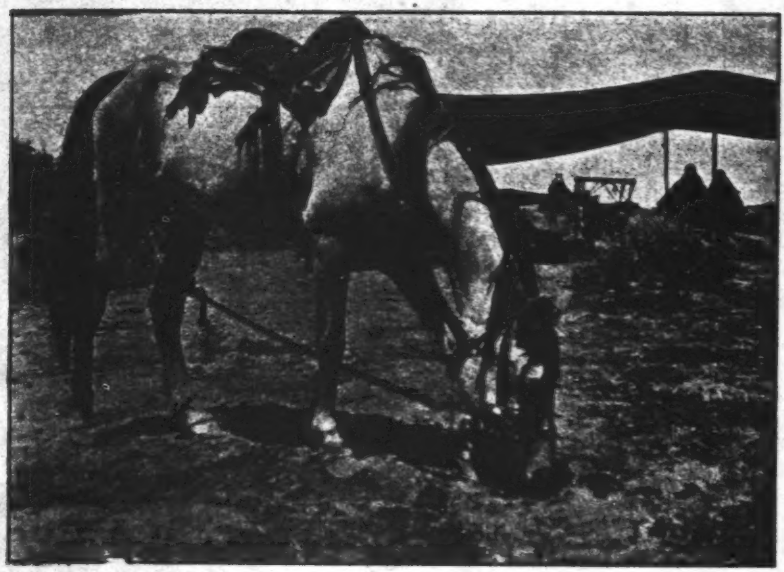

FIG. 53

FIG. 54

FIGS. 53, 54—Saddled mares.

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CARE, DISEASES, AND NAMES OF HORSES

231 Nothing causes the Bedouin so much labor and trouble as a mare. It is easier to raise and bring up five children than a single filly, as the children require especial care only in their first two years but the care of a mare has no end. It is necessary to provide her with food and drink, to protect her against heat and cold, to guard her from disease and robbers, also to quarrel with the other part owners, etc. It is the business of the women and slaves to feed the mare and care for her — all the Bedouin man will do is to give orders. As soon as he rises in the morning he shouts: "Wake up the mare! *ruddow nafs al-faras*," and his wife or his daughter hastens to fill the food bag with barley and hang it over the mare's head. Towards evening, before the sun touches the horizon, he again calls out: "Hang it on the mare! *'alležow 'ala-l-faras*," and it is his wife once more who has to fill the bag and put it on the animal. At noon the master commands: "Water the mare!" and the wife pours water from the large leather bag — which she must often carry on her back home from the well — into a bowl and holds it before the resting mare. The animal is led to the well only if this is in the middle of the camp and there are no signs of danger. No mare can be without water for longer than twenty-four hours. The whole camp may suffer from thirst, *râs az-zma'*, and the children cry for a drop of water, but the master, unmoved, will pour the last remnants of water into a dish and set it before the pampered mare. Frequently some spirited mare shies, *šâšat*, causing the others also to shy, *šawwašat al-ḫejl*, and all to run out from the camp, but the Bedouin sits undisturbed, leaving the women to hurry after the animals, calm them, and bring them back home.

The shoes worn by the horses are flat and thin and have a small hole in the center, *ḥdâ'*. Without a shoe, *ḥafjâne*, it is impossible for a mare to walk on gravel for any length of time, as its sharpness injures the hoof.

232 The most frequent diseases to which a horse is subject are:

Misma: inflammation of the muscles of the back; cured by a mixture of *beleḥt al-ḫejl* and *felîti* drugs (sold by the Kubejsi) and of coffee or melted butter, which mixture is poured into the nostrils, *jeṣa"eṭûnah*.

Mwalli: inflammation of the bowels accompanied by diarrhea; this is cured by burning around the navel with a red-hot iron.

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Zerd: ulcers under the chin; cured by burning the nape of the neck. 232

Ḳâreṣ: a swelling of the belly; cured by smearing the shaved belly with a mixture of grape syrup, alum, and pepper.

Saḳwa: glanders; cured by inhaling the smoke of *šiḥ*.

Šûhâr, mšowhar: festering wounds on the back; cured by burning the root of the tail.

Ğerab: mange; cured by burning the diseased spot and rubbing in oil.

Lwêṛef: ulcers in the vagina; cured by smearing with sulphur and butter.

Ḥamrâ: inflammation of the ankle. This arises generally when the exhausted mare has fed heavily and been watered immediately afterwards; it is cured by burning around the breast and by piercing the skin on the shaved ankle.

Ẓufr: cataract of the eye; cured by dropping a mixture of rust, soot, and milk into the eye as well as by burning around the eye.

Every mare is given a name expressing her real or imagined qualities or those which her master would like her to possess. 552 A favorite mare of Prince an-Nûri was called Dîba, She Wolf; of his son Nawwâf, Sadḥa, Lioness; other mares of the prince were named: Farḥa, Joy; Frejḥa, Little Joy; Sa'da, Good Luck; Nowma, Sleepy; Falḥa, Bringing Good Luck; Ṛarra, White Fronted; Smejḥa, The Little Gentle; Šîḥa, Cautious; 'Awna, Helper; Mṛiẓa, Provoking; and 'Ejda, Snappy. It happens often that a youth names the young mare which he has received from his father after the girl he loves, to remind himself of his sweetheart every time he calls his mare.

SONGS RELATING TO MARES

The Bedouin also thinks of his mare in his songs and poems. 539*

Jâ šowḳ jâ bajjeẓ al-ṛarra
w-al-jowm wên ente jâ mâli
naḥağt w-ažef ma' al-ğarra
w-lâ min ṣiddîžen w-lâ wâli.

O sweetheart! O thou with a white spot on thy forehead!
And today, where art thou, treasure of mine?
I followed thy footprints, every little while halting,
And yet I found neither the mistress true nor my dear mare.

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539x The youth's mare was captured by the enemy before he had returned from a raid, and his beloved had married another in the meantime.

1. *Ḥajjeltaha-lja mâ laḳejt al-bdûni*
   w-ana-ḥmed alli ǧâb li bint ʿîda
2. *elja ṣâḥ ṣajjâḥ aẓ-ẓaḥa' w-aḳ'adûni*
   am'areḳah w-aḫûj jaftaḥ ḥadîdah
3. *ǧibbe w-dibbe wa-nsefah bimtûni*
   w-al-aṣel mâ jaḍreb ḫaṭât al-walîda
4. *jâ tâjehîn ar-ra'j lâ tanšedûni*
   šibrên waḳm ḥnûkaha 'an warîdah
5. *w-elja rkaẓat kâmat tethâmel 'ajûni*
   min riǧlaha al-jimna' ḫaṭran 'ala îdah.

1. I left her sterile till I found al-Bdûni,
   And him I praise who brought me ʿÎda's daughter.
2. When roused by the cry of alarm after the dew has gone
   I put a light saddle on her while my brother unlocks her fetter.
3. A short coat of cloth and a supple spear, adorned with ostrich feathers, hang at my back —
   Thus a well-bred man will not speak ill of any of the gallant youths.
4. O ye who err in your thoughts, inquire not of me!
   Two spans are her jaws from her white spot.
5. When she gallops, haze covers my eyes,
   While her right hind leg threatens the foreleg with danger.

The poet was aš-Šarrâbi of the Sinǧâra tribe; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. Aš-Šarrâbi refused to admit the camp stud horse to his mare ʿÎda. He heard of the stud horse Bdûni, owned by the Mṭejr tribe which camped beyond the valley of ar-Rma'; yet the road thither was dangerous. Now it so happened that, while participating in a raid, he found himself near the camp where Bdûni was kept. Leaving his comrades he took his mare to Bdûni, and in due time a filly was born. When it grew up, his friends came to see it but instead of praising it they only offered criticism for some blemishes in the young animal's beauty. Especially the white spot on its forehead seemed to them to be too close to the jaws. Aš-Šarrâbi, who had repelled many attacks of the enemy on his young mare, roused by the taunts of his friends, answered them with this poem.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. The young mare is called daughter of 'Îda, not of Bdûni, because a colt is always reckoned as of the family of its mother. 2. The enemy generally attacks when the dew has evaporated, as the camel herds are driven to pasture at that time. *Ṣajjâḥ* is either the herdsman or watchman who first sees the enemy and gives the alarm cry. The men amuse themselves till past midnight and stay in bed until dinner is ready for them, as breakfast is not known among the Bedouins. *Ma'reḳa* or *meršeḥa* is a soft, light horse saddle. 3. *Ğibbe* is a short coat of good cloth with long, narrow sleeves tucked up at the wrists. *Dibbe* is a spear with a supple shaft. *Nafes* is an ornament of ostrich feathers fastened near the spear blade. When about to attack, the spear shaft is held at the right of the hip. Aš-Šarrâbi is a gallant youth, one of the *ḫaṭât al-walîda*, undaunted young warriors, and therefore not to be taunted by men descended from old families. *Walîd* as well as *raǧǧâl* is more than *walad* or *raǧol*. *Walîd*, meaning a a real hero, is a stronger word than *walad*, youth, just as *raǧǧâl*, a man to be depended upon, is stronger than *raǧol*, an ordinary man. Not every *raǧol* is necessarily *raǧǧâl*, or every *walad* a *walîd*.

1. *Ḳâl al-ḥzejri w-allati tadanna leh*
   bint ar-ra'ejl min aṣlaha maǧḏûba
2. *w-lâ jaḳdar ar-raǧǧâl al-ḳaṣîr ju'enniha*
   illa fajarčîha 'ala šenḫûba
3. *jâ čenn 'ajânîha bimefrež râsaha*
   nîrân ḥarb biḳennaten mašbûba
4. *ḥamra' tawaṭṭa' bi 'âla miṯl al-'amed*
   ḳejṭâtaha biẓahraha maẓbûba
5. *jabṛi-š-šerîf jaḥoṭṭ serǧeh fowḳha*
   hâḍi 'elûm w-heǧǧaten maḳlûba.

1. Al-Ḥzejri said of her whom he drew to himself, holding
   "By descent she is Ra'ejl's daughter, [her firmly
2. Whom a small man cannot bridle
   Except he stand on a big rock.
3. Oh, the depth of her eyes, there where the forelock ends!
   They emit rays like beacons lighted on a high cone.
4. Behold, a bay steps under me like a pliant branch;
   Her back in the middle is unbending.
5. The Sherif would like to place his saddle on her."
   This is my answer and the bargain [for him] is lost.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x The poet was al-Ḥẓejri from the southern territory, *min dîrt al-ǧenûb*; the reciters, 'Awde al-Kwêčbi and Prince an-Nûri. Al-Ḥẓejri had a bay mare called ar-Ra'ejl. The chiefs of several tribes and the rulers of many settlements made him large offers for her, but in vain. The poor Ḥẓejri would not part with her. The Grand Sherif of Mecca also heard of her and sent his son to al-Ḥẓejri with large gifts. After examining the mare the Sherif's son fettered her forelegs and, grasping her by the forelock, said: "Ask what thou wilt, thou wilt get it, but I shall get the mare." Thereupon al-Ḥẓejri drew the mare to himself and improvised this poem.

Verse 1. Ra'ejl is the name for a horse, whether stallion or mare. 2. *Šenḫûba* is any projecting object — a boulder, a pile of stones, a low wall, etc. A man of low stature climbs a *šenḫûba* by which his horse is standing and puts a bridle in its mouth. 3. *Mefreẓ râsaha* is the spot reached by the forelock, which partly covers the horse's eyes. *Ḳenna* is an isolated conical hill on which alarm fires are lit when the enemy is about to attack a herd spending the night far from the camp. 4. *Ḳejṭâtaha* is the flesh covering the upper part of the thigh, mainly to the right and left of the root of the tail. The tougher and the less yielding to pressure this flesh is, the more fatigue will the mare stand. It is said of a fat but muscular mare: "She is so tough that an almond could be cracked on her back, *ḳejṭâtha*."

When he had finished his poem, al-Ḥẓejri bestrode his mare bareback; at a sign from him the spirited animal broke the Sherif's fetter by a mighty straddle of her forelegs and flew like a bird towards the vast desert. The Sherif's son with his whole retinue went in pursuit but returned without catching her.

1. *Ḳâl az-zujûdi bečalâmen jizûdi*
   'afje ku'ûdi jowm ǧâbni w-dân
2. *ešrû-l-aṣâjel lâ thâbû-l-ḫaṣâjel*
   lowhen hazâjel lâ ṭrâlûn al-aṭmân
3. *kbâr ar-rumâjem čennehen al-bahâjem*
   jowm al-hezâjem waḳḳefen teḳil ḫemrân
4. *beš-šaff zerḳa w-râčebha teḳil jerḳa'*
   sâḳha mu'arḳa' bel-waṛa teǰeḫm az-zân
5. *ṣafra waẓâḥ w-čennaha-ṣ-ṣabi nezâḥ*
   rakeẓha ǧemâḥ w-terkezha waṣṭ al-metnân

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6. *šakra ḏehûb w-čennaha-ḏ-ḏîb maslûb*
nafsah teḏûb elja-r'aden 'oḳob mukmân
7. *beš-šaff ḥamra w-awwal al-'omr ḳamry*
w-ar-rdûf samra bên ǧibbe w-ḳufṭân
8. *ḥamra tefûḫ w-fowḳaha teḳil jâ bûḫ*
w-al-libes ǧûḫ w-šâheren jowm al-ekwân.

1. Thus spoke az-Zujûdi in words somewhat lengthy:
"Hail to my camel, that has brought me here and will take me away!
2. Buy well-bred mares, fear no bad qualities,
Even if they are lean — but pay no high prices.
3. [Buy] those with broad heads as if of monsters,
For on the day of hostile attack they will stand firm like lone hills.
4. Thus one may fancy a white (mare) with bluish hair
so tall that, methinks, the rider must climb on her,
One on whose shin the veins stand out, one who during the fight will warily watch the spear shafts.
5. A mare yellowish white, resembling a shy gazelle;
Whilst galloping she gains speed and her tail covers the rider's back.
6. A gold-colored bay, like a wolf broad in front, narrow, in the back,
When taking cover her soul flames up when she hears the stamping [of the enemy attacking].
7. Thus one may fancy a sorrel and youth, a moonlight night,
And dark harness between my coat and caftan.
8. A sorrel dashes with long bounds; and her rider, like a castle
Dressed in a cloth jacket, appears everywhere on the day of the fight.

Az-Zujûdi hailed from the Beni Ḥasan tribe in al-Belḳa'. His poem was recited to me by Ǧwâd al-'Âni.

Verse 1. *Ǧâb w-dân* means "he brought and carried away" or "he rode with me hither and back again." 2. *Hazal* is equivalent to *ḍa'îf*, poor or lean. 3. *Rumma* is the horse's head viewed from the front. *Ḥemrân* are isolated hillocks. Horses with broad heads will support even the fiercest attack. 4. *Beš-šaff* means "as one may like or fancy"; *bšaffi*, "it looks good to me." *Teṭeḥm az-zân* means "she watches the spear shafts," that is to say, not only those of the attackers, thereby

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539 avoiding the lunge, but also that of her master, in order to spring forward when he is about to stab. *Zân* is the same as *'ûd ar-rumḥ*, spear shaft. 5. The sight of a shy white gazelle reminds one of a fast white mare. *Rakeẓha ǧemâḥ* means "she gallops with steps of gradually increasing speed." While galloping the hair of the steed's tail covers the rider's hips. 6. *Maslûb* means "pressed together, wide in the front, narrow at the back." The wolf's breast is broader than its hind part. If the bay is hidden under cover, *mukmân*, together with the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, and hears the stamping and rattling, *ra'aden*, of the riders from the attacked camp, she becomes excited and loses her wits, *nafsah teḏûb*. 7. The owner of the sorrel wishes that his youth, *awwal al-'omr*, would return and stay for ever; that the moon would shine for ever, and that he could wear dark armor, *rdûf samra*, between his caftan and woolen coat. *Ar-rdûf*, i. e. *râdef* (or *murâdef*) *hdûm*, a man clad in double garment, implies that he also wears under his clothes or over his clothes something dark, *samra'*, i. e. a short shirt made of metal rings. 8. *Tefûḥ* is used of a mare with a long stride and spring but hard to manage. She overtakes all, allows none to pass her, but obeys her rider only when so minded. *"Jâ bûḥ!"* shouts the surprised Bedouin on sighting a tall object at a distance, being unable to say whether it be a pile of stones, a rider, or a camel. This happens particularly on sultry days when the air is not clear but quivering with heat at noon.

2:Musil 3-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XIII

OMENS

NATURAL PHENOMENA AS OMENS

The Bedouin does not think deeply on religious matters and follows no rules in his religious observances. Nevertheless, he guides himself in all his social and private undertakings by certain fixed customs, observes the various natural phenomena, and pays heed to internal impulses and dreams which he holds to be signs or warnings sent to him by spiritual beings who wish him either good or ill. He is a firm believer in the existence of spirits and thinks it absolutely necessary to do all that is agreeable and avoid what is disagreeable to them. Woe to him, if he should anger them! To do so would frustrate all his undertakings. And anger them he would, should he not be careful in his words and actions nor give due regard to days of portent and certain signs both visible and invisible.

When a Rwejli despatches a man on an affair of importance, he must not use the word *"Ruḥ,"* "Go!" or "Run!" He must not say: "Ride in the direction of the settlement of Baḳ'a" or "of the al-Lmât wells." All these words invite death. For the verb *râḥ, ruḥ*, is used in connection with death or departure from this world. *Baḳ'a'* signifies a violent death, and *al-lmât* also reminds one of destruction, or death. Therefore they are likely to say *"Erŝed"* for "Go!" or "Run," instead of *ruḥ* and to substitute for the topographical names Baḳ'a' or al-Lmât the term Ṭajjebt Ism, which, referring to a settlement or a well, means "the name is a good omen."

More important matters the Rwejli prefers to leave either till noon or at least till the dew has fully departed or to despatch them before the fresh dew has fallen. These times of the day he considers the most favorable, because the spirits are then resting. But there is no day without some meaning attached to it — it is either suitable for an undertaking or not. These significations are called *waǧba* or *waǧḥ*; the favorable ones being *zên*, the unfavorable *šên*. The best days on

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777 which to begin a task are Mondays and Thursdays. Their *waǧba* is not only favorable, *zêna*, but their countenance, too, is sweet, *ḥelw*, so that they insure good results. Wednesday, Saturday, and the forenoon of Friday are not suitable. There is no spirit which would assist a Bedouin who begins an undertaking on any of these days, and he would be left to his fate, *naṣîbeh*. The other days of the week are of no significance whatever.

[805] The Bedouin observes the moon very carefully, counting his days in accordance with its waxing or waning. For both of these also have their good or bad countenance, *waǧh*. The most suitable or lucky day is the first day of the month, if it falls on Monday or Thursday. Then the success of an undertaking is assured. Unlucky are such nights and days of the month as contain the numbers six or seven. The sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth days of the month, called *al-farad*, are considered unlucky, as they break up or disintegrate any undertaking precisely as one can divide the figure six into two and two and two. The nights of the sixth, sixteenth and twenty-sixth of the month are called *lejâli-l-ṛarak*, the nights of flood, destruction. He who undertakes a work of importance on those days will drown his efforts in failure. Every being that comes into the world on any of these nights will surely perish and is on that account called *ṛarkân*. A baby boy born on such a night will not learn to walk. *lâ jaskom*.

The seventh, seventeenth, and twenty-seventh days of the month are likewise unlucky. The number seven, *sab'*, is wholly under the domination of the spirits; anyone pronouncing it irritates the evil spirits and repels the good. Colloquially *samḥ* is used instead of *sab'*, which is employed only in conjuring or swearing, and also in cursing to perdition — that is, when calling on the spirits with some object in view.

The ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth days remind one of the waning of the month, *nefâẓ aš-šahr*; for this reason it is better not to begin anything important on these days. A raid made on any of them will certainly fail, especially if led by several chiefs. On no other days of the month are there so many disputes and quarrels as on the ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth — it seems as if every human being was then unconsciously subject to irritation, *mat'ûs*.

The twenty-first day brings much evil into the world. The traveler loses his way most easily on that day. A child born on the twenty-first is called *maṭrûd*, pursued by trouble;

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it will not die but will be sick most of its days and will leave no descendants, and its herds will not multiply. 777

Just as every man and especially his pregnant wife wish that no child be born to them on the twenty-first day of the month, they still more ardently desire that it be born in the night of the fourteenth or twentieth, or on the day of the eighteenth. The night of the fourteenth is called *lejlet al-ḫadr*. A boy who sees the light of this world on that night will bring glory to his whole kin and clan — even to the whole tribe — and is therefore called *baḫît*. The night of the twentieth is known as *al-ḫatwa* and is lucky, *zêna*, to any undertaking. He who begins a task on the eighteenth is sure of success, for that date is favorable, *wağhek zên*.

But it is not enough for the Rwejli to observe time and day; he must also watch his surroundings, as there are favorable and unfavorable qualities both in human beings and in animals. Many a kin, many a clan, bears a good omen, *fâlhom zên*, others again a bad one, *fâlhom šên*. When meeting any of them on an important journey the Bedouin knows at once whether he can proceed farther or must return. A good omen is inherent in the Ḳa'âï'a of the Rwala tribe; in the Malḥûd kin of the Mğelli clan of the Fed'ân tribe; in the Eben Fnejd kin of the Rassâlîn clan of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, as well as in every pretty woman, *ḥurma min al-bwêheğ*. If raiders approach a camp of some friendly Bedouins known to be possessed of a good omen, the chief or some prominent man from the camp rides out or runs to meet them with the greeting: "Hasten after your luck! *eflehow*." The commander, then, making his camel kneel, *jenaweweḫ*, answers: "May it be a good omen to me, which I accept; *fâli w-ḳebilteh*." 777 787 614

Unlucky is the sign of the Bdûr of the Eššâ'e'a and Freğe of the Rwala; of the Hwejaîn kin of the Rassâlîn clan; of the Mrâme' kin of the 'Ebede division, but especially that of the N'ejm and Ğimlân, who breed goats and sheep in the al-Ḥaṣṣ hills. The Rwala never rest with the members of these kins or clans when going out on a raid but prefer to suffer hunger themselves and let their mares also suffer rather than to eat a mouthful with them. For each bite of food accepted from them brings failure, *'alḳathom ḫaṣra*; yet on their return they have no objection to refreshing themselves at any camp of these people.

Failure is always attached to the Ṣafâ, and their tents

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777 787 614 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. The Ṣlejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Ṣlejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

[492] 777 787 825

Fig. 55

Fig. 56

Fig. 55—A horse bridle, *'eṣán.*
Fig. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadíd.*
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥopejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḥaṭam 'ala-l-ruzz*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *ṛurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên.*" A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḥapar* or *rbejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dább*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favourable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *eṣ-ṣlejhijjât.*

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A Bedouin who has led in his mare to the stud horse, mounts her afterwards and rides around the camp until he meets a girl, to whom he says: "O daughter, just now I have led in my mare." If the girl answers: "Be comforted with

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FIG. 57—A harnessed mare.

the glad tidings that she will bring thee a filly, *ebšer bemohre*," both the owner of the mare and his whole kin rejoice, for this is a favorable sign, and they all expect confidently that the girl's prophecy will come true.

It is a common belief among the Rwala that a one-eyed person is the bearer of misfortune. If a man meets one so afflicted, in order to destroy his unhappy influence he turns over a large stone, thus burying the bad omen. Hence the proverb: "If thou meetest a one-eyed person, turn over a large stone; *idja šuft al-'awar oklób ḥajar*." Nobody embarking on a journey of importance will have for his guide a man with his right and left upper eyeteeth missing, *afrak as-sinnên*, or one with blue eyes, *azyar* (sic) *al-'ajnên*, for then nothing would succeed. Woe to those having intercourse with a woman whose breast is covered with down, or with a man without any beard or without down on any part of his body, *aǧnas al-*

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777 *ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-halba' w-ar-raǧol al-melûs*, as both are the
787 cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person
that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-da"âja w-an-*
826 *na"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both
828 he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her op-
789 ponent in the following sentences:

"Sab' hal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear this face!"

"Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwû (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-rîḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Ṭâjbt as-sa'ad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mowt an-nâr. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jil'an zên hal-hdûm alli mâ hi 'al-âdmi mâr 'ala 'ûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

777 In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful.
675 If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"'ala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

777 If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its
825 rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other
492 riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšaželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-ša"âṭa* (or *šarrûṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aḳer-*

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bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine, which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḥama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled. 825 492 [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'âwdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of 787 721

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787 721 raiding troops. If the commander sees in his dream girls with loosened hair, *banâten mufarra'âṯ*, or fresh clear water, green grass, cooked meals, etc., he knows that they will return home with booty and in good health, where all that he has seen in his dream will await them. If the commander in his dream pitches a tent or is holding a panther, he thanks Allâh for allowing him to capture the enemy's tent or make captive a brave foe. If he dreams of having rested with his troop under a green tree and of plucking figs and raisins from it, his comrades shout joyfully: "Success, success!" A green tree signifies booty without danger; the figs, she-camels; and raisins are symbolical of sheep and goats.

The commander of a Ḳa'âž'a raiding troop prayed for a dream concerning his return, *ḥelm m'âwdi*. When lying down at night, he looked at the North Star, *ǧedi*, fixedly, *ʿalaḳḳa'-l-ǧedi*, and then fell asleep. Whereupon Allâh's spokesman, *al-munâbi*, appeared, asking him: "Dost thou sleep or art thou awake, *ent nâjem walla' žâ'ed*." "Awake," answered the commander, springing up in fear, *fazz*. After a while he again fell asleep. Once more the spokesman appeared to him, putting the same question as before. When the commander answered in the same words, the spokesman said: "O booty! Thy booty is to be a cushion of a litter fastened with a *ǧedi* rope. *jâ bedd beddak min beddi w-min meḥmelen beh ǧedi*." Then he disappeared. Waking up and unable to sleep any more, the commander now pondered over the meaning of this strange dream. When he told it to his comrades in the morning, they exclaimed: "Success, success! May Allâh will it! But we do not yet understand it! *Ḫejr ḫejr in šâ-llâh mâ na'ref hâḏa*." The commander was so terrified by his dream that he wanted to return, *enčaf*. Staying behind under some pretext, he turned into a deep gully and then started for home. However, after a while his camel suddenly turned around and galloped after the raiding troop, despite her rider's frantic efforts to stop her. Thus nothing was left to the commander but to go on with the raid. Before long he attacked the Meṣâliḫ, drove out their defenders, and, entering the camp by force, found himself before the chief's tent where the 'Aṭfa litter was standing, in which in times of danger the prettiest girl used to be seated in order to encourage the defenders to fight bravely and hold their ground. A cushion, *bedd*, such as is laid under the litter when fastened on the camel's back, was

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lying beside it, and also a long rope, *ǧedi*, made of palm pith hung down from it. Then at last did the commander understand the meaning of his dream. Laying the cushion, *bedd*, on the saddle of a strong she-camel, with the help of his comrades he placed the litter there, fastening it with some straps, making it tight with the *ǧedi* rope, and rejoicing that he had taken from the Meṣâliḫ clan their most precious possession, for once the ʿAṭfa litter is lost it must not be used again.

At one time the Rwala were camping near ar-Remṭe[1] in al-Ḥamâd. Rains had been abundant, the pasture was good everywhere, truffles and mushrooms grew in plenty, the camels gave more milk than ever before, and the Bedouins, therefore, were living in affluence, or, as it is called, were having an exceptionally good *rabîʿ*. Then it was that their head chief, Hazzâʿ, had a peculiar dream. He saw countless swarms of locusts coming from the inner desert, *min šerž* or *min mšarreḥ*, to his camp, crawling into the tents, upon the beds, and into the food supplies, all over the camels, and — a strange thing to relate — the locusts carried away all these things — tents, beds, supplies, and even the camels. Suddenly there was a flash of lightning among the camels, all the herds rose to their feet and galloped in the direction of the ...tled territory, *w-al-bel ḳâmat tehâbat w-haǧǧat mṛarrab*. Hazzâʿ told the people of his dream, but nobody could explain it. At last, on the seventh day after the occurrence of the dream and when the herds had already grazed their fill on fresh grass in the morning, *jowm šabʿat aṭ-ṭarš ṣubeḥ min al-ʿešeb*, there appeared in the south Prince Eben Rašîd's raiding troops from the inner desert; these drove back the defenders of Hazzâʿ's camp, entered the camp, and began to load the tents with all that was in them on their own and on the captured camels. The herds together with their herdsmen were surrounded. The herdsman of the white camels, *marâtir*, who longed to save his herd, the pride of the whole tribe, finally thought of this stratagem. He saw that some pack camels were still carrying their pack saddles which had been left on them to conceal their galled backs from the sharp beaks of ravens and crows. These saddles, which are stuffed with straw and dry grass, he set on fire; this caused the terrified animals to shy, then to run away in mad fright, others following their example, and in a little while all the

[1] [Errata: Should be ad-Dmejṭe. Cf. p. 712, ed. 16]

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787 herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a 721 number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥod lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḫûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭṭ'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḫûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

787 A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard 302 shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

513 While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes 774 sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

628 A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When yawning the Rwejli must also be very cautious, as the throat opens wide during this process and the demon then may let a drop of its urine, *jebûleh*, fall into the man's throat; the urine enters the stomach and causes various diseases.

The Bedouins should also watch the stars most carefully, because they have more properties unfavorable to man than favorable. Wounds will not heal when pierced by the rays of either the stars or the sun. Therefore the wounded person is laid, wrapped in all sorts of covers, in some corner of the tent so as to keep the rays away from him. Whenever people came to me with one of their wounded relatives, they first pitched a small tent behind the one occupied by me, closed it tightly, and then — not before — proceeded to uncover the wound. If a Rwejli loses his way at night, the stars are to blame, for he took his course from a certain star which changed its position imperceptibly, making the man take a wrong direction. Therefore he will not say "*Tiht*, I lost my way," but "*Enǧemt*, I was led astray by the stars." When the stars begin to play with a Rwejli in this manner, even the North Star cannot be depended upon. The best thing to do in that case is to lie down and wait for sunrise. Then the Rwejli can take his bearings himself according to the landmarks and continue his journey.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XIV

SUPERNATURAL GIFTS

SEERS OR SORCERERS

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756 Among the Bedouins there are persons, both male and female, who know and see hidden things and are able to heal the sick. The Rwala call them collectively *ahl as-sirr* or *as-serrijje*, and individually *râ' as-sirr*, a lord (or owner) of secrets, seer, whereas they are known among themselves as *aṣ-ḥâb al-islâm*, owners of *islâm*, possessing the protection of God. They maintain that they inherit their supernatural qualities, their *islâm*, from their forefathers and that, therefore, the ability to heal the sick, discover what is hidden, foretell the future, etc., is confined to certain families. This the Rwala refuse to believe and often deride the seers openly. If, however, both the seer's father and grandfather were also known as seers or sorcerers, then the Bedouins may admit the claim to be justified; but they scoff the more at the men and women who, having joined the seer, begin after some time to claim that they too have been endowed by Allâh with the gifts of *islâm*.

The seer maintains that he communicates with an angel, *malak*, who announces to him the will of Allâh. Such an angel, an intermediary between Allâh and the sorcerer, is called *munâbi* or *mnâbi*, spokesman. As a rule the *munâbi* appears in the shape of a rider seated on a white mare. He tells the seer what to proclaim in Allâh's name, and woe to him should he say something different from what the angel told him, *mâ jeḥči kowd ḥači al-malak*, for the angel would kill him on the spot. The *munâbi* simply says: "O So-and-So, this or that is going to happen; this or that thou wilt proclaim; this or that do!" Besides the angel the seer's ancestors also appear to him in the night between Thursday and Friday, instructing him how to behave. Yet neither the angel nor the ancestors ever appear without a thorough preparation on the part of the seer.

Every seer has his disciples, *ṭallâbt as-sirr*, who are taught all the external performances necessary to display if

791 the *munâbi* is to appear. They come to the seer on Thursday
756 night, accompany him on his visits to the sick and on raids, and join him whenever he commands them. One part of their duty is to carry little drums and other musical instruments,
[789] *dfûf w-šiš* or *dirbâš*. If the sorcerer wants to call the spokesman-angel to him, he beckons to the disciples to play, while he himself squats with his head bent down. After a while he begins to move, stands up, stretches out his hands, jumps about, contorts his body, and puts his hands, feet, and even his head close to the fire, clapping his hands. The Bedouins say of this that he is just playing, *jel'ab*, but his disciples call it yielding to the influence of the *islâm*, ecstasy. When his enthusiasm reaches its climax, either Allâh's spokesman or some of the seer's ancestors appear on the scene. After the climax has subsided, the seer, greatly exhausted, complains that he can do nothing. The Bedouins, however, who cannot be made to believe that this ecstasy is a mere preparation for the angel's appearance, deride the sorcerer, imitate his gestures, and call him one possessed and a juggler. Especially those of the new sorcerers whose ancestors were not known as seers are the target of their ridicule when trying to establish themselves. In this the Rwala are assisted by the acknowledged seers themselves, even by the new seer's temporary master. The new sorcerer is called *maṛši*, a fool; *masdûf*, bereft of reason; *ḫabel*, feeble-minded; *wâše'eh kejfarân*, full of unbelief; *maṣfûḫ*, drunk; *ma'rûẓ*, one possessed, etc. Should he declare something as the will of Allâh, all will laugh at him, for he could not learn anything from his ancestors who were not seers themselves, and the speaking angel does not know him. Yet even if, after all, he achieves something extraordinary, they say he was helped by some
[555] spirit, *ǧânn*, and with such the sorcerers never associate. However, by perseverance, patience, and courage a sorcerer-to-be in a few years will gain recognition not only from the Bedouins but from the hereditary sorcerers as well. The advance of such a sorcerer's son in his father's calling is, as a matter of course, much easier and speedier.

791 In defense of their honor the seers sometimes resort to
754 curses. They are unable by their own strength to ruin the scoffers, but their ancestors and the spokesman-angel with whom they communicate will ask Allâh to punish those who dare to persecute them. These will die prematurely, their sons

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

791 will be slain, their herds perish. The chief Ṣaḳr eben Meṣ-
754 reb, a famous leader of countless raids, was greatly incensed against both the sorcerers and their disciples because of their incessant greed and was once heard to say: "Oh, may Allâh rid me of you all! If you have enough, you disturb everybody's rest by your music and your foolery; if you are hungry, there is no being rid of you, you beggars; *low šeba'tu awdejtu w-low ǧi'tu arzejtu.*" On hearing this the insulted sorcerers called a meeting and one of them, Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, cursed Ṣaḳr in the name of all present. A few days later the chief was dead.

789 Of the sorcerer's curse the Bedouins stand in much fear.
782 If anybody hears that a seer has cursed him, he makes haste
754 to find the seer and, falling on his face before the powerful man, crosses his hands behind his back as if fettered and says: "I ask the protection of thine ancestor and am willing to bring a lawful sacrifice as a gift to him, *ana dâḫel 'ala ǧeddekom w-ana ḥâṭṭ ḏebîḥat ǧeddekom mowhebha mowhebe šara'ijje.*" The sorcerer answers: "Agreed, it has arrived; *tâmma w-jâmma.*" The animal selected for the sacrifice is killed by the sorcerer at the edge of the tent, with its head turned south, while the sorcerer says: "O Allâh, this sacrifice is destined for my ancestor." Then he besmears with the blood of the sacrificed animal the center pole of the tent and the strip which strengthens its roof, *ṭarîžet al-bejt*; the meat he and his disciples eat, and the accursed is relieved.

791 At the time when this was written (1909) the following persons were recognized as true seers: men: Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, Ṛannâm eben Ǧel'ûd, Ṣajjâḥ eben Ǧlejdân, Za'al eben 'Awwâd; women: 'Ešba bint Hmezi, Baṭḥa bint 'Awwâd, and Dlejjil bint Mâẓi.

787 A sorcerer can give information whether and for how
791 long it is going to rain; whether a wife will bear a boy or a girl; whether the young produced by the mare or camel will be a male or a female; whether a raid will succeed, etc.

[726] War expeditions on a large scale are always accompanied by a sorcerer who instructs the commander in anything he may undertake. The latter asks the sorcerer's advice only on occasions when he is at a loss what to do. Then the seer stimulates himself with music and works himself into an ecstasy, which helps him hear the angel speak and proclaim the will of Allâh.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Very often a sorcerer is summoned to the bedside of a person who is seriously ill. He comes either with all or a few of his disciples and settles down in the tent as a regular guest. During the day, but especially in the evening, he orders his disciples to play, while he squats by the fire with his head wrapped up and his face in his hands, listening to the music. After a while he begins to contort the upper part of his body, jumps up, seizes a small drum, beats it wildly, circles around the fire, and, dancing around the patient, raps him with the drum on the head and legs; then, throwing the drum aside, he lies above the patient, supporting himself by the feet and hands, breathes into his mouth and nostrils, kneels down, rubs the patient on the breast, stomach, and back, jumps up, dances around, and, then, lying on him again, mumbles unintelligible words. Sometimes he cures the sick person by this process; sometimes the patient dies.

Ṣulhân's little son, Feǧer, six years old, fell ill. Greatly troubled, the father entreated a sorcerer to cure his child. The seer soon appeared with his wife, and the first thing they did was to lay the boy's head south and his feet north. The woman began to play, while the sorcerer bent down to the fire, waiting for the *islâm* to take hold of him. Then he jumped up, danced, lay on the boy, covering him with his body, breathed on his cheeks, and made curious grimaces, *laʿab ʿalejh*, the woman beating a little drum all this time and dancing around them. The boy recovered.

A certain woman was paralyzed for many years and unable to stand on her feet. Finally Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr was brought to her and played over her, *laʿab*, for three evenings. On the third evening the sick woman suddenly jumped up and began to dance with him, and was well ever after.

Feǧer eben Ṭajjeb of the Mwâhîb clan suffered from gout and was unable to walk, *mḥarwal*. On being sent for, the sorcerer stayed with him seven days, played over him every evening, daubed him with his spittle, spat on him — and Feǧer became well.

The sorcerers are accustomed to sing:

Hala bʿali az-zêni	Welcome, ʿAli, thou benefactor,
jâ šejḫ al-ǧeddêni	Chief of my ancestors both;
w-ʿali jâ-bu ḥsêni.	ʿAli, thou father of Ḥsên.

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Jâ bâz jâ ǧeddi O Falcon! O ancestor mine!
hala' b'ezzaddîn Welcome to us, O 'Ezzaddîn!
jâ šejḫ al-jemîn. Thou chief powerful.

Hala' bzên an-nijje Welcome to us, thou who well meanest
jâ ra' aṭ-ṭawijje And knowest what is hidden.

It is even said of the sorceresses that they can disappear from the tent unobserved.

SOOTHSAYERS

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There are people living among the Bedouins, both men and women, who in some inexplicable way are able to tell of hidden things, whether of the past, present, or future. One of their ways is to prophesy from the position of twenty-three objects cast about promiscuously. These objects are: seven round white pebbles, *marwât*; one small piece of ambergris; one fragment of broken glass, *ṛazâra*; one small piece of a burned brick, *ḫuẓrime*; one fragment of a broken glass armlet, *ḳuṣmat ma'ẓad*; five small white sea shells, *ḫams wad'ât*; one small piece of sea shell, *misarra*; four date stones, *ṯumât*; one small piece of a glass ring such as is worn by mares on their necks, *ḳuṣmat ḫaršat faras*; and one smooth silver ring, *ḥalḳat ḫâtem fuzza*. The soothsayer, who keeps all these twenty-three objects in a leather pouch, shakes them out on the palm of his hand, throws them down on the carpet, and then begins to prophesy from their relative positions.

Blejhân related to me: "My little brother, Ǧî'ân, went on a raid and did not return for a long time. My heart was sick with longing for him, *w-ḳalbi waǧ'ân 'alejh*. So I went to a Ḥâzmijje (woman of the Ḥawâzem tribe) soothsayer, *naḥart al-ḥaṭṭâṭa alli 'endana min al-ḥawâzem*, and gave her a little tobacco, *'aṭajtah šwajje titen*. She said:

'What brings thee here, O youth? *wêš ǧâjebk jâ walaḍ*. Dost thou need something? *lak ṛaraḍ*.'

'I seek a lost camel and want thee to give me the sign, *ana meḍheb w-abîč teṛrobi li bel-fâl*.' Taking out from a bag, *mezwede*, the pouch with those twenty-three things, she shook them out on her right palm, which she first lifted and then lowered again, threw them, *ṭaššatha*, broadcast on the carpet, glanced over them, and then exclaimed:

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'O youth, thou seekest not a she-camel, *ent mâ mẓâje'en mḍâhba*. Thou art troubled about a raider; it is for him thy heart is aching. But be it known to thee that today his heart is calmer than thine, *ḳalbeh al-jowm afẓa' min ḳalbk*. He will return to thee merry and unwounded, *jeği farḥân mâ hw ḳarḥân*.' 791 787

'If he returns thus thou shalt get a dress or silk kerchief, *en čân ğâ' farḥânen leč ṯowb ẉilla' maḳrûne*,' said I and left, somewhat relieved. And, true enough, five days after this Ğî'ân came back well and bringing four captured she-camels. Then I gave the soothsayer that silk kerchief."

Ğowfân eben Sûdân of the Ḳmuṣa lost a camel, *ẓajja'*. He looked for her in the whole neighborhood without result, and, although half of his neighbors knew of his trouble, *ruma-l-ḫabar benuṣṣ an-nâs*, no one came to him with news of the lost animal. After ten days he finally went to a soothsayer, *ẓarrâbt al-fâl*, Boṣra bint 'Orejč by name, of the Ḥawâzem tribe, and said to her:

"I wish to go on a raid. What sign wilt thou give me?" The woman raised her hand with the twenty-three objects, lowered it again, threw them broadcast, and after observing them said:

"Why art thou talking of a raid? Thou hast lost a camel; that is what thou desirest to know — nothing of a raid. Be cheered with glad tidings. I see thy camel lying behind a stranger in the west." This gave Ğowfân a clue. He began to inquire what sort of a stranger camped in the western part of the large camp, and found that on that very day a tent had been pitched at the western end by an unknown Rwejli. Going there he began to search about the tent and at last saw in a neighboring gully his camel, fettered. The soothsayer received a *meğîdijje* (90 cents) for the welcome news, *bšâra*.

A herdsman drove a flock of sheep to water. He drove them back again at sunset, *râbat 'alejha-š-šams*, and then let them graze as they pleased. Sitting down not far off, he soon fell asleep from exhaustion, *nâm 'anha*. When he woke up in the morning, his flock was gone. He looked all around, shouted for them, but all in vain. Hastening, then, to the owner of the flock, *ğâ' haleh*, he reported what had happened. The owner called all his kin, *haleh*, together and rode with them on horse-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

791 back through the whole neighborhood, searching for the animals
787 all day, but without avail, *ʿağaz*. Returning and saddling their camels in the evening, they began a new search, from which they did not return for fifteen days, *ḫansṭaʿaš wağbe* (sic), again without finding a single trace of the flock. Then the owner decided to visit a soothsayer. Scattering her twenty-three objects on the ground before him, she said: "Hurry after thy flock with the wind, with the wind! Thou wilt find one half, thou wilt find the other half. Thou wilt find one after another." When the owner asked what was meant by these words, the woman put him off with the remark that she did not know. Returning to his tent, he related to his people what the soothsayer had told him. The air was perfectly quiet at that time, but suddenly a strong wind began to blow from the south-southwest, which gave one of the relatives an idea. "Allâh sends us a leader," said he, "let us follow him." And exactly at noon they set off north-northeast. About the middle of the afternoon, *ʿaṣejr*, they found a piece of the skin of the first sheep, which by a mark on its head the owner recognized as belonging to his flock. Before sunset they found the skin of a second and then of a third sheep with the same mark. All three sheep had been torn to pieces by wolves. Greatly fatigued with their long ride, they lay down to sleep. Continuing their search next morning, they found one dead sheep after another until they reached the pasturing ground of the Rfede kin, where they learned that, a few days before, one of their members named Ḥsejni had found seventy-five sheep wandering aimlessly in the vicinity. This was exactly the half of the lost flock, the other half having perished in the meantime.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF ṢLEJB WOMEN

764 The Rwala also believe that many women of the Ṣlejb tribe can exercise a good or bad influence. They are said to be able not only to awaken love, but also to smother it; to strengthen and also to destroy the faculty of begetting; to increase as well as to hinder the growth of children; to lengthen and shorten life, etc. No one knows if they have direct connections with evil spirits, but the people are inclined to believe so. Such women are called witches, *saḥḥâra*, although none of them may be directly so called. Should that be proved of any Ṣlubijje, the Rwala would certainly kill her.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

About four years before my stay with the Rwala, a young Rwala chief fell in love with a beautiful young girl. The chief was already married and father of two boys, whom his healthy young wife had borne to him. Driven by jealousy, she went to a witch, *saḥḥâra*, complained of her husband, and begged the witch to prevent his taking a second wife but not to harm him. The witch asked her to bring a piece of the wool of a sheep killed on the day of her husband's new wedding and dip it into the blood of the sheep. At that time the Rwala were camping east of Damascus, where they could buy a sheep for their supper. The young wife promised to do as she was asked. When the sheep was killed before the chief's tent a little after noon, she tore out a bit of wool as if by accident, dipped it into the blood, and gave it to the Ṣlubijje. The witch pressed the wool with both her hands, mumbled strange words, and then returned it to the wife with instructions to take good care of it, to press it thoroughly, *temûṣah*, every Friday night, and to continue doing so until the new wife was divorced by her husband. Cheered by this advice, the young wife gave a suitable reward to the Ṣlubijje, who was camping with some families of her kin on the outskirts of the Rwala encampment, and returned to her tent. At the side of this a small tent was already being put up, shut in from all sides, into which the young chief meant to bring his new bride after the wedding ceremony. This took place in the evening, the young couple entering the tent immediately afterwards. After midnight the chief returned to the big tent. All the next week his mien was dark, and the new wife did not show herself at all. After two weeks he gave her a severe beating and before the month was out divorced her because she scoffed at him in public and said that he was incapable of having intercourse with a woman; and as matter of fact she returned to her parents a virgin. The witch had caused the man to become impotent at the very moment when he approached the second woman, but reinvigorated him on his return to his first wife.

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THE EVIL EYE

The evil eye is universally feared among the Rwala. Every Rwejli knows that there are persons of either sex who can cast a spell over him, yet he is never able to say who it was

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

754 that has thus harmed him. A person having the evil eye is called *madri*, and the person he bewitches *ma'jûn*. A man who [826] lacks both upper eyeteeth or one who has blue eyes is undoubtedly able to bewitch and is therefore carefully avoided by all his acquaintances. If a traveler is seen approaching his tent, he hears from all the neighboring tents: "Avoid the bewitcher's tent! Go to the right, to the right! *Lâ temarr 'ala bejt al-madri jemînak jemînak.*"

754 A bewitched person feels at once great weakness, his eyes
755 become dim, and he is subject to fainting fits. Above the heart of a bewitched child a blue spot soon appears, as if caused by a hard blow. A bewitched animal gets a tumor on the heart the size of a fist, and clotted blood is found under it when killed. Fumigation is the usual cure in such cases. If the bewitcher is known, two or three threads are torn from the hem of his garment and laid on red-hot coals, and the stricken person is fumigated with the smoke from them. The head of a bewitched animal is held over a dish of red-hot coals and smoldering *šîḥ* plants in such a way that the smoke must enter its nostrils. Frequently the bewitched has much difficulty in urinating. To help him, the Bedouins shoot a porcupine, from which they extract the gall bladder and, pressing out its contents into a little water, *jemûṣûn mrejreh bel-moje*, they drip it into the nostrils of the sick person. Bewitched people and even animals are the most easily bitten by poisonous snakes.

754 Whoever is possessed of the evil eye also has the power to restore the bewitched to his former health. In the Rassâlîn clan there lived at the time when these studies were made a fellow named Na"ûs eben 'Ajde to whose evil eye much misfortune was attributed. Once he bewitched, *ẓarab*, a young girl pretty both in face and figure, *ḥsejjene min židdâmah w-min warâha*. It happened while she was fetching water; when she returned to her tent, she began to stagger and finally fainted. On recovering she was unable to stand on her feet. When asked by her frightened mother the cause of her condition, the girl only said: "Na"ûs looked at me fixedly; he bewitched me," and fainted again, *ertamât min ǧedîd*. With much lamentation the mother then reported to the father what the daughter had just told her, and he, calling his sons and relatives to his aid, ran to Na"ûs' tent, threatening him with death if he did not take back instantly the look which had injured his daughter. Na"ûs swore by all

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the powers that he had not bewitched any one on that day, but was seized by the enraged brothers of the girl and dragged to her bed where she was still lying unconscious. Na"ûs took his spittle, *rîżeh*, in his three fingers, besmeared the girl's throat and neck with it, and then walked round her seven times, after which the girl awoke as healthy as before. This sudden recovery confirmed all the women there in the belief that Na"ûs' eye could bewitch, and they took counsel together as to how they could destroy this injurious power of their neighbor. Knowing or taking for granted that the eating of human excrement was the best remedy in this particular case, they appointed a woman whose tent adjoined that of Na"ûs to apply it to him. So she watched him till he went to fulfill the needs of nature, *jetaḥalla' bel-ḥala'*, took up some of his excrement, *neǧaseh*, on a stalk, mixed it with flour, from which she then baked a thin loaf of bread, dipped it into melted butter, and inviting Na"ûs to dinner gave it to him to eat. Na"ûs, who was a frequent guest in his neighbor's tent, ate the bread and butter, praising its taste. From that time on no one complained of having been bewitched by him. His uncanny faculty had left him forever.

With some people the power of the evil eye is so strong that it can even bring down a bird from the air. Thus a troop of the Rwala were once riding through the desert. In one place they scared two birds called *ḥabâri*, which flew up, then alighted, and rising again flew some distance in the direction followed by the riders. Finally Ṣabr âl Murabbaṭ exclaimed: "Faith, we shall roast one of the birds; *wa' ḥalôla jâ ḥada ḥal-ḥabâri naštwîha.*" At the same moment one bird fell down to the ground as if struck by a bullet.

For protection against the evil eye small sea shells with red, white, and green spots, called *ḥarazt an-nafs*, are recommended, also two marbles, *neḳżên*. Both the shells and marbles can be bought from wandering merchants. If there are none in the neighborhood, the Bedouin selects seven pebbles, *samḥ ḥeṣwât*, pares off a splinter from the left (north) side pole of the tent, takes a grain of salt, *ṭowr melḥ*, and a small piece of alum, and sews all in a piece of new black cloth, *ḥebbe*. Still more effective is a fragment of a turtle shell, *'aẓm al-leǧa'*, fastened to a peg made of almond wood. Of the *neḳżên* balls or marbles there must be always two, a black and a white one. The latter gives protection in the daytime,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

751 the former at night. Both are wrapped in pieces of soft skin,
754 *sihṭjâne*. Any of these preventives are tied to the head cord, to the kerchief lappet, or to the belt. Little children carry them fastened to their hair on the forehead, to their caps, or hang them from their necks. The mares, which also must be protected against the evil eye, have them twisted into their forelocks or manes, or hung about their necks, while the camels wear the charms in the tuft of hair growing on their humps.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XV

SPIRITS AND VOWS

The Rwala believe that besides this visible world there is also an invisible, or spiritual, world. The spiritual world is again divided into a celestial and an earthly world. The inhabitants of the celestial world are called *malak* (pl., *malâjika*), those of the spiritual earthly world *ǧânn* (pl., *ǧinn*). Both the celestial and earthly spirits were created by Allâh. They possess bodies similar to human bodies but invisible; they can pass through any wall and can cover in a short while a distance which even a good rider would travel in barely a month. The spirits hear, speak, eat, drink, and ride like any Bedouin but feel no pain, are never sick, and cannot die.

The celestial spirits do not leave heaven except when sent by Allâh to men. A *malak* announcing Allâh's will to the Bedouin is called *munâbî*, spokesman. He does so only during a dream, whether natural or artificial, the latter occurring when a waking person falls into ecstasy, *islâm*, under the influence of music or dancing.

THE ǦINN

To the earthly spirits, *ǧinn*, *harâfil*, or *ǧenûn*, heaven is not accessible. They are of both sexes and have big eyes extending to the corners of their mouths. The food they prefer is raw meat, *nej*, and fresh blood is their favorite drink. The raw meat they get from fallen animals, the blood is left for them by the Bedouins every time an animal is killed. The *ǧinn* are divided into tribes, clans, and families like the Bedouins, but in reality are settlers, *ḥaḍar*. They live in high mountains, inaccessible ravines, and old ruins. They never have tents. Their dens are situated underground in rock crevices, caverns, and vaults of deserted buildings. The farther such a ravine or ruin is from the water, the better it is liked by the spirits, who know that they will not be disturbed there. They occupy themselves in raising goats and sheep, which their herdsmen pasture in regions so rocky and stony that the goats and sheep

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776 belonging to human beings would die of hunger there. Camels and horses are not raised by them.

776 Woe to the Bedouin who falls asleep in a region inhabited by the spirits! For if a *ǧânnijje* observes him, she crawls into 828 his body either through his nostrils, forefinger, or big toe, and, as soon as she gets hold of him, she makes him jump 755 up and run into the desert, whence he can be brought back to his tent only by force. A man so possessed is known as *maḫšûš* or *muharfal*. To cure him, a seer, *râʿ aṣ-ṣirr*, is called in, who, after working himself into an ecstasy, commands the female spirit to come out: "Crawl out, crawl out! *eṭlaʿî eṭlaʿî*," her answer being: "I will not, I will not crawl out, *mâ-ṭlaʿ*." Then the sorcerer orders his disciples to play louder and faster, he himself circling and dancing round the possessed with increasing vigor, finally lies down upon him and again shouts: "Crawl out and away with thee to the place whence thou camest! *eṭlaʿî maʿ makâneč min alli ǧîti minneh*." It takes some time for a female spirit to be driven out, because a woman is headstrong and will not obey.

A Ḳmâṣi spent a night in some ruins west of the al-ʿAzîb valley and perceived a *ǧânnijje* there, who instantly entered his body. He then ran into the neighboring hills and would not return home when found by his relatives, but threw himself on the ground, struck out at them, and frothed at the mouth. This showed him to be possessed, *maḫšûš*. A sorcerer was sent for. He played over him, *laʿab*, for several days, but the *ǧânnijje* tormented him still more. Then they began to beat him so that blood began to trickle from almost every limb of his body. The beating of a man possessed is permitted, for the blows are not meant for him but for the female spirit, and it is she who feels the pain, not the man. It is observed that the *ǧânnijje* shakes her victim less violently after the beating, and they then beat him only at intervals. On the twenty-fourth day the *ǧânnijje* finally left the bruised body for good, the prolonged beating having proved too much for her. The man, of course, recovered immediately afterwards.

513 The Bedouin does not like to sleep long, as many dangers lurk about him during sleep, not only from men but also from the earthly spirits, and, moreover, sleep reminds him of death. A Bedouin saying is: "He that sleeps one third of the night has done as well as he that sleeps all night, and he that sleeps the whole night will wake up an idiot; *min nâm ṯilṯ al-leyl*

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nâmha killaha w-min nâm kill al-leyl haḍâk habîl." Sleep during the hot midday, *ḳajjalna*, or at sunrise, *ṣaffarna*, is preferred to the night sleep. This is also the time when the animals are allowed to rest. 513

Women and girls are in constant danger from the male spirits. If a girl, especially a pretty one, falls asleep in a locality inhabited by the spirits, she is approached by a male spirit, who has sexual intercourse with her yet without violating her virginity. Should he succeed in that only once, the girl cannot resist him ever afterwards. He compels her to leave her tent at night and to come to a place selected by him. Such a woman or girl must not marry; should she do so voluntarily the spirit would torment her still more, and if she is compelled to marry the spirit would attack her husband. 776 833

Me'zel eben 'Ekla' of the Mwâhîb married a pretty widow, a relative of his, who was dominated by a *ǧânn* and was therefore unwilling. When on the wedding night he approached her, the *ǧânn* seized him by the throat, throttled him, and then threw him out of the tent, threatening him with death should he dare to approach her again. Such a husband expelled by a spirit is called *menḥi*. But a spirit can never beget children by a woman, as spirits never have any children at all.

The wells of the watering place of Line are very deep, hewn in the rock spirally, and have smooth walls. According to a Bedouin tale, a chief's pretty daughter was often molested at night by a *ǧânn*. When she complained to her father he lay in wait for the spirit and finally caught him on the night of *as-sarra*, or of the dark of the moon. The chief tied the *ǧânn* both hands and feet, seated him on the rocky plain of Line, and commanded him to keep on circling around until his posteriors should dig a well with spring water in the rock. The *ǧânn* began to do as he was bidden, his back grinding out the rock and his head pressing up the sand, which was changed by his sweat into a thin dough. Yet no sooner had he deepened one well that the chief made him dig a second, a third, and so on, urging him on with the words: "Soften the rock, soften the rock, and change it into dough! *lîni lineh w-eydik 'ajîne.*"

Not long ago some travelers, *rab' aṭ-ṭrûd*, rode by the impassable crags of al-'Affâjef in the deep depression of al-Ka'arn. Below a hillside there a hedgehog, *ḫunfud*, of extraordinary size was warming himself in the rays of the sun. 776 825

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776 825 Dismounting, one of the travelers caught the animal and put it into his empty saddle bag, intending to kill and roast it at their next halting place, as the hedgehog's flesh is regarded as having a very savory taste. But before long they heard a female voice crying: "O Manṣûr, O Manṣûr, where art thou?" Turning around they saw an elderly woman running after them, repeating the call. Finally the hedgehog's voice was heard out of the bag: "Manṣûr lies curled up in a small bag, *al-manṣûr bwaṣṭ al-ḫurǧ maṣrûr*." This frightened the riders so much that the man with the bag threw the hedgehog on the ground, and the animal, instantly changing into a man, ran towards the woman.

One Ǧirân walad Dḥejjel found near al-'Afâjef a solitary sheep. Thinking that it had gone astray from some flock in the neighborhood, he tried to catch and bring it to its owner. A lost animal of this kind is called *ḫwâr*, and its finder receives a reward for returning it. But our sheep was not a *ḫwâr* at all but a sheep from a *ǧânn* flock, for it ran into a steep crag where there was not the smallest opening and disappeared in a second.

Old ruins also are favorite hiding places of the *ǧinn*. There they either live in the shape of long snakes or else they enter snakes' bodies, *maskûn*, and dwell there permanently. Therefore whoever kills a snake among old ruins makes the spirits his enemies. But should he roast and eat such a snake, he would bring the spirit into his own body and become possessed. On the other hand, in the wide, level desert where the spirits never live, any long snake can be killed and eaten with impunity.

In the great church in the ruins of ar-Reṣâfa there lives — according to the Rwala — a long, black snake, *dâbb*, with the head of a goat and a white spot on its forehead. The oldest Bedouins say that it is very old and relate that the same serpent had been known to their forefathers. It fears nobody, probably knowing with what fear it is regarded by the Bedouin population of the whole neighborhood.

Near the well of Wâḳṣa, south of the oasis of Tejma, a treasure is said to be guarded by a *ǧânn* in the shape of a *dâbb* snake.

In the castle of al-Ḥafâǧi, formerly owned by the Âl Aḥejṣer or Eben Aḥejṣer kin, the Rwala claim once to have seen a long snake or dragon with a human head, bird's feet, and lion's back, which did not stir even when they came close to

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it. This calmness so terrified the curious Bedouins that they instantly took to their heels.

In the *šeʿib* of al-Čaʿči which opens into the valley of al-Člâbât stands a large boulder facing eastwards and entirely covered with curious marks. This boulder is a place of pilgrimage for the *ǧinn*, who gather there in the end of May to kill their sacrificial animals. They were seen performing these rites by the Ṣḳûr clan subject to the chief Eben Haḍḍâl.

At aš-Šubejče there are a few large black boulders said to be inhabited by *ǧinn*. Close to them yawns the opening of an ancient well from which they water their herds.

In the neighborhood of Ğâwa and Ğennâwa lie many boulders shaped like cows. A long time ago the *ǧinn* kept a herd of cows there, which pastured on grass grown on firm soil as well as on the *rimṭ* and *raṣa'* thriving only in sand. Allâh, however, forbade them to raise cows and transformed the cows into boulders. *Ğâwa w-ǧennâwa behen ḥağarât lown al-baḳarât bên ad-dimṭ w-ar-rimṭ w-al-raṣa'.*

Near the ridge of Lâha the *ǧinn* have an underground village; also near Bâjer and al-Mwejsen.

In the wide level desert delightful music may often be heard and pretty girls seen coaxing the traveler to join them, But woe to him who succumbs! The girls will tickle him to death, suck out his blood, and devour his flesh. As my companion, Blejhân, related: "Once I went with three of my comrades on a marauding trip, our goal being the pastures of the Sirḥân tribe at the southern foot of the Ḥawrân. When already near our destination we were surprised in a deep gully by a strong troop of our enemies of the Ṣḥûr tribe and were scattered in several directions. I luckily got out of the volcanic rocks into the level Ḥamâd desert, where I rested at night, squatting by my camel and filling my short pipe, *sebîl*. Some days before, it had broken in the middle and I had repaired it by replacing the stem with a piece of bone and tying it to the bowl with a strip of leather. A pipe thus mended is called *bûz* or *bazbûzt as-sebîl*. Having filled it with tobacco, I wrapped my head and the pipe in my cloak, so that the sparks flying from it and the smoke could not be seen from a distance; *tarâmaṭṭ bel-'aba' 'an bazbûzt as-sebîl lâ tenšâf*. Suddenly I heard a sound as if somebody were running in front of me. Raising the cloak a little, I looked round but saw nothing and thought it might have been a wild beast, a wolf perhaps. Some

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776 time after this, *'oḳob mišwâr*, I heard singing and the beating
823 of a drum. This time I looked up with more attention — and there, right before me, shadows of dancing girls were flitting. And yet there was no camp near. The girls went within a stone's throw of me, beckoned to me, smiled, and tried in various ways to draw me towards them. But I pressed my face close to the ground and hugged it as tight as I could with my whole body so as to see and hear nothing. Then I fell asleep."

A Rwejli was riding at night through the al-Ḥadîṭa ruins in the Sirḥân depression. Suddenly he heard the voices of women rejoicing, *zaṛârît*, and calling: "Welcome to thee! welcome to thee! *jâ hala bak jâ hala*." A little while afterwards he was surrounded by pretty girls who asked him to dance with them, but when our Rwejli pronounced, *samma*, the word Allâh, the girls suddenly vanished.

At another time a small troop of migrating Rwala arrived late in the evening at al-Ḥadîṭa. As there was good pasture in the neighborhood they pitched their tents and, being very fatigued by their long march, lay down to sleep, from which they did not awake till the sun was up. But their surprise may be imagined when on rising they found their tents struck, rolled together, and ready to be loaded on the camels. They loaded them with all the speed possible and at once rode from a place evidently inhabited by malevolent *ǧinn*.

824 In every tree and bush of the *sidr* and *'awseǧ* variety
776 there lives a spirit, and for this reason the wood of these thorny trees and bushes must not be used for fuel. Where the *sidr* trees grow in a cluster, the *ǧinn* have their gardens, as for instance at al-Obejjeẓ, Sejdarân, and al-'Âmeẓ.

776 Some of the earthly spirits are given to harming men and
854 take on various shapes for that purpose. They have various names. Of these most dreaded by the Bedouins is a female spirit called *sar'at aš-šîbe*. In appearance she is a tall thin woman wearing a dress made of leather. This spirit wanders about the desert from camp to camp, looking for children. If she hears a child crying, she crawls near, gropes about for it with her hands till she finds it, then catches it, and runs with it to her own kin. There the child is torn partly open, its blood sucked by all the spirits present, and its flesh devoured raw. Therefore mothers try to frighten their crying child with the warning: "Keep quiet or *as-sar'a* will come for thee!" To protect a child from the spirits the Rwala women

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hang the cradle, *rûǧâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sar'a* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *sa'aluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurḳi*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the 'Ebede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *sa'aluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûẓ* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it, *ḥaḳḳ al-ḳârûẓ*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises above the real or imaginary grave of some man or woman

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whom public opinion considers to be a saint, they never pay attention to these domes. In their opinion the latter commemorate the saints of the settlers and breeders of goats and sheep, *rî'* or *šwâja*, not of the Bedouins. They say: "They are not of our kin, *ahl*, not of us, *ǧemâ'atna*, therefore we do not honor them or go on pilgrimage to them, *ḥenna alli mâ hw minna mâ nezûreh*."

Worship of the saints has never been known among the Rwala and presumably never will be. The hereafter does not trouble the Bedouins much, and their idea of it is only hazy; nor have they any permanent burying places, *meǧenne*, but bury their dead wherever death overtakes them. They therefore do not know and never visit individual graves. This is often due to the great distance between their pastures; to some of their camping grounds they return only after many years — so why should they care for a grave? They do not know even where the graves of their older princes or head chiefs are. I have heard from many Rwala, even from members of the reigning kin, that Nâjef eben Ša'lân, one of their ancestors, lies buried between the rain pools of Haǧm and al-Bark in al-Ḥamâd and that a camel is sacrificed by his descendants whenever they come there, as they do once in many years. Yet while we camped in that place in 1914 and took our drinking water from both the pools, not a single member of the reigning house thought for a moment of sacrificing the camel on Nâjef's grave. Hazzâ', Prince an-Nûri's father, died at al-Ǧubejlijje in the Ḥawrân and was buried there, but his grave has never been visited by an-Nûri, although he often marches past the place.

Slejmân eben Meršed, one of the ancestors of the reigning family of the Sba'a tribe, died and was buried at Dejr az-Zôr on the right bank of the Euphrates. The merchants of that town, with whom he was always on friendly terms, had a small dome erected over his grave. It is said that whenever the members of his kin come there they sacrifice a camel by the dome, saying: "We think of thee, Slejmân; Oh, mayst thou have pity on us and our parents!" after which they besmear the tombstone with the blood of the sacrificed animal, *jeḫaṭṭeṭûn naṣîbeh*. But Blejhân, a subject of Eben Meršed, stated that the camels are killed there by merchants from Dejr az-Zôr and not by any Bedouins. Bṭejjen eben Midbaṛ eben Meršed was buried at the mouth of the valley of al-Arḳaṭ. His

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grave is marked with a few tall, flat stones placed upright, 769
naṣâjeb.

All the raiders and robbers of the northern 'Aneze honor the grave of Turki eben Mhejd, head chief of the Fed'ân tribe. Turki undertook countless raids and returned from them all unhurt and with much booty. Once in the *al-ḳêẓ* season (midsummer) he rode against the Šammar, the subjects of Eben Rašîd, who were camping on the southeast border of the Nefûd. The water supply of the raiders being exhausted, they wished to fill their bags and also to water their camels from the al-Ḥaẓra' wells. Their scouts, *'ujûn*, however, sent out in advance to examine the country and to find the best and safest watering places and pastures, came back with the news that the neighborhood of al-Ḥaẓra was full of Šammar camps in such numbers that Turki's troop would be unable to cope with them. Turki wished, then, to circumvent al-Ḥaẓra and attack one of the smaller camps south of it, but the thirst tormenting both the men and animals was already becoming insufferable. It was in vain that Turki asked his comrades to be patient, in vain that he promised that they would find water very soon; the tortures of thirst increased with every mention of water, and they all well knew that there was no well anywhere near. When the distress was at its height Turki prayed to Allâh to send them rain. His wish was granted. Allâh sent from the northwest a dark cloud which he caused to halt above their heads and pour forth all its water. The rain that now fell on Turki and his troop was so abundant that they could fill their water bags from several rain pools, quench their thirst, and water their camels. Thus strengthened in their belief that Allâh was on their side, they fell upon the Šammar herds and returned home with rich booty. From that time Turki was called The Little Son of his Lord, *wlejd rabbeh*, because Allâh, moved by the supplication of such a little son, had brought the rain cloud to their rescue in the season of *al-ḳêẓ*, during which it never rains in the desert.

In the time of abundance, *rabî'*, of 1887 Turki had his camp at the junction of the *še'îb* of al-Heri with the aṣ-Ṣwâb valley. There he was attacked by the Rwala, defeated, killed, and buried beside his tent. The Fed'ân raised a tall stone above his grave and carved it with the emblems of all their clans and kins. All raiders, when passing by, stop at the grave and form a circle round it, whereupon the commander speaks as

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769 follows: "O thou who hast protected our herds called ʿAlja! By the success which Allâh and thou grant! If Allâh will lead us to glory and liberate us, thou wilt receive a fat she-camel. *Jâ râʿi-l-ʿalja bsaʿûd allâh wa-sʿûdak en allâh nowmasna wfakkna lak ǧezûren.*" On their return with booty they make a fat camel kneel down, cut her throat so that the blood sprinkles the tombstone, and shout: "This is thy supper, O protector of the ʿAlja herds!"

My companion, Blejhân, related: "I rode out for plunder with only one comrade. Not far from Turki's grave we made our camels kneel and went to the grave. Laying our right hands on the tombstone, *naṣîba*, we said: 'O thou protector of the ʿAlja! If we return with booty, thou wilt receive a fat she-camel.' Soon afterwards we noticed a caravan, *žâfla*, on the road Darb as-Sâʿi which leads from Damascus to Hît and Bagdad. Crawling near to it at night we captured six she-camels, one of which we sacrificed to Turki. The entrails we ate at the grave, the flesh and the hide we carried home. Our camp was then in the upper part of the al-Mijâh valley.

"Not long after this a certain Mzaḥlak of the Weld Slîmân [*sic*] rode in command of a raiding troop past Turki's grave. Stopping his camel, he exlaimed: 'O thou protector of the ʿAlja! If by thy help we return with booty, thou wilt receive a fat camel; *jâ râʿi-l-ʿalja en afadna bsaʿûdak lak ǧezûren.*' They captured a large herd, killed a camel on his grave, roasted and ate its flesh, and brought the hide home."

Whenever the Fedʿân encamp near Turki's grave they kill a camel in his honor but not until they wish to move to the settled territory, *elja ṛarrabow*. To the feast not only the Fedʿân but also the Sbaʿa and ʿAmârât are invited, because Turki was related by blood to all the tribes acknowledging Bišr as their common ancestor, *ẓana bišr*.

VOWS

782 All Rwala believe that they can win Allâh's favor by a vow. Not that Allâh would desire or need the promised object, but it rejoices him to see that the Bedouins remember in time that without his help they cannot attain what they desire, and also that they show willingness to give up something of value in order to assure themselves of his help. Such vows are made by all, men as well as women, old as well as young,

782 in regard to their various needs and in all sorts of ways. When in fear, *šaḥna*, for a person dear to them or when anxious, *minšaḥenîn*, for a relative captured by the enemy and threatened with death, *šaḥḥanûh*, they turn to Allâh. Should a man not return from a raid at the expected time, vows are made by his father, mother, brother, or sister: "If Allâh returns the distant one to us, behold! I will give to Allâh's face one old camel and that without delay; *en ǧâb allâh hal-ṛâjeb tara lwaǧh allâh fâṭeren mâ beha mhala'*." If an avenger refuses the blood price, insisting on killing the guilty person, he vows: "O Allâh! as soon as I have avenged my brother, thou wilt receive an old camel and a sheep; *jâ-llâh en čân teṭârajt laḥûj ennaha fâṭer w-menḥarha na'ǧe*." Or: "Be my wife forbidden to me until I have avenged my brother." Vows to the effect that they either will sacrifice a she-camel to Allâh or that they will fast and give the food thus saved to the poor are also made by his relatives for the benefit of one seriously ill. However, a vow is not sufficient to bring children to married couples or to cause boys to be born instead of girls.

Every vow must be uttered aloud and in the presence of witnesses, so that they may remind the man should he ever forget it and thus save him from Allâh's anger. Yet even one who has vowed something to Allâh in his heart while riding alone through the desert is bound to fulfill the pledge, because Allâh can read hearts and will not be deceived. "Who compels a man to make a vow? If he made a vow, he did so voluntarily and must fulfill it to the best of his ability." If a father vows an animal which does not belong to him but to his son, the latter can defend it against his father. On the other hand, the son cannot do the same in the case of his mother, because, according to Allâh's will, nobody cares as much for the son as his mother, *mâjene 'ala waladha*. The vow made by a daughter or sister must be fulfilled by the father or brother, who is responsible for her, as Allâh would not be angry with the women but with the men. A married woman is not allowed to vow an animal to Allâh without her husband's permission. Yet should she do so, either her kin are obliged to replace it or she must pay its price. Nor can a woman kill the promised animal herself; this is always done by some man in her place, who lays it on the ground with its head towards the south, saying: "This belongs to the face of Allâh." Then the one for whose benefit the vow was made,

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782 *alli mandûren 'alejh*, dips his forefinger, *ḳâlṭeh*, in the blood and touches with it the point of his nose, both of his cheeks, and his forehead between the eyebrows. These four blood marks, *nûr ad-damm*, must not be washed off.

Ṣṛajjer eben 'Emrân of the Mwâhîb clan of the Sba'a tribe once commanded a troop of raiders marching against Eben Rašîd, who was also out on a raid against the Sba'a at the same time. The troops met; Eben Rašîd, being the stronger, soon pressed, *wâfeḳ*, Ṣṛajjer's troop so hard that it scattered in all directions. Those who were overtaken were killed, those who escaped perished from thirst. Only a small part of the troop returned home. Ṣṛajjer's mother inquired of those who came back, *alli ṭabbow*, about her son, but in vain, as every man had had to look out for himself. Then she made the following vow, *naḏarat leha neḏr*: "Allâh, if my little son returns, I will give thee a fat camel." After a few days a certain Ṣlubi arrived with Ṣṛajjer on his camel, and the mother did as she had vowed.

The husband of Ḫulfa, a daughter of Ḫlejf âl Ḥdêreš of the Sba'a, having borrowed some money from his relatives and acquaintances, left the neighborhood of Tudmor (Palmyra), where he was camping, for the inner desert, *šarraḳ*, in order to buy camels from the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd. He intended to sell them to the contractor who was repairing the highroad from Ḥomṣ to Damascus. Yet Allâh decided otherwise. While he was resting at night with his comrades, they were set upon by raiders, *bajjatowhom*. Robbed of everything, dispersed with derisive laughter in all directions, they were unable to meet again. In the evening one of the party happened to meet a Ṣlubi who took him home, where he related what had happened. Thereupon Ḫulfa began to weep, and repeated her vow made on the day when her husband started for the inner desert, *jowm alli hw šarraḳ min 'endaha*: "If, O Allâh! thou returnest my husband safe to me, I will give thee a fat camel." After three months her husband returned. Then she told him: "Behold, for thy sake I vowed a fat camel and wish thee to kill it, *tarâni naḏart 'alejk neḏr ǧezûren w-abejk teḏbaḥaha*." But he objected: "I have no fat camel, nor anything to buy one with." Loving him greatly, Ḫulfa feared lest Allâh might punish him for not fulfilling her vow, and therefore she went to her kin, *laḥalha*, and begged from her brother a camel, which an acquaintance killed before

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her husband's tent, she herself marking the latter's face with the animal's blood. 782

Ṛaṭjân walad ʿAwwâẓ, a member of the Eben Mehîr kin of the Sbaʿa tribe, lost his brother. He had been killed by a Bedouin, who offered to pay the blood price. But Ṛaṭjân refused this, desiring to avenge blood with blood, and vowed to Allâh a camel if he would help him exact vengeance. When the guilty man sought refuge, *ʿannaz ḥâleh*, in another territory, Ṛaṭjân was unable to find him for some time. He had given up hope of seeing him again, when suddenly while on a raid he met a strange troop, among which was his fugitive, riding a mare. Dismounting, he seized his revolver, *ridnijje*, and with two shots killed both the guilty man and his mare. On returning home he sacrificed a camel. 628 782

A brother of Eben Faẓîl of the ʿEbede division of the Sbaʿa tribe was killed by a member of a powerful kin, who at once took the part of the slayer. The latter was so universally known and esteemed for his generosity and readiness to serve, that everybody in the clan helped to save both him and his kin from the avengers. They conducted him to a place of refuge, *ʿannazow al-ḳâtel*, returned to the camp, and tried to persuade Eben Faẓîl to be satisfied with the blood price. They continued to press him more and more, until he replied: "You are mistaken. It is not the slayer, but myself whom you should have brought to a place of refuge, for I am threatened with danger, not he. The blood price you can keep. I swear by Allâh that I will not touch my wife until my brother is avenged." Afterwards he removed with his whole kin to Eben Hdejb, told him why he had left his clan, and made him the guardian of his family, should he not return. Then he went at once in search of his brother's slayer. Three months later he found and attacked him, but he was himself seriously wounded and only escaped with his life through the assistance of some Bedouins. With them he lay nearly two months before he recovered sufficiently to be taken on a camel to Eben Hdejb. But, as the use of his right hand was gone, he was unable to avenge his brother. Yet there still remained a twelve-year-old son of the brother, who, on hearing of what had happened to his uncle, instantly declared: "Uncle, I myself will go after my father's blood." It was in vain that they tried to hold him back. Mounting a camel, he rode to the Arabs among whom the slayer was hiding, stopped

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628 his animal before the chief's tent, and, entering, sat down among the guests and visitors. They conversed on all possible
782 topics, *an-nâs tesowlef min ʿarẓ al-ḥači*, as is usually the case, the boy listening eagerly. Suddenly he heard one of the visitors say: "Our blood-stained one, *dammawi*, mentioned that he had found at such and such a place a hole filled with rain water; but look, he has just come back with his water bag full." Great was the joy of the young avenger on finding the culprit so soon, and he took good notice of the tent into which the guilty man carried the water. Crawling in at night, he found him sunk in deep slumber. Shaking him with all the force at his command the boy said:

"Art thou asleep or awake? *ent nâjem walla' žâʿed.*"

"I am awake, *ana žâʿed.*"

"How canst thou sleep with my father in thy belly? *čejf tnâm w-abûj bebaṭnak.*"

"Not thy father alone but thou too wilt be in my belly," replied the culprit, jumping up and grasping his weapon. But at the same moment the boy fired a shot at him from his revolver, *ṭawwar beh ar-ridnijje šamâm*, killing him instantly.

On his return he simply said: "Uncle, I have avenged my father; *jâ ʿammi aḫaḏt ṯâr abûj.*" But the uncle was not to be comforted, thinking that he had not fulfilled his vow. "I vowed not to sleep with my wife before bringing back the blood of my brother. Thou hast now brought it. What am I to do?" Then the more experienced men advised him to dismiss his present wife and to marry anew. This he did.

782 In 1898, when cholera was ravaging the country, the Bed-
[164] ouins fled to the desert to escape the contagion, *waḫmen čebîr*, which threatened them. Ever since they have called that year *sanat abu faḳsa*, cholera year. At that time Blejhân eben Meṣreb became seriously ill, and his relatives were convinced that he could not recover, *mâ beh rabeḥ*. When his brother, who was pasturing camels at some place far from the water, heard the news, he left his herd and hastened home, *rawwaḥ min al-ʿazîb*. The sight of Blejhân filled him with terror, for he looked more wretched than any one would have wished to see even his worst enemy appear, *w-allâh aš-šowfat al-ḳaṣra tamannâha l'aduwwak*. Weeping bitterly, the brother lifted his eyes to heaven and exclaimed:

"O God, a camel I vow to thee at once, if my brother shall again walk full of health and vigor, *ʿadîden w-šedîden.*"

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Then he went back to his herd. When he came five days later with his camels to the watering place, the Arabs there said: 782

"Hear the glad tidings! Thy brother is getting better, no danger threatens him any more, *lâ beh ḫlâf.*" So, after watering his camels, he made all haste to visit Blejhân and embraced him with the words:

"May thine illness depart for the inner desert, *šarraḳ.*" Blejhân answered:

"May it never reach thee!" After a short talk, the brother led in a young white camel, *ḳa'ûden awẓaḥ*, exchanged it for an old camel, *fâṭer*, fettered her left foreleg, *'aḳḳalha*, outside the tent, and sacrificed her with the words:

"God, this is the camel I vowed for my brother; my vow is fulfilled." At that moment four men seized Blejhân, placed him in the streaming blood, and also dropped some of it on the end of his nose, on both cheeks, and between his eyebrows. He recovered completely.

Both the father and brother of Ḥamṣijja, an unmarried daughter of one Fâre' of the Sba'a tribe, were murdered. The brother left two boys, whose mother married again. Ḥamṣijja took charge of the boys, became their foster mother, *wâlijathom*, and made the following vow: "O God, as soon as these two boys are able to care for themselves and make their first raid, behold! I vow to thee a *fâṭer* camel, and I also vow that I will fast for three days in seven times seven weeks." When the boys grew up and returned from their first raid in good health, Ḥamṣijja had a camel sacrificed and for a whole lunar year touched food only every other day.

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CHAPTER XVI

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

SETTLEMENT OF MINOR DISPUTES; JUDGES

627 Slight disputes and quarrels between members of the same tribe are settled by friendly intercession. A respected Bedouin comes with one or two companions to the tent of the more powerful opponent and says to him:

"O So-and-So, stay! Thou knowest well that we all honor thee, and we also know that So-and-So has, in fact, harmed thee and that therefore thou hast every reason to be angry with him; but if thou lovest me, if thou lovest us, do not persecute him any more! *lâ teğîh.*" The man thus addressed, recognizing that he will gain more in public esteem if he abandons his claims, answers:

"For the love I bear thee and all of you, but for this reason only, I give up all my claims."

"We know that thou speakest the truth, but still we beg of thee to swear by Allâh."

"I call Allâh to witness that I will persecute him no more."

"May thy love for us increase and give us power to appoint a guardian who is to see that thou persecutest thy opponent no more!"

"I give you full power, *ana mheddikom*, to appoint any guardians you desire."

"We shall go to So-and-So."

"Go at once! *kowterû.*" Then they go to a powerful Bedouin and say: "Behold, X has promised that he will not quarrel with Y any more. Behold, we place the latter before thy countenance. Have a care that X actually ceases to persecute him."

Answering "I guarantee that," he sends word to the stronger opponent: "Beware of persecuting Y any longer. For, beware, he has put himself under my protection, *tarâh daḫal 'alejje.*"

692 627 More serious differences are settled among the Rwala by the hereditary native judge, *'âreſa* (pl., *'awâref*). Judicial

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dignity is hereditary in certain kins and passes as a rule from father to son. If the latter lacks the necessary intelligence, *boṣr*, the litigants turn to his uncle, *jinḥarûn 'ammeh*, or to some other member of his kin. Furthermore, every chief may pass sentence but may not interfere in any way with the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges; he must submit when the contending parties appeal from his verdict to the hereditary judge. When acting as a judge, a chief is never called *'âreṣa*, not being recognized as such. When a chief adjudicates disputes he does so because he wields power which it is not always possible to resist and because he can support his judgment or his will by force.

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Eben Ğandal is the greatest judge of the Âl Ğlâs group; Âl Ṭajjâr holds the same position with the Beni Wahab.

In all matters pertaining to blood vengeance the decision lies with the *'awâref ad-damm*, namely: Âl Kwêčeb in the Âl Ğlâs group and Eben Smejr, otherwise known as Eben Baṭṭâḥ, in the Beni Wahab group.

Other disputes are decided by Eben Ğandal, al-Ḳa'âḳa', and Eben Duṛmi of the Âl Ğlâs group.

On questions of war and peace Eben Ša'lân is called upon to decide.

Special rights are to be considered when either the plaintiff or the defendant happens to be a neighbor, *al-ḳaṣîr*; a guest, *az-zejf*; or a traveling companion, *al-ḥawi*.

In the Ḳmuṣa division of the as-Sba'a tribe the recognized judges are the chiefs of the ar-Rḥama clan (Barṛaš, Mḥammad, Meṭḳâl, and 'Awejnân of the Sa'îd kin) as well as the chiefs of the Bṭejnât clan ('Azîz and Fallâğ of the Štêwi kin). Among the 'Ebede division it is the al-Mwâjğe clan from which the judges are selected from the kins: Eben 'Allûš, Eben Ğazzâ', Eben Rabîṭ, Âl Ağda', and Âl Rğêl.

LAWSUITS

695

A lawsuit is called *sâlfa'* or *ṭlâb*, and may be decided either by witnesses or by black oaths, *as-sâlfa 'alejha umma ḥhûd walla' dijânen sûd*. An oath is black because it disgraces a man, blackens his countenance or his honor, implying that his mere word is not believed. Besides, the swearer is always in danger of God's anger, as he can never explain things as they really happened.

Settlement with Witnesses

695 Generally two witnesses are required in court, *kowd ṯnên šhûd*. Only a man of good repute, *raǧǧâlen maẓbûṭ*, who is no babbler, *ḥačîh želîl*, and never contradicts his story, *ḥarǧeh ṣaḥîḥ*, will be admitted as a witness, *šâhed jired*. An eyewitness, *šawwâf al-ʿajn*, should be honest, *walad al-ḥalâl*, must not hate him whose case depends on him, must not yearn for a reward for his testimony, and must be known for his veracity; *alli lâ ṛallen šâfîh w-lâ ṭmaʿen râǧîh w-ḥabîb allâh ḥâčîh*. Every witness is entitled to compensation for coming to testify, *ḥakk al-lisân*. As a rule an eyewitness will not ask for it; but if he says: "I want the price of my tongue, *anabṛi ḥakk lisâni*," then two of his kin have to declare him to be a trustworthy witness, *marẓi aš-šehâde* which means that he is not a hired witness. If the dispute is about a mare, the eyewitness usually gets its first colt (a filly) or a camel; if about a camel, his reward is a gold pound. Before a witness's deposition is taken, efforts are made by one of the contending parties to undermine his trustworthiness, while the other lauds it to the skies. Both disputants spread their garments on the ground before the judge. Each grasps with both hands either the long lappet of his shirt sleeve, *reden*, or the hem of his cloak or upper garment, *ṣâje*, spreads it on the ground in the tent, smoothes it with his right hand, holding it tight with the left; then they both raise their right hands towards the judge and exclaim:

"This is my garment for the unchangeable truth, *hâḍa šelili beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, O veracious one! *jâ ṣuḍkân*."

His opponent calls out: "This is my garment for the unchangeable truth, O liar! *jâ čuḍbân*."

"Leave it spread out, roll it not up as long as the unchangeable truth does not appear, *lâ tekofeh eḵʿed beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*." The spreading out of the garment takes the place of spreading a rug for the witness to sit on. This is also frequently seen in other disputes; a Bedouin spreads out his *šelîl* to demonstrate that he can bring enough trustworthy witnesses to substantiate his words.

The judge asks the witness: "O witness, wilt thou give testimony? *tabṛi tešhad*."

"I will."

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"Come, then, and give testimony, *ṭobb ešhad*!" The witness 695
now sits down before the judge and says:

"I declare that there is no hatred in me against him whose welfare is in question, that I do not yearn for a reward from him who has asked me to be his witness, and that I will speak the truth only as pleases the Lord, that it happened so and so..." A witness against whom the giving of false testimony has been proved will never again be admitted as a trustworthy witness, *maḳmû' aš-šahâde*.

Should a single eyewitness relate to two men in the desert what he has seen and heard but afterwards depart to other distant tribes so that he cannot be brought before the judge, his place may not be taken by those to whom he has related the story.

One who knows a fact only from hearsay cannot give valid testimony, for he has seen nothing himself but has only heard it from others, and mouths will always chatter. Knowledge of this kind, called *fôḳ ǰamm*, has no validity even when supported by five men. Should a man hear two men fighting at night and hear one of them, who is afterwards found killed, shout: "Woe to me, So-and-So means to kill me," he cannot even then be admitted as a witness against one whose name he has only heard, for this is a *fôḳ ǰamm*; he himself had not seen and recognized the slayer. A true eyewitness never contradicts himself, his statements being always the same. The report of a [true] man [about some occurrence] must be like the gait of a pack camel, always the same: *ḥaṭw ar-raǧǧâl zej mamša-l-ǧemal beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*.

Settlement by Oaths

In the absence of trustworthy eyewitnesses the judge calls on the party which has entered a denial to swear. As in the opinion of the Bedouins every court process defiles and every oath disgraces, *ad-dîn četîn w-al-ǰemîn mehîn*, the oath is universally avoided, and a man is angry with one who urges him to swear. The simplest words of an oath are:

"I swear by Allâh and eight camels laden with grain that I did not say..., *en w-allâh w-ṯamâni ǧmâl muḥammalâten ṛalâl enni mâ ḳult*..." Thus he calls on Allâh to punish him and to do him an injury equal to the loss of eight loads of

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695 grain which he has bought in the settled territory; he would then die of hunger in the desert.

Another oath runs: "I swear by Allâh, whose power is eminent, whose weights are just, and whose tongue is truthful, that it is thus and so; *w-allâh alli 'azizen šâneh w-'adlen mîzâneh w-ṭalžen lisâneh enni...*"

In serious disputes the judge requires the *msabba'* oath, so called from seven lines drawn with a saber on the ground. The judge first draws a circle with a saber, then its diameter; this he intersects with five vertical lines, inviting the witness to step inside and facing south to swear:

"A false oath is the ruin of the descendants, for he who [swears falsely] is insatiable in his desire [of gain] and does not fear his Lord; thus and so happened...; *ad-dîn al-lûwijje ḳaṭṭâ'at aḏ-ḏerrijje enneh hâjef w-lâ leh min rabbeh ḥâjef.*"

Scarcely is the oath finished when the witness jumps out of the circle and, full of rage, runs at his opponent, who has made him swear. The people present at the trial have to surround and hold him till he calms down.

The third kind of oath, called *al-ǧehîra*, is used at meetings where a man must be compelled to speak the truth. Then the chief springs suddenly at the man who is to swear, lays his right hand on his belly under the belt so as to touch his sexual organ, and exclaims: "I adjure thee by thy belt, by thy sexual organ, and by that which lies down to sleep before thee in the evening to give me a report such as will please God; *ana-nšidk beḥzâmak wa-lzâmak w-mâ rawwaḥ w-amsa židdâmak innak te'allemni bḥabîb allâh.*" The belt signifies the wife, for it is laid aside when the man desires to have intercourse with her; the sexual organ means children; and that which lies down to sleep before the tent at night signifies herds.

'Awde al-Kwêčbi ran into the tent of Prince Saṭṭâm, grasped one of the poles of the *merkab* litter, and shouted: "I stand under the protection of this pole, and nothing shall part me from it. By Allâh's light and by Allâh's right in this camp I put myself under thy protection, O Saṭṭâm, with all that my conscience conceals but that is clear to thee. I put myself under the protection of thy wife, of thy children, of thy mare, of thy herd going to the pasture, and of the son

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employed with them. *Ana daḫil hal-'amûd mâ 'anni sdûd bnûr allâh wa-bḥaḳḳ allâh bhal-menzel w-ana dâḫel 'alejk balli ḫafijen 'alejje w-bajjenen 'alejk w-ana dâḫel 'ala ḥzâmak w-mâ ḳafâk w-ẓiddâmak w-al-ḥalâl as-sâreḥ w-al-walad al-fâleḥ.*" Saṭṭâm was sitting by the wall dividing the men's compartment from the women's; behind him — hence behind the wall — were his wife and his children; before him — hence in front of the tent — stood his mare and his she-camels about to start for pasture under the care of a young relative of his. 695

Judicial Decisions 671 695

After hearing the witnesses or administering the oath the judge issues his decision or verdict, *ma'rûẓ*. If one of the parties is not satisfied he says to the judge:

"Here, take the wages for thy tongue and let me depart to another judge; *hâk ḥaḳḳ lisânak w-asnedni 'ala-l-'ârefat aṯ-ṯâni.*"

"I will let thee go to So-and-So." Both parties now go to the judge mentioned and relate what has happened thus far. But, whatever the verdict of the second judge may be, the party dissatisfied with the first cannot reject it, for then the judge would say:

"Thou art an old liar. Sit still and accept my judgment. This dispute is decided irrevocably. *Ent čeḏûb eḳ'ed w-eḳbel ma'rûẓi has-sâlfa mabtûra.*" An appeal is out of the question, but sometimes the judge says to the dissatisfied party:

"Go wherever thou wilt; find a case like thine and prove to me by witnesses how it was decided." The dissatisfied man then mounts his camel and rides from one judge to another and from chief to chief inquiring for a case similar to his and for the court's finding in it. If he happens to find such a case, *waradha*, and proves by witnesses that it had been decided long before and is therefore an old dispute, *sâlfaten ,mâẓje* or *ma'rûẓen mâẓi*, then the judge adapts his verdict to the old one. But if the judgment discovered is not at least five years old, its validity is not yet recognized — as it is still a so-called blind case, *has-sâlfa hâḏi 'amja'*. The opposing side at once declares: "This case must not be used against me, *mâ tfattaḥ 'alejje*," and the finding of the second judge remains in force.

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Typical Lawsuits

691 My companion, Blejhân, related: "My comrade Ẓâher and
695 I went for plunder to the Rwala territory, *'ajjarna 'ala-r-rwala.* We had only one riding camel, which belonged to Ẓâher. He sat in the saddle, I sat behind the saddle, *ẓâher beš-šdâd w-ana bel-wrûk.* One day we saw a rider, a Rwejli, judging by his apparel. My comrade said: 'Look, if we capture that riding camel, *ḏelûl*, she shall be thine even if a little bell is ringing on her neckband, *tara haḏ-ḏelûl en ṣârat lena tarâha lak lâ jideun biršemha.*' A bell of that kind is hung only on the neck of young mares. By these words Ẓâher indicated that he would leave the first booty to me alone, even if it were a mare; and therefore he would certainly have left the camel to me. I answered that I accepted his offer, *ana žâbel.* Now when the Rwejli met us, I slid off our camel and seized his *ḏelûl* by the rein, while Ẓâher leveled his rifle at the man threatening him with the words:

'Dismount! If thou dost not, by my faith! I will shoot thee dead; *ḥawwel en mâ ḥawwalt lan aḏbaḥak bel-barûde.*'

"Having no gun himself the Rwejli obeyed, while I made the *ḏelûl* kneel and then mounted it. In this manner she became my property, *ṣârat lije.* Then we searched two more days and a night for booty but without avail. Finally we started for home again, reaching it on the tenth day early in the morning, *aṣ-ṣubḥijjât ǧina-halna.* On the same day my comrade, *ḥawi*, came to me and said:

'I want thee to give me a half of that camel, because we agreed to divide our booty, *ana wijjâk ḥiše.*'

'Thou art right, thou art not right; *lak lôn, mâ lak lôn.*' We quarreled a long time and at last on the advice of our relatives went to Meiḥen eben 'Allûš of the al-Mwâjǧe clan of the 'Ebede division to seek justice, *tawâradna al-ḥakk 'endeh.* We came to that judge each on his own camel, made the animals kneel before the tent, and saluted him:

'Peace be with thee!'

'Peace to you also!' After tasting some coffee I, that is Blejhân, sat beside the judge, Meiḥen, and said to him:

'O Eben 'Allûš, I want to ask my right of thee!'

'Relate, disclose, *ehteš ehteš.*'

'Certainly, I swear to God that I shall disclose it' — and I told him how it all happened, adding: 'I desire, God grant

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it! from thee, from all judges, and from every man who does not disregard my right, that this camel, which my comrade declared to be mine even if a bell was ringing on her neckband, should belong to me undisputedly; *abi-n-šâ-llâh 'endak w-'enda-l-ḳẓa w-'end alli ḥaḳḳi mâ hafa' enna-d-delûl fawwaṭ ha lije ḥawijji lâ jidenn biršemha lak ennaha lije bârde.*' 691 695

"The judge said: 'Blejhân has spoken and ended well, *ḥačja w-afleḥ*. Now give thy account, Ẓâher.'

'I will explain what took place, O Eben 'Allûš, to thee and to everyone whose hand refuses bribes. It is known, but, that my comrade Blejhân sat on my camel behind the saddle. It is infallible truth, *ṣaḥîḥ*, that I adjudged that camel to him, yet behold, *mâr*, today my hand is empty, while the hand of my comrade is full. Therefore I demand of thee and of all who mean well a half of that she-camel.'

"Then we were silent. Eben 'Allûš asked:

'Did ye agree at the moment ye saw the rider on this she-camel that ye would divide, or did ye not? *jôm ennakom ṭâla'tu râ' had-delûl entom taḥâšartu walla' mâ taḥâšartu.*'

'We did not!'

"Here the judge took both my and my comrade's saber and said: 'I shall deliver judgment, *abi a'roẓ 'alejkom ma'rûẓ*. Thou, Ẓâher, wilt get from this she-camel a gold pound, *nêra*, and the greed of both of you must be smothered by your sense of honor, *w-'arz killen jiğği 'ala ḥazzeh.*'

"I, that is Blejhâr, replied: 'O Eben 'Allûš, I shall not accept this; help me to my right, *ana mâ-rẓa 'aṭni ḥaḳḳi.*'

'So thou wilt not accept?'

'I will not.'

'Well, then, let Ẓâher stand up and swear by God and eight camels laden with corn that he did not adjudge the camel to thee even if it had been a mare with a bell on her neck.'

"I urged my comrade: 'No, rise, rise, fear not God, because of thy greed! *kum ḳûm* [sic] *lâ tḫâf allâh 'ala ḥazzak.*'

'I will not swear,' replied Ẓâher, 'for I seek my refuge in God before thee and thy she-camel; *mâni ḥâlef w-u'ajjeḏ allâh mink ent wijje delûlk.*'

'Take two *mejîdijjât* ($1.80), Eben 'Allûš, as a reward for thy work and give me my saber.'

"Taking then my saber and my camel, I rode away, reaching home in the evening. I, that is Blejhân."

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691 695 The same Blejhân related: "Our auxiliary troop met a fighting troop of the Eben Mâṛi and Ahl al-Ǧebel and captured the horses whose riders were thrown from their saddles, *ḳalâje'*. I too succeeded in capturing a mare, which I gave to the care of my kin. On the following morning one Eḥḍejjân came to claim her, stating it was he who had thrown the rider to the ground, *ḳal' râ'iha min ẓaharha*. Now the usual quarrel began: 'It is mine,' 'It is not thine.' Urged by our relatives, who said: 'Go to the judge to have your right cleared,' we rode to Farḥân eben Hdejb.

'What have ye there? Disclose it!'

"My opponent, *žebîli*, said: 'We shall disclose all, O Farḥân eben Hdejb! before thee and before a judge who knows customs and has wit, and before everyone who despises (untruth) with his every thought; *belli ḥajje w-dajje w-killi min jenšâha min kill nijje*. The cavalry of our enemy was defeated, *ḫejl baṭîha*. I overtook a rider. There was nobody near him who would either attack or defend him, *laḥažt al-ḫajjâl mâ 'endeh lâ min ješḥâh w-lâ min jenḥâh*. I said to him: "Yield her to me for thy neck, *reddha 'ala rḳabak*, or I will shoot thee dead." He would not yield, *'ajja jerudd*. Then I shot and threw him to the ground. Now I desire of thee, if God grant it, to return to me that which a blow delivered by my hand, *dazz îdi*, gained for me and of which my cousin, *eben 'ammi*, now wishes to deprive me.'

"Having heard this, the judge said: 'Eḥḍejjân has finished; now do thou speak, Eben Ẓeri; disclose!'

'And, by Allâh! I shall disclose, Farḥân eben Hdejb. At first I rode with the attacking cavalry, *awwal ma'i ḫejlen mṣîre*. We overtook the enemy and defeated him. Many a mare lost her rider. I overtook this mare. She was running, riderless, to and fro, *al-faras al-mâreǧ*. There was nobody near who would defend her or take her away from me again, *má 'endaha min jenḥâha w-jenkâha*. I would — God grant it! — that she belonged to me, *lije*, not to my cousin.' Then we were silent. Farḥân eben Hdejb — God have mercy on him! — spoke:

'Ye quarrel over a mare, *entom muṭṭálbin* [sic] *'ala faras*. Lead thy camel before me, Eben Ẓeri, *ḳalleṭ li ǧelûk*.

'Here is my she-camel! *Hî ḫê!*' I made her kneel. Farḥân then said:

'I shall decide between you, *ana-ḥâi 'alejkom*.'

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691 695 'Speak! Was it not in deference to thy word that we came? *kowd rádlnak.*'

'For thee, Eben Ẓeri, I have unpleasant news: I shall do violence to thee; *abi-ḥzemk w-akwak.* Thou shalt get the first colt should it be a filly, and, besides, a five- or six-year-old she-camel; *lak awwaltha w-biker walla' ṯenw.*'

'I accept this as my right, *ḥakki ṯebilt.*' And I took a five-year-old she-camel, which Ebdejjân gave me, and waited for the filly. The captured mare went to him."

MURDER CASES, APPEALS, PATERNITY CASES, JUDGMENTS IN BLOOD FEUDS

[694] If a Bedouin meets an unknown man and shortly afterwards finds another man murdered, he describes the living stranger to the next chief. The news spreads and the avengers of the dead man accuse the man who answers to the description of being the murderer. He can only seek refuge with the nearest judge, *'dreṣa*, whom he tries to convince that the avengers are mistaken. The judge then visits the camp of him who had met the unknown man and found the dead body, and says to him as follows: "Describe to me exactly the appearance of the stranger thou didst meet." This is done. If the description agrees, the judge says: "It is true; thy description has neither taken away nor added anything; *ṣidḳ wuṣfk lâ zâr w-lâ rá'.*" This was explained by the sentence: "His discernment was not dull, nor did his intelligence turn aside; *lâ zâr ḏihnehr w-lâ rár bașareh.*"

When a litigant thinks that justice has not been done to him, he appeals to a board of judges, experts in law, *je-'arreẓ el-ḥakk 'ala 'uwâref maǧmú'tu.* In this session other people can also take part. The appellant adjures those present, *jenšedkom niššdan bid-dín*, in the following manner:

"I adjure you by your wives and all that they bear; I adjure you by the long-maned mares; I adjure you by the milk-giving she-camels! *ana nášedkom bel-mara w-má ṯṭíb w-bel-ḫejl náṣerát ez-zubób w-bel-bel zejnát el-ḥalíb.* To him who will clear up this matter it will bring success, but to him who refuses to testify it will bring ruin, *alli jeṣherha teṣorreh w-alli jeḳmáha teṣorreh.*"

691 695 Then the legal experts examine the case again, sift the evidence, and after this announce their judgment.

There are many very difficult cases in adjudging paternity.

'Awwâd eben Ṭâḥûs of the Milḥâḳ kin of the Swâlme clan took to wife, *čân metağawwezen leh*, a daughter of his father's brother. When he divorced her after some time, she married a man of the name of Aḫu Bnejje al-Jemîni, to whom she bore a son, *ğâbat waladen*. The first husband claimed the baby boy, saying to the second:

"The boy that has come to thee belongs to me, *al-walad alli ğâk hâḏa lije ana*."

They had a long dispute about it, *temâṭalow bênhom*, and finally went to the chief Mḳâṭ eben Ġandal to judge between them, *tewâradow al-ḥaḳḳ 'endeh*. The first husband, 'Awwâḍ eben Ṭâḥûs, said:

"What thinkest thou, our adept at law, and what think the judges? He who knows the law of God cannot possibly allow it to fail. *Wšu' 'endak jâ 'ârefatna w-'enda-l-ḳẓa' w-min šâf ḥaḳḳ allâh mâ haffâh*. Verily this boy is mine. I divorced her when she was already carrying him. *Bali waladi hâḏa ḫailejtaha w-hi nâžel beh*." Then spoke al-Jemîni:

"Good will to all! that is not the truth. When I married her she had nothing as yet in her womb. Not until eleven months afterwards, so help me Allâh, did she bear a boy. *Ḫejr mâ hw ṣaḥîḥ enni aḫaḏtah w-hi mâ bebaṭnah šaj'en w-'oḳob eḥda'ašš šahr jâ-llâh waledat*."

The judge, *'âreṣa*, declared: "I shall pass no judgment until the wife is brought here."

When she came, he remained alone with her and said: "This boy is thine, regardless of the man who begot him, but if thou wilt tell the truth to me, I will get for thee from the one to whom I adjudge the boy one of his best she-camels; *'allemîni beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ w-ana aḫoṭṭ leč min alli jeṭla' waladeh ba'îr min ḫijâr al-ba'arîn*."

Afterwards he called in both men and said: "Bring hither your two best she-camels, one each;" which they did, making them kneel before the tent. Now the adept at law took the woman outside to the camels and said impressively:

"Speak, O woman! the truth, *eḥči jâ ḥurma aṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, and thou shalt receive a she-camel."

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The woman, seizing the she-camel owned by her first husband, replied: "My first husband ʿAwwâd is the father of my boy." 691 695

This moved the second husband to say: "Be it so, but then I claim a reward for helping the boy out of that hole to the light and for his upkeep, *arẓi ḥaḳḳ eẓhâri leh min ḥal-ḥufra wa-r̤dâje leh.*"

"Thou art right; ʿAwwâd must give thee a camel for the upkeep," decided Mḳâṭ. And so it happened: the first husband gave the second a camel and took the boy home with him.

In judgments of blood feuds the winner of the case has to give the court ten she-camels; in disputes concerning a woman, one camel is paid; a mare, one camel; a she-camel, two *meğidijjât* ($1.80); weapons, one gold pound. 693

CHAPTER XVII

PROTECTION OF THE OPPRESSED

COUNTENANCE OR *WAĞH*

572 486 Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies to a person regardless whether present or not is called a countenance, *waǧh*. Before the countenance of some Rwejli it is possible to travel through the whole Rwala territory without fear of an attack or of violence. Before the countenance of Prince an-Nûri one may cross not only the Rwala territory but also that of all other tribes which acknowledge his sovereignty. It is said of the prince that he resembles a long branch to which smaller twigs are attached.

486 622 576 Whoever wishes to travel through the territory of a powerful chief goes first to him with the following request:

"I desire to ride through the pastures of thy tribe, so grant me the protection of thy countenance." If the chief answers:

"Undertake thy journey in peace! Behold, I give thee my countenance, *midd maʿ as-salâme tarâni eʿṭîk waǧhi*," he may start as tranquilly as if accompanied by the chief himself.

If a man wishes to visit the territory of a strange tribe and has no comrade, *ḫawi*, of that tribe to go with him, he declares in the presence of some respected men of the neighboring tribe: "Behold, I go on a lengthy journey before the countenance, under the protection, of Chief So-and-So whose territory I shall soon enter." Then he continues his journey. When he meets the first members of the tribe in question, he shouts at them from afar:

"Behold! I travel under the protection of your chief." Should they disbelieve and rob him, he still tries to reach their chief, to whom he complains:

"I undertook this journey before thy face! *maddejt bwaǧhak*."

The chief, disliking complications, replies: "That is a lie, *čiǧeb*." But the plundered man continues:

"I undertook this journey before thy face, as So-and-So from the Such-and-Such tribe, whose word is believed, *raǧâlen maʿḫûǧen čalâmahom*, will testify."

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Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him. 486 622 576

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-wağh naẓîf mâ jaršâh ad-danas.* 577

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abi[illegible] had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry: 572 593

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw msâfet šahr zamânen 'anna."*

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom- 572 486 685

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572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḫâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
685 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *taḳṭî' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
628] is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
619 traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The
more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his
protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to
protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division
of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have
an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats
a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet*
su'ra. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler
to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim
is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request,
min rejr nab' jefekkeh. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger
cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana
Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Biśr and also to all the
'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

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result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧh wâḥeḍ*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Singâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

577 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the fa
572 thest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar t
the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protectio
696 and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term fo
such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacre
precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protectio
of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed an
farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precinct
no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violatio
of the tent, *'atab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, o
child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight i
sharp enough, is it not? *lêh ta'teb 'ala daḫîli ent 'ajnak żwijj*
With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred b
an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥâre*
'endana 'âdaten sânijjaten mâ had jakṭa'ha."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. Whe
he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a gi
there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal a*
daḫîl w-silem." The people in the tent, whether men or wome
cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlan*
[685] *jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." Anyone who injures o
kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owne
for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowżt al-bejt*. Disgracing of
tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the fac
ekṭâ' al-waǧh. The distance from the protecting tent to th
tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter mus
give one *ḥeżż* camel for every step as compensation for disgra
[628] ing the tent. If, however, the persecuted man has killed on
of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be give
him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woma
present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâl*
This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing o
the blood, *fowżt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see o
hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the grantin
of the protection of the countenance. The protégé move
constantly before the countenance of him whose protectio
he enjoys, *alli daḫal 'alejh*. Such protection cannot be limite
but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûd*
mâ hi maḥdûde; therefore there is never any dispute as t

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its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Ẓeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ranameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *adlah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Ẓeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḏahna 'alejhom*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛarrabna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ǧezîre. Some time later the wounded man, *alli mosṭijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *as-sâṭi*, who, as it was the time of

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577 627 the greatest heat of the day, was just resting with his flock, *mžajjel bṛanameh*. Suddenly Belhân seized his heavy club, *maḏrûb*, jumped at this relative of Medbaṛ, and beat him till he fell down insensible. When it was reported to us, we at once rode to the river and took Belhân to task:

'Thou knowest that he is under our protection. Why dost thou insult our face? Why dost thou beat thy cousin?'

"He replied: 'O brothers, his fate has overtaken him, *amreh ṣâr*.' But we went straight to his kin, *naḥarna haleh*, compelled them to come with us, and took all their tents and flocks just as if they were enemies as compensation for our lost face, *w-aḥaḏnâḥom aḥḏ al-ḳowmâni ḥaḳḳ waġhana ḥelâlhom w-bujûthom*. Then, lodging them, in our tents for the time being, we gave them this advice, *w-ašarna 'alejhom šowren*:

'If you make up the quarrel, behold! we shall give you these flocks; if not, we shall keep all as the price of our face and shall return nothing to you, *mâ nanṭîh*.' We had them all assembled, *lajjemnâhom*, in our chief's tent. Medbaṛ and Belhân also appeared, each with his surety:

'Medbaṛ, wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will, *žâbleh*.'

'Turn to, *anḫed*, thy surety!'

'I turn to 'Abṭân.'

'Wilt thou be reconciled, 'Abṭân?'

'I will.'

'Dost thou vouch for the reconciliation?'

'I do.'

"Next we asked Belhân: 'Wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will.'

'Who is thy surety?'

'Ṛâzi.'

'Will Ṛâzi guarantee that Belhân will keep peace?'

'I do.'

'Lay aside your arms, then embrace and kiss!' This they did and became reconciled, and we now could give back to Belhân's kin all that we had taken from them as the price of our face."

Za'al eben Ṛâzi of the Ḳmuṣa subdivision of the Sba'a tribe had a son; Nejtûl eben Ğdejjân was the father of a daughter. Za'al and Nejtûl were the sons of two different fathers but of the same mother. Za'al reserved Nejtûl's daughter for his

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son, claiming the cousin's right to his cousin. Nejtûl denied 577
that the cousin's right was involved in this case, and his 627
daughter declared that she would never marry Za'al's son. Za'al then began to persecute Nejtûl in such a hostile manner that the latter had to seek refuge in Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed's tent and to ask his protection. Ṛaṭwân, sending for Za'al, said to him:

"Count thine ancestors till thou findest one who is both thine and Nejtûl's. Then ask for his daughter, and I myself will bring her to thee, if necessary, with a saber in my hand, *atakaffaha jammak bes-sejf raṣban.*"

Za'al began to count: "Ṛâzi, the son of Ṣabr, the son of Sâjer, the son of Farağ, the son of Murabbeṭ — and Murabbeṭ is the fifth ancestor of Nejtûl." After this Za'al brought five pack camels: a five-year-old, *rubâ'*, a four-year-old, *ṭeni*, a three-year-old, *ğed'*, a two-year-old, *ḥeżż*, and a yearling, *mafrûd*, and, making them kneel before Ṛatwân's tent, spoke thus:

"O Ḳmuṣa, here ye see five ancestors connecting me with Nejtûl. I call you as witnesses. *Jâ ḳmuṣa tarâkom šâhedîn 'ala 'adad al-ğdûd tarâhen nâjeḥât.*" Here Nejtûl, turning to Ṛaṭwân, interposed:

"Za'al's son does not belong to my kin; he is not a cousin of my daughter and therefore cannot have her for five camels. Behold, I, thy protégé, demand such gifts as, according to ancient custom, are given in such cases, *al-muḳalledât*. Make Za'al bring also earrings valued at eight pounds, *tarâči bṭamân nêrât*, a necklace, *ṭowḳ*, the pendants to the necklace, *ma'âneż*, and also enough silk and cotton stuffs, so that I could walk on them from thy tent to mine."

When Ṛaṭwân repeated Nejtûl's demands to Za'al, he refused them indignantly, saying that *al-muḳalledât* gifts had long been out of fashion.

"I let thee know my protégé's demands and ask thee to comply with them. If thou thinkest that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts are no longer given, bring me thine opinion confirmed by the judge Eben Ṛubejn and I shall believe thee. But if Eben Ṛubejn decides that thou must give what Nejtûl demands, then bring a surety that thou wilt do it; otherwise Nejtûl will marry his daughter to whomsoever he sees fit."

"Well, then, let Eben Ṛubejn decide according to the law. Snejdân is my surety. Come, Snejdân, grasp my moustache

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577 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give
627 that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳall*
dât gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in h
fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demande
if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-m*
ḳalledât were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon return
with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl n
Ṛaṭwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al ga
up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards marri
another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarrel
over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unab
to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from h
tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ğel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in
matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should
helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its w
trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, an
accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber
the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the cam
with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarm
by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right gallop
up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protég
and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect th
camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil th
causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 The parents of a married woman who had no other hei
627 died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished
577 get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relativ
695 of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to retu
to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḫağlâna 'ala bejtha*. N
long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, a
while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' came
passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two you
she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, an

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

making them kneel there, shouted to Krejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân haḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥakk elja-mšejt al-ḥakk w-ṣârat lak ḫoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi ṯâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥîn hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt intoRšejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father.Ršejd, though he was

727 577 wounded in the left hand and bespattered with blood, posted himself in front of his tent and liberated the Ḥwêṭi, *fakkeh*, from the enraged crowd. But no sooner did Eben Ḳardûš learn that the enemy who had slain his grandson was inRšejd's ṭent, than he came there galloping on his mare and offeredRšejd twenty camels if he would deliver the Ḥwêṭi to him.Ršejd declined with these words:

"Wouldst thou tarnish my tent, *mâ tebûž bejti*, so that I should become an object of contempt? *atašajje' beh*."

Protection of Enemy Who Voluntarily Surrenders

727 The Bedouins hate to shed blood and therefore spare the lives of their enemies as much as possible. Thus, when repulsing an attack and pursuing an enemy, they urge him to surrender, *ḳâmow jamna'ûn*, with the words:

"Yield it (thy mare, camel, or arms) for thy neck as long as I can help thee, *ruddha 'ala rḳubtak meṭûli anfa'ak*."

The enemy answers: "Lay God on me! *ḥoṭṭ 'alejji allâh*."

"God on thee! *'alejk allâh*."

"I yield."

An enemy who has surrendered voluntarily is called *manî'*, pardoned or saved, because his adversary has pardoned him and saved his life, *mana'eh 'an ruḳubteh 'an aḏ-ḏabeḥ*. All the possessions of such a *manî'*, such as his horse, camel, clothes, arms, etc., become the property of his captor. The latter, however, lets him keep them for a while, merely taking the precaution of giving the *manî'* his headband, kerchief, or jacket as a sign and a warning, *amûrijje*, that nobody must harm him. The pardoner, *mâne'*, then throws himself into the fight anew, and not until the victory is complete will he look for his *manî'* in order to take him and the booty to his tent. There he despoils the captive of anything he desires and then dismisses him with a gift of some kind. Yet sometimes the *manî'* chooses to break his word and tries to escape. If his animal is unwounded and the fighters draw away to some distance, he creeps out of the enemy's troop and flees into the desert, *jeḥoṭṭ al-ḳowm šanaḳ w-jenîr al-ḥala'*. On his return home, *elja' ṭabb 'ala haleh*, he will send, at the next opportunity, the part of the dress received from the *mâne'* back to him. A pardoned *manî'* of this kind is called *bâjež*, faithless. This will not injure him much with his fellow tribes-

men, but among the enemy he must, if recaptured, expect death, as no one will pardon him again. 727

Bâjež, faithless, is also said of one who attacks a friend. Such a stain fell on the name of the Rwala when, in the spring of 1898, they attacked the ʿEbede in al-Ḳaʿra. The ʿEbede, under the chief Barǧas eben Hdejb, asked Eben Šaʿlân for peace. This was granted, and the messengers returned home in the evening; but on the following morning Eben Šaʿlân's, Eben Meʿǧel's, and Eben Mǧejd's warriors attacked Barǧas' camp again and completely looted it. To excuse himself Eben Šaʿlân asserted that this particular troop had left twenty days before on a raid against the ʿAmârât in the vicinity of Kerbela but, when repulsed, attacked the ʿEbede on their way home, in ignorance of the fact that peace had just been concluded. The ʿEbede, however, do not believe this subterfuge but still maintain that they were attacked treacherously, *bâḳowhom bowḳa*, and, whenever they sight a Rwejli in the desert, they utter their battle cry, *jentaḫûn*: "I am a rider protecting the ʿArfa herds, I a Sbêʿi. O those faithless ones! O those blackened faces! Have you forgotten the peace dinner? *Ḥajjâl al-ʿarfa sbêʿi al-bowḳân sowdân al-wǧih wên mṛaddâkom.*" A breach of faith is always condemned, for it is punished by God. Hence the saying: "A faithless one will never rise above the dogs, *râʿ al-bowḳ mâ jarḳaʿ fowḳ al-člâb.*" 577 727

PROTECTION IN CASES OF THIEVERY

To despoil a stranger belonging to a tribe not related to one's own is a proof of cunning and strength. But no chief will stoop to stealing. It is usually the sons of poorer families who go out in twos or threes to steal or to rob. A thief on foot is called *ḥâjef* or *ḥanšûli*; if mounted on horse or camel he is known as *muʿajjer*. When the *maʿâfir* arrive near the enemy's camp they hide and try to acquaint themselves with the whole terrain. After sunset they leave their horses or she-camels in a safe place and crawl near to the tents. One of them remains at a certain spot about five hundred paces from the tents; the other advances cautiously till he finds a good horse or a she-camel which he thinks worth stealing. If he succeeds, he hurries back with the capture to his comrade and then to the place where their own animals are hidden. Tying the stolen animals to their own, he then leads them all 579 674

679 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh ẓiddâm ruḳubteh*."

577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*,
672 *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḫallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḍḫalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

aid him in obtaining his rights, *jimaššī-l-ḥaḳḳ*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehira* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi ṛâje sowda' flân eben flân daḫalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizḳi bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *rub'i jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' waǧhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'erzûn 'endeh w-jentaḫûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.

627 When he has complied with every demand, the powerful man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kaẓejna lâzem*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh wağheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-aḳbalat al-menijje fakk ar-ruḳubat al-mêlijje*."

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin ḥal-bêẓa al-mabnijje*."

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâḥel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-ha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh*."

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

They are of the Šlejb and Šarārāt tribes. Such a pauper, *ṣa'if*, comes to the women's compartment in the tent and whimpers: 735

"O mistress of this tent! behold, I am, by Allāh himself, naked and my family hungers. Therefore I come to Allāh and to this tent; *w-ana ǧāj jamm allāh w-jamm ḥal-bejt.*"

If there is want in the tent, too, or if they are not willing to give anything, they simply say:

"Run along, we have nothing to give! *ḫawṭer má 'endana ḥeṣ.*"

A chief could not, of course, let a beggar go away in that manner, and other Rwala also try to do as much as they can for him. They do it, partly from love of Allāh, *lāhijje*, partly because they like to hear the beggar's thanks and hope that their charity may be extolled elsewhere, *ješkor fī-jeqkor.*

To conceal a lost article is not considered dishonest as long as nobody calls for it. The finder is not required to search for its owner; he must search for his own property. 425 626

Many things get lost during the migrations. The camels laden with tents, furniture, rugs, garments, etc., rub against each other or against bushes, roll in the sand, start trotting suddenly, and lose one parcel after another of their load all along the route. Many of these lost things can be easily hidden and appropriated for the finder's own use, as the dress and personal effects of the Rwala and the furnishings of their tents are almost without exception similar in their appearance. It is hard to prove that this or that article does not belong to the person in possession. A dishonest person or one who has no fear of Allāh will not return what he has found even when asked to do so by the owner himself. The latter usually either hires a public crier or, mounting a horse or camel, himself rides slowly through the camp in the evening when all the people are in their tents, shouting: "Oh, thou who hast seen such and such a thing and esteemest Allāh more than that which thou hast concealed! O thou who wilt keep quiet about a thing of no value, be careful that thou takest it not for that which is dear to thee, that the place where thy camels rest at night will not be left empty; and that thou mayest not call for help with no man willing to hear thee! *Já min 'ajjan al-ēl al-flāni w-hu jeqkor allāh 'an al-ṣuba' já ḍāmen al-bāli ta'awwaṣteh bel-ḍill jaṣbaḥ mrāḥak ḍill ṭfil w-lā lak wāli.*"

425 626 "Whoever has seen such and such a thing or heard or received news of it, or knows anything of it, let him remember God and not hide it; *jâ min 'ajjan al-ṭaraz al-flâni aw ḫebber aw 'allem w-âw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṭaba'*."

When a man happens to know something of the lost article and hears the shouting, he says: "Come hither and take thy thing!"

If anything belonging to a traveling merchant, Kubejsi, is lost, he too rides through the camp shouting at the top of his voice:

"O ye who hear this voice, praise the Prophet! He is for you the first, 'Ali is the second, and Fâṭma, the prophet's daughter, is the third. Who has seen this and that?"

The finder of the lost article, if willing to return it, shouts back to the crier: "O thou owner of that thing, come hither! *jâ râ'i-l-ṭaraz elḥâḳ elḥâḳ*."

But if a lost article which has been proclaimed publicly and which has evidently been concealed with the intention of keeping it, is found, the culprit is reviled by the whole camp and soundly thrashed by his kinsfolk, *jenakkelûneh tenkîl*, because he has disgraced them.

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSPITALITY

SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâma*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *nadjéd*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tardkom mwaggedîn w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwagged*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḫasow* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ halo*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jsallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

576 "May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh ja'âfik.*"
609 "How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"
484 "May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh ja'âfik w-jesallem rjâlk.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧit.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjit.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[203] It takes some-time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-me'âzib.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terauweḥûnakom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

2: Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *má teshûn al-'aṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *má 'endana ma'*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *tafwîḥ*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *ṣaut' b'dîi ḥessah*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

5

[Travelers' Ditties]

434
539x

Jâ râčeb al-ḥamra' O thou who ridest a bay!
jâ ẓâreb an-nijje Thou comest as if sent for;
eḳhar w-'allemni Stop now and tell me thy news,
elja 'âd laḳ nijje. If thou wishest, of course.

Bên al-bišri w-as-suḫne
jâ ṭejr hât 'elûmah
jiḏkar 'aširi waǧa'ân
w-min al-baṭa mâ-lûmah.

Betwixt al-Bišri and as-Suḫne,
O falcon! give me news of her.
My sweetheart is ill, I hear,
For the delay, therefore, I blame her not.

Bêni w-bên al-ṛâli
sinǧâr miṯl al-ṛejme
hâḏa mrâḥ al-ṛâli
w-hâḏa manâm ṭu'ejme.

Between me and my sweetheart
Sinǧâr is rising like a cloud.
This is the spot where at night my sweetheart's flock rested,
And this is the spot where Ṭu'ejme slept.

Jâ-hla-l-ešedde
jâ mwaffeḳin al-ḫejr
allâh jeruddeh
ma'kom šerîč ar-rûḥ.

O ye camel riders!
O ye, who always meet with success!
May Allâh turn evil from you,
For my soul's comrade is among you.

A lover salutes the camel riders who accompany the moving clan of his sweetheart.

Mâ-'ṭi ḏelûli
low 'arraḍow li-š-šowḳ
nabṛi neḥûli
low ḥâlat al-ṛulmân.

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My she-camel I shall not yield 539x
Even if they offer my sweetheart for it. 484
We are resolved to die from exhaustion,
Should our heroes not do as was agreed.

The singer will not yield his she-camel to the enemy even if offered in exchange his sweetheart, who has been refused to him by her kinsfolk. Without booty he will not return. Should he and his fellow travelers not be met at the appointed place by their companions bringing food and water, they will not ask these of their enemies but will try to return home with the captured camels across the desert.

Ḥasabt al-ḳoṣrat [sic] *teṭawwel w-bejti ṭanib lebejtah*
lejteni čefijjet lešowḳi kill mâ-ltaṭam ḥabbejtah.

I thought the friendship would last longer and my tent
be pitched beside hers.
O that I were my beloved's kerchief, for whenever she
covered her chin with it I should kiss her.

RECEPTION OF THE TRAVELER

574

When the traveler wants to enter a tent as a guest, as a rule he approaches from the rear, stopping his camel by the side of the men's quarters. The inhabitants of the tents he is passing examine him at leisure, well knowing that he is not coming to them, as then he would not ride along the fronts of their tents. At the same time the people in the tents whose backs are turned to the rider take stock of him through every gap, women as well as men. They all are interested to learn who he is and where he will dismount. But when he is near the end of the camp, men come out running from many tents, seize his animal by the rein, and try to lead it to their tents, quarreling among themselves.

One shouts: "May I lose my right hand if thou wilt not dismount at my tent! *'alejje ṭdâḳ min jimnâi.*"

A second: "May I lose my head! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min râsi.*"

A third: "May I lose the faculty of begetting! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min ssaḥawi.*"

Another: "May I lose my wife!" or "May I lose my gentility! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min al-mruuwa.*"

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574 Should the traveler still hesitate, someone will say: *"Ğira* on thee! Thou art a *mağğûr*. Thou must come to me. Thou shalt not violate my *ğira*, thou shalt not make a perjurer of me, *lâ tekṭa' ğirati."* To adjure anybody by the word *ğira* is a proof of the greatest earnestness and determination. A *mağğûr* is one so adjured. To persist in refusal after this word has been used would be a direct insult to the person giving the invitation.

A traveler well supplied with food and wishing a night's rest usually declares that he does not desire to be a guest, but merely a neighbor and encamps by the side of one of the last tents. The owner of that tent then becomes both neighbor and protector of the traveler, helping him to unload, bringing him fuel and curdled milk, supping and sleeping with him, and in the morning helping him to load again.

However, when the stranger desires hospitality, he will turn to the side of the tent he has chosen and stop at the men's compartment. Nobody will leave the tent, for everybody inside is watching the arrival through the gaps between the tent walls. Common decency requires that the stranger should have time to put his dress in order and to exchange a few words with his companions and guide. He also keeps his arms with him. At last a slave or servant comes out of the tent, seizes the newcomer's baggage, fetters his camel's left foreleg, and loosens her girth. It is not considered correct for the guest to enter the tent at once; he should stay a while with his animal, so that the slaves or servants can make room for him. The women pick out the best rugs, quilted bedcovers, and pillows and hand them to the slaves, who in the meantime have swept out the men's compartment and arranged a seat for the guest.

[554] A prominent guest will be met before the tent by the host accompanied by all his sons and by all present at that particular time. The host and the guest will then lay their hands on each other's shoulders and kiss each other on both cheeks, *jetaḥâbebûn*. Nobody remains seated, *jeḳûmûn bwağheh*. If it is said of a man that everybody will rise when he comes, *kill al-ğelise teḳûm bwağheh*, it means that he is a man universally esteemed. The guest greets all those present with the words: *"As-salâm 'alejkom,"* to which they return: *"W-'alejkom as-salâm."*

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The newcomer must salute first, *as-salâm 'ala-l-ǧâj*. Then 574
he removes his shoes and takes the seat reserved for him by the host. While he sits supporting himself with his left hand on the pillow or camel saddle and holding his guiding stick in the right, all present, with the host at their head, salute him. If he happens to know somebody there, he salutes him as follows:

"Be strong, O So-and-So! *ḳaww flân*," the answer of the man thus honored being:

"Welcome to us! *jâ hala*."

If he does not know anybody or wishes to shorten the ceremony, the guest himself exclaims:

"I wish strength to all present, whatsoever be their names; *ḳaww killen bismeh*."

A common Bedouin will fetter his camel and loosen the saddle himself, then take his saddlebag, enter the tent, salute, and sit down where he pleases or where there is room. If of modest disposition he pushes his way to the back. The host, on the other hand, either when the guest is known to him or when he wishes to talk with him, calls out:

"Come nearer! *fut ǧâj*," to which the guest replies:

"[My place] is pleasant, I like it, *zên ǧâjezen lije*."

If an acquaintance approaches the tent, its owner shouts to him from afar: "May Allâh preserve this man! *ḥajj allâh har-raǧǧâl*."

The guest, still in the saddle, answers: "May Allâh preserve thy family and thyself, too, for wishing me a long life! *allâh jeḥajji nabâk w-al-muḥajji*."

When in the tent the host inquires of his guest: "How fare those that are behind thee [thy family]? *ʿejf min warâk*."

The guest repays this civility with: "There is success with them, O thou with whom success is a possession! *beḫejr jâ mâl al-ḫejr*." Or else he says merely: "I wish thee success."

Then the host repeats his wish: "May Allâh give them health! *ʿasâhom ṭajjibin*," the guest replying: "They ask for nothing but thy health, *mâ jenšedûn illa ʿan ṭibak*."

If the newcomer is known to no one present the host inquires: "O guest of Allâh the Most Gracious, whence dost thou hail? Of what Arabs? We do not know thee. *Jâ ẓejf ar-raḥmân min ên ent min ajj ʿarab mâ ḥenna ʿârefinak*."

Should the host notice that the guest's answers are eva-

574 sive or that he contradicts himself, he declares: "By Allâh! we do not trust thee. Say who knows thee! *W-allâh mâ ḥenna meṣaddežinak hât alli ʿârefk.*"

[609] If nobody is found in the camp to vouch for the newcomer, he must leave at once, either on foot or on his animal. The host fears that he may be a robber who will steal from him or his guests at night and then disappear. This caution [672] is due to the fact that the host is responsible for any deed his guest may commit while on his grounds.

A common guest addresses the chief with the title: "O thou long living! O thou who art protected from evil! *jâ ṭwîl al-ʿomr jâ mḥafúẓ.*"

Sometimes a guest arrives just when there is no flour, wheat, or *tummen* (a kind of rice) in the tent. The owner with his whole family may have been living for weeks on milk alone, but the guest must receive something better. In such a case the wife goes from tent to tent, begging: "We have received a guest and we are out of food. O friends, we have nothing to set before him; lend us something so that we can do our duty. *Ḥenna mežâfir w-enẓefna jâ rabʿ w-ḥenna-ḳfarna min aṭ-ṭaʿâm eḳreẓowna šien* [sic] *nesteter beh.*" The neighbors help her to the best of their ability — one lending a little flour, another some *tummen* or some butter, and there are also tents where she is told: "Come to us today and thou wilt get the supper thou needest for thy guest."

574 264 If the guest arrives in the forenoon, he gets both dinner and supper, *ġada w-ʿaša*. The meals are brought either by the host himself or his son or are served by a slave, with the host urging: "Hasten to thy luck, O guest of the Most Gracious! Eat! May Allâh preserve thee!" A prominent guest either eats alone or invites the host or some chief who is present to eat with him.

A common guest eats with the others, the host, however, deciding the order of those who are to sit together. When the dish is already surrounded by six or eight persons and the host notices one more he wishes to invite, he asks: "If you can find a gap between you, invite also So-and-So! *en čân ʿendakom ṭenijje ʿazzemow flân.*"

"The place is large! Come hither, O So-and-So! *al-maṭraḥ wasiʿ ḳum ǧâj jâ flân.*"

Coughing or sneezing during the meal is to be avoided. He who has finished eating licks his fingers clean, drops his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

hand on his knees, and waits for the others to finish. The host urges him to eat and also bids the others to remain at the dish and keep on eating, but they answer: 574 264

"Thou hast not restricted us. May Allâh increase thy welfare! *Mâ ḳaṣṣart allâh ječaṭṭer ḫejrak,*" to which the host replies: "I wish you good digestion and much success! *hana' w-'awâfi.*"

The guests: "May Allâh preserve thee for more success! *meḥajjîk allâh 'ala-l-mejsûr.*"

The host: "[And may he preserve you] to success and booty! *mejsûren ṛânemen.*" Or: "May Allâh preserve you from the moment you leave us to the moment you reach your homes! *allâh meḥajjîkom min jowm mašejtom elja mâ lafejtom.*"

The guests: "And may Allâh expand thy heart with joy! *w-bak raḥḥab allâh.*"

If any one rides past the tent where the guests happen to be eating, the host calls to him: "O youth, direct thy steps hither! The food lies before thee! *jâ walad enṭaḥ ğâj az-zâd bwağhak.*"

An invitation of this kind is considered by the rider as a favorable sign that he will succeed in what he has set out to accomplish. Therefore he does not stop but merely answers: "I am not inclined to eat!"

The host: "But think of thy welfare!"

He answers: "May Allâh increase thy welfare" and rides on joyfully.

A host who has killed an animal for his guest draws with its blood a long mark on both sides of the neck of the guest's camel.

When a guest of importance arrives at a Rwala camp, he takes lodgings with his closest acquaintance, where he also sups the first night and accepts invitations from others for the days following. This custom is called *dawrijje.* It is not done to spare the host but to honor the guest — for the host could be compensated for his outlay in some other way, if necessary. 574

A guest should not change his host without good reason. Should he think that he is a burden to his host or that he is neglected, *killet ḫefle,* and make a complaint to the host, he might be told: "Then be off and look for another host!" This, however, happens very seldom, even if the guest should stay in the tent five or six days at a stretch.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

DURATION OF HOSPITALITY AND DEPARTURE OF GUESTS

574 576 The usual or proper hospitality extends to three days and a third of the fourth day. The first day should be devoted to salutations, *salâm*, the second to entertainment, *ṭa'âm*, and the third to discussion, *kalâm*. The third of the fourth day is counted as lasting from sunset to the appearance of the morning star. Between this time and sunrise is the correct time for the guest to depart. But he who prepares to leave only after the dew has evaporated on the fourth day, causes his host a good deal of annoyance, for the latter probably wants to begin the day's march to a new camp site or has to watch his camels while their herdsman is eating his breakfast; hence the proverb: "A spotted snake and a guest who either comes or leaves when the dew has gone are esteemed alike! *al-ḥajje ar-rakṭa' walla-ẓ-ẓejf al-mezḥi.*"

If the guest, on the third day of his stay, inquires which way to take, the host describes it in detail as if he had to ride at night time: "If ye start at midnight when it is completely dark, go through that defile yonder, *elja ǧaḥamtom edrebow ma' haḏâk ar-ri'.*" With the Ḥarb tribe alone can the guest leave the tent at any time he likes. Hence the saying: "Whether we leave early in the morning, or when the dew passes, or at noon, in the Ḥarb territory we shall find a road anywhere! *elja ṣbaḥna wa-ṣṭebaḥna w-elja' ẓaḥḥejna w-taṛaddejna dijâr ḥrûb killha drûb.*"

[672] For three and a third days the host will protect his guest and vouch for him while in his tent. Should he steal anything, the host must give compensation. After his departure the guest remains three and a third days more under the protection or before the countenance of his late host, who will protect him against his fellow tribesmen even to the distance of 150 kilometers. In case the guest is robbed in that time, he returns to his recent host, explains what has happened to him, and the latter, summoning his whole kin, says to them:

"So-and-So was our guest. Our salt and our food are still in his belly, and yet he was wronged by our fellow tribesmen. *Flân ẓâfana w-melḥana w-zâdana bebaṭnah w-naṭal min ǧemâ'atna.*" For it is the duty of the host's kin to assist him in recovering all that his guest has been robbed of.

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When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says: 574 576 [554]

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ aḳwa' 'alejhom enhaǧ ila' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ǧamî'.*"

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḫejl tehmi ḳṣâraha,*" or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓa'îf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓa'îf w-ben-nâs ḳaiwi.*" [577]

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So." [682] [628]

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwaḷi of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this. 574

[Poems Relating To Guests and Hospitality]

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1. *Tara-l-ḥawi w-aẓ-ẓejf w-aṭ-ṭâleṭ al-ğâr*
   miṯl aṣ-ṣala' mâ bên farẓen w-sunna
2. *'ajben 'alejna ẓejfena talḥaḳeh an-nâr*
   wa-jmânana lesjûfen janhaẓenna
3. *elja 'aṭejna-ẓ-ẓejf mâ ẓall beha kâr*
   naḳ'od 'an zên al-mebâni b'enna.

1. Behold, a companion on the road, a guest, and thirdly a neighbor
   Like a prayer are protected by Allâh's law and tradition.
2. Ours the shame if a shot should hit our guest
   As long as our right arms can lift our swords.
3. If we yield our guest, no work is left in our land for us,
   We shall then sit behind a heap of branches instead of in a fine tent.

The poet is unknown. Judging from the first verse, where theological rules and traditions are mentioned, he was either a settler or semi-*fellâḥ*. The reciters were Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

[558] Verse 3. He who yields his guest to the enemy loses his honor and must as an outcast leave both his tent and his kin. No tribe will adopt him. If he will not leave the desert for the settled territory he must wander about as a hunter or robber. Lacking a tent he must shelter himself in bad weather behind tree branches heaped up in a semicircle. There he lights a fire by which he sleeps. A camp made in this manner is called *'enna*.

1. *Low ẓâḳ ṣadri ḳilt ḥoṭṭû ğeḏâmîr*
   w-awžed nâri miṯl nâr al-ḥarâbe
2. *ṭumm aḥtaref w-ağîb 'owğ al-menâžîr*
   w-aḥoṭṭhen 'ala ğamren 'aḳâb eltihâbeh
3. *edlâl tarka 'ala ḥâmi al-čir*
   tiḏlež čema silk al-ḥarîr en ṣabâ beh
4. *elja ğann ma' al-ḥall uš-šemâli da'âṭir*
   malzûm bel-jimna nḥanni ar-reḳâbe
5. *w-en ṣâna'at naḥoṭṭ čabšen ma' al-mîr*
   w-en 'âṣabat jesidd ḳowlen halâ beh.

1. When in my breast I feel a burden I say: "Throw on logs [of wood
   And light a fire big as a war beacon."
2. Then I go out to fetch pots
   And place them on red-hot coals.

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3. From pots standing in the fireplace
A thin stream of coffee flows like a silk thread winding on a reel.
4. If travelers come to us by the northern path
We must daub the necks of their riding camels with blood.
5. And if [this world] allows, we shall offer a wether with boiled wheat;
If not, then the word 'welcome' will take its place.

The poet was Eben 'Abejče, mayor of the settlement Ḳna', lying on the road leading through the Nefûd from Syria to Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ǧwâd al-'Âni, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Žâḳ ṣadri* signifies a gloomy mood, depression, worry. *Ǧeḏâmîr* are thick logs of wood cut from palm stems, *eṭel* or *raẓa*. Ḥmâr pronounced this consistently *žeṭâmîr*. 2. *'Owǧ al-menâžîr* are coffeepots with long, crooked spouts. 3. *Čîr* is a blacksmith's red-hot forge, a heap of red-hot coal. The word *jiḏlež* is used when speaking of a boy whose urine flows in a long, thin stream. 4. *Ḥall* is a path or trail over sandy ground. 5. *Mîr* is the same as the Rwejli *'ejš*, boiled crushed wheat covered with meat. In the Neǧd settlements, as with the Bedouins in general, wheat is quite a rarity, as it has to be brought all the way from Syria or Irak. If there is no grain, there is neither *'ejš* nor bread, and the guest must be content with dates, meat, milk, and kind words.

1. *Jâ klejb šubb an-nâr jâ klejb šubbah*
'alejk šabbah w-al-ḥaṭab jiǧâbi
2. *'alejj-ani taklîṭ hejlah w-ḥabbah*
w-'alejk taklîṭ ad-dlâl al-'eḏâbi
3. *w-ḳalleṭ leha min ǧazel rimṭen beḥabba*
w-eḥmes elja' nâmat 'ajûn al-ehdâbi
4. *bniǧren jenabbi tâli-l-lejl nabba'*
w-en endaḳḳ ṭâra teḳel ḏiben jenâbi
5. *'asa-lja šabbejtha wa-šlahab bah*
teǧḏeb lena jâ klejb ṣirâten ṣijâbi
6. *w-en žâẓa' al-masbû' ḥaṭwa-l-ǧlebba*
w-ḥelw ṭaḳḳ 'aṣijehom biržâbi
7. *al-wâlme jâ klejb lirab' ṣubbah*
w-ar-rizeḳ 'end-alli jenabbi-s-sahâbi
8. *bnisrijjeten jâ klejb ṣalfen mahabbah*
mučatfin w-eowḳehom bel-'alâbi

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9. *bsažwijjeten jâ klejb ṣalfen mahabba*
w-en habb nisnâsen teḳel samm dâbi
10. *ehreǧ lehom jâ klejb herǧ al-maḥabba*
w-low ǧannab aṭ-ṭine mutin al-'alâbi
11. *sawâlfen aḥla min šahâlîl ǧubba*
w-aṣfa min as-ṣemn al-ǧedîd al-'arâbi
12. *w-čam čabš muṣlâḥen lirâseh neḍubbah*
w-min maẓrab as-sičîn nuḥanni-r-ržâbi
13. *w-ḳalben nuṣûḥ mâ maša' bel-musabba*
w-low hâk al-aǧwâd aḫṭû-l-halâ bi
14. *w-aš-šejḫ w-ar-râ'i bdarb al-muḥabba*
w-al-ḥalḳ 'end allâh killehom biḥsâbi
15. *aẓ-ẓejf ẓejf allâh w-lâ bhom musabba*
w-al-ḥâẓer nimeddeh 'an al-'aḍâbi.

1. O Klejb, light the fire, O Klejb, light it!
To light it is thy duty; the fuel will be brought.
2. To prepare cardamom and coffee beans is my duty,
Thine to have the tarnished pots ready.
3. Lay upon the fire more fuel, *rimṯ* with bark,
And do the roasting as soon as my long-lashed eyes fall asleep.
4. The mortar's voice will be heard at the night's end,
And a rap on its brim will sound like the howl of a wolf.
5. Mayest thou, when thou lightest the fire and its flame flares up,
Mayest thou, O Klejb, bring us night pilgrims from far away,
6. While a coward presses under him a disobedient wife.
Oh, how pleasant is their sticks' tap, tap, on the she-camel's neck!
7. What is left from yesterday, O Klejb, serve to the common visitors,
For our gain is in them only who do chase the clouds
8. In a dry, icy wind, O Klejb, that blows piercingly.
With hands folded they sit and urge only with heels
9. In a pouring rain with a sharp gale,
Or again in a light, moist breeze like snake poison.
10. To them, O Klejb, speak the language of love,
Even if into my mud hut a proud, stiff-necked man has come.
11. Tell them what is sweeter than dates on twigs from Ǧubba
And purer than melted butter bought of Araba.

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12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And beameared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Drejjem az-Zulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Kna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Ḥâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Kuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Kna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Ğlebba* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Takk 'asijehom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *subâbe* is a dark low cloud through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

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132 the while. The *saḥâba* is always followed by rain. 8. *Nisrijje*
516 is a dry, icy wind of high velocity, a gale. When caught in it, the rider places his right hand in his left and his left hand in his right sleeve, pressing them to his breast to keep his cloak from being opened by the wind and urging his animal on with heels only. 9. He sits in the same posture when a heavy rain, accompanied by a piercing wind, beats against his face. *Nisnâs* is a light, moist wind which cuts the face and penetrates the clothes to the bones. 10. *Mutin al-ʿalâbi* is one who, disliking to bend his neck or to salute, is full of conceit. *Aṭ-ṭine* or *bejt aṭ-ṭine* is a hut built of large unbaked bricks. 11. *Šaḥâlîl* are the single date-covered twigs of the date bunch, called *ǧenw*. The settlement of Ǧubba lies
231 north-northwest of Ḳnaʾ in the Nefûd. 12. The host paints on
554 both sides of the necks of the she-camels belonging to his guests a thick line with the blood of the animal which he has killed for them. Men seeing these marks ask the host's name, and thus his praise extends to all parts. The head of
262 an animal is never set before the guests but given to the poor.

CHAPTER XIX

PERSONAL QUALITIES

A chief who is commonly spoken of as a *ṣâḥeb al-mar-* 577
ûa stands in high esteem among the Rwala. Such a one 622
has a brave, strong heart, *ḳalbeh ḳawi*; knows how to wrestle with the greatest danger, *ma'eh fetel*; has a broad outlook, *ma'eh 'erf*; thinks of the future, *šôfteh ba'ide*; and never acts hastily, *leh ṣabr*. He who is merely a daring fighter, *ṣâḥeb al-farse*, is not fit to be either a chief or a leader in time of war. He, too, has a strong heart but lacks calm consideration, *mâ leh ṣabr*, therefore he throws himself into danger recklessly, unmindful of victory or death; *'irmi ḥâleh jâ jiḳtel žebileh jâ jinḳatel*.

But the most popular among the chiefs is the *ṣâḥeb al-mruuwa*. He is kind, *kerim*; truthful, *ḥabîb allâh*; disregards trifles, *saḫi*; and knows no distinction between great and small. Of such the proverb says: "A wolf does not suffer hunger with him, neither do his sheep perish; *lâ jiǧû aḍ-ḏiib w-lâ tifna-l-ġanam*." As examples of such a *ṣâḥeb al-mruuwa* Ḳuftân eben Ḥâmed of the Beni Ṣaḫr and Haǧer eben Meǧwel of the Rwala were named to me.

A generous man is universally esteemed, as he is often 577
visited by guests who then carry his fame far and wide. They say that it is easy for a wealthy man to be generous, because the word generosity is derived from what a man possesses, *al-ǧûd min al-maǧûd*. According to others generosity must [827]
be inborn. He that does not inherit generosity from his parents will always be a miser, even if he has more wealth than he knows what to do with, *al-ǧûd min al-ǧdûd*.

Aš-šime is among the most prominent qualities of a famous man. It is but rarely found, and the man possessing it excels all others in the same way as the head projects above the body. He who has *aš-šime* will not always insist on his rights, gladly yielding to one weaker than himself and sometimes giving up his claim to a thing which clearly belongs to him. *Jetaḫajjam 'an aš-ši* means "he gave up a thing," or "he did not take a thing although evidently his." Without *aš-šime* no *rê' al-mruuwa* is perfect.

577 Seemly behavior is esteemed by the Rwala. The proverb: "*Ar-raǧol ja'ref metabbeh*, a true man knows how to behave," is frequently heard. The meaning of the word *raǧol* is very similar to that of the word *ádemi*, which either signifies all men as the sons of Adam or well mannered men of pleasant behavior. The word *raǧǧál* is used in connection with a man who excels by prudence and bravery, thus: "*Met'eb raǧǧál*, Met'eb, that is a man!" A *raǧǧál jeswa 'orbán* is a man as good as many Arab clans put together: "*W-alláh kuw raǧǧálen málḥ*, by Alláh, he is a hero!" It is also said: "*Ar-reǧál má hi killeha raǧǧál biha raǧol w-raǧǧál wa-rǧéǧil w-reǧǧareǧǧa*; not all men are heroes; there are among them true men, heroes, helpers of women, and chatterers." Here *rǧéǧil*, or *reǧéǧil*, implies that, although having a moustache, *šudreb*, he occupies himself rather with things that belong to women. *Reǧǧareǧǧa* or *reǧreǧǧa* is a coward who babbles like a woman. *Reǧál* often signifies brave men. A woman attacked by robbers shouts: "*Idekom idekom werâji reǧál*; your hands, your hands [they must not take anything from me], there are brave men behind me!" The men of some families have the reputation: "*W-alláh kom reǧálen zénin maẓbúṭin*, by Alláh, they are true men!" *Raǧáǧil* means men regardless of their qualities. Up to ten the plural *reǧál* or *raǧáǧil* is used; for a larger number *zelm*. "*Jammakom já zelm*, stand still, ye men!" *Zlema* is an unknown man. *Aslém* is another expression for a number of men not exceeding ten, but usually the words *zelm* or *silm* are used as the plural.

577 828 Noble qualities are inherited; therefore every Rwejli aims at winning a wife from an old and honorable family. It is often said of a noble but otherwise unknown man: "*Hw min áles 'atíl má kuw min kajallah nás*; he comes of an old family, then surely not of riffraff."

'Arreb wulejdak 'arrebeh
w-ax-náṛ min milbáseha
w-al-'ezz be'urúḳ en-nisa'
alli 'aríbes asdeha.

By every means try to beget a thoroughbred son,
For as the fire depends on its foundation
So nobility is in the veins of women
Who are of pure blood descended.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'Arib signifies the same as *aṣil*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles a fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *ḥāḍ*, *rgaṣ'*, or *rṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *miḥbda*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *Aṣla* or *naṣab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Eben Rašíd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jā-llāh ṭalabṭak jā serī' al-maṭābe*
   teṭṭaḥ lewa bāb-al-faraj bel-meṭālīḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rubbeh w-ṭābeh*
   jā ḥālleden rizḳ al-'arab w-al-ṭalālīḥ
3. *an-nowm ada al-lowm bān ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-l-ṭowlāt nowmeh ḥelāflh
4. *alli jirid al-medeh jil'ab reldbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ beṭāl al-ḥaṭa' jā-hla-l-flh
5. *jidāk 'ajrāt an-nepa' be'akābeh*
   w-ed-dawr jikṭa'enneh 'aṣiren beterwlh
6. *mā fowḳha illa' ḥirbeten ma' rakābeh*
   w-eṣfājeṣen tabrāh lown al-maidawlh

539 K
577 K

7. *tayârow al-mayḳâb miṯl aḍ-ḍijâbe*
wa-ṯḳâbalow miṯl al-ḥarîr al-mefâḤÂ
8. *w-ḳâmat ǧenûb al-bel taallel ḥarâbeh*
w-ḳâlow ǧanabha 'âleîn aṭ-ṭamâmiḥ
9. *ôum wâḥeden bel-koum jo'ṣer ṣuwâbeh*
min ôaff kowḥân al-'ajûs aḍ-ḍuwâbiḥ.

1. O Allâh! I beg of thee, who art quick of hearing,
To open for us with thy keys the gate of freedom;
2. It is the prayer of a servant to his master who will hear him,
O thou creator of wealth for those who live in tents as well as in houses!
3. Sleep is the cause of reproof, for it reflects evil,
While the sleep of an eye that longs for power is but short.
4. He that would have praise must tire his riding camels,
For the booty depends on the long pace, O ye owners of fine camels!
5. With his heels he tears the skin of the riding animals,
Which must run over the wide plain, if they would arrive in the evening.
6. All he carries is a water bag, food for the journey,
And long fancy ribbons, streaming after him like the cloth with which the falcon is coaxed.
7. In full gallop with his comrades he rode up a high hill like a pack of wolves,
And they threw themselves upon the foe like well-born warriors meeting success.
8. But the camel guards resisted, brandishing their spears,
So that they said: "They are protected by the gallants of women displeased with their husband."
9. How many are pressing their hands to their wounds
Dealt by the hand of him who (when aiming) half closes his death-dealing eyes!

The author of this poem was an unknown Šarâri; it was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Bâb al-faraǰ* is a gate leading to spacious regions where the Bedouin is not threatened with danger. 2. *Al-'arab* live in tents, *al-falâḥîn* in houses. Whenever the *falâḥîn*, or townsmen of some of the border settlements, leave for their herds and settle in tents, they are at once spoken of as *'arab*. 3. *An-*

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342]

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3. Am

nouns *sāz al-lown*, sleep is the cause of reproofs, because at night, when the guards are fast asleep, the activities of the Bedouin's enemies, whether men or beasts, are most successful. He that keeps awake can prevent evil. *Ṣelāfiḥ* implies the lack of a certain thing; thus, "*Waredna hal-mokr sakweh ṣelāfiḥ*" means "We wanted to water in this rock cistern, but there is little water there." 4. *Ar-riżk beṭūl al-ḥaṭa'*; he whose pace is longer will win more, can go farther. *Fiḍ* (sing., *feḍha*) are good-tempered, enduring she-camels. The rider of such will reach distant places where he can get booty more easily. 5. *Jidūk* signifies the continual motion of the rider's two heels, which tear the animal's hide by constantly rubbing against it. '*Ajrāt an-neṣa*' are she-camels used for raids to distant places. A raiding troop cannot spend the night in a large plain surrounded by mountains, *ad-daww*, for it is impossible to build a fire there; it would be seen far around. The she-camels must, therefore, exert their whole strength to cross such a plain as quickly as possible in order to reach a region with deep, hidden gullies before sunset. 6. Behind the camel saddle the Bedouins fasten one or two pairs of many-colored ribbons, *sefājef*, which, fluttering with every step the she-camel makes, are seen now far behind the animal, now high above or below it. The waving of the ends of these ribbons reminds the onlooker of the motions the falconer makes with a piece of cloth when he wants to coax a falcon to return to him. These cloth pieces, *malāwiḥ*, also float out, to vanish the next moment, according to the motions made by the falconer. 8. The guard watching the camels is called *ǧanab*. For this duty the bravest youths, as a rule, are selected, objects of warm desire on the part of many a married woman dissatisfied with her easy-going, often cowardly husband. A woman of this sort is known as *ǧamūḥ*. She would not bear sons resembling their father. 9. *Akwaḥ al-'ajn*, means "[a good marksman] half closed his eye." Such eyes send out sure death, for they are *ǧawābiḥ*, killers.

539x
577x
[513]
[831]
[826]

Seize Opportunity When It Offers

Elja' habbat rijāḥak hebb ma'ha
w-lā budd illa-r-rijāḥ min as-sukūn
w-en darrat rijāḥak w-eḥtelebha
w-lam jidra-l-ḥwēr limin jekūn.

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539 x
577 x

When thy good luck arrives, follow it,
As, of necessity, it soon will end.
When thy camels drip, milk them,
For the young knows not whose the milk will be.

[234] Make full use of your opportunity! A camel will give milk only when her young catches hold of her teats with its lips and knocks its head against her loins. The young camel thus compels its mother to let her milk flow but does not itself know whether it will drink, because the man may push it away and milk for himself. He often milks three camels without the young having had a drink. It frequently happens that a man creates an opportunity for himself but is unable to utilize it. Push him aside and see what you can do!

Modesty and Self Reliance

1. *Ḳâl rumejzân at-tamîmi maṭâjel*
   al-ajjâm ṛums w-lâ biken ḥejâl
2. *al-lejâli mâ ḫallen ḥada mâ čwaneh*
   w-lâ jeslam min low 'âtiken reǧǧâl
3. *fattelt lid-dinja ḥebâlen aǧerraha*
   w-ǧerratni-d-dinja birejr ḥebâl
4. *jâ žâ'ed beṣ-ṣell čann zâḥ ṣellak*
   w-já žâ'ed beš-šams ǧâk ṣelâl
5. *min ḳâl ana ḫejr al-mela' fâleh al-'ana'*
   w-min ḳâl ana ṣejmen tuṣejmeh reǧâl
6. *lâ tṣir markâš low neḇet ṭowleh*
   w-lâ tkun heǧ'en low bada lak al-ḥâl
7. *w-lâ jimteli ǧibben min aṭ-ṭell w-an-nada'*
   w-lâ jistuwi herǧen birejr fa'âl
8. *w-lâ jenḳol al-janḳûš raǧolen ḫajjer*
   w-lâ tâkol zibdet al-mḍâb reǧâl
9. *w-čam wâḥeden žâ'ed 'ala mâl abûh w-ǧeddeh*
   w-en zawwaleh rabb al-'âlemin kw zâl.

1. Rumejzân at-Tamimi told these parables:
   Secret are the days and yet not screened with curtains.
2. The nights do not omit anybody while burning with an iron red-hot,
   And nobody will save himself, however much he may try to surpass them.

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3. I for myself twisted a rope to pull this world with, 539x
But, instead, the world pulled me without a rope. 577x
4. O thou who sittest in the shade! it is as if thy shade were gone,
And over thee who sittest in the sun has fallen a shade.
5. He that says "I am better than others" is destined for torments,
And he that says "I am violence" will be violated by men.
6. Become not a long spear, even if thou reachest its length,
But be not downcast, even if the present has treated thee mercilessly.
7. A well cannot be filled with dew or moist fog,
And a revolt will not be calmed without an effort.
8. The informer shall not whisper in a noble man's ear,
And true men shall not eat lies.
9. How many are there who rest on the goods of their father and grandfather,
But, if the Lord of this world shall destroy those goods, they will perish.

The poet was Rumejḥân at-Tamimi of the Beni Tamim tribe, who live in various settlements of Neǧd; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd, and Ġwâd al-'Âni.

Verse 1. *Jowm* signifies a day from sunset to sunset, hence the night too. The days are secret, because nobody knows how many people were begotten in them, *ad-dinja teliḥak w-teled*. 2. Grief caused by various troubles does not torment so much in the daytime as at night, when the troubled man cannot sleep. *Ċwenek* means that the nights lay on the red-hot iron used in curing various diseases. *'Âtiḥeš* means putting oneself above or being offensive to others. 3. Sooner will the surroundings spoil a man than a man reform his surroundings. 4. A despised person ought to be conscious of his condition and should not press into the foreground, while he who is famous ought not to forget that the time may come when his fame will end. 6. *Markûd* is the term applied to an unusually long spear. No matter how many good qualities a man may have, he should not put himself above others and wound them with his sarcasms. *Haṯ'en* is one low in spirit, downcast, crushed. 7. *Ġîbè* is a deep well. *Neda'* means the dripping moisture which settles on clothing, tents, animals,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

and plants on cool days. 8. *Jaxḵâš* is said of one who delights in quarrels and in setting people against each other by carrying gossip and distorting their words. *Zibdet al-mḡâb*, melted butter, signifies invented, false stories, or calumnies. Melted butter is liked by everybody but cannot be the exclusive food, as it would cause death from dysentery; thus it is also with false stories. Pleasant to listen to, should the hearers make them a foundation for their acts, they would not meet with success. 9. He that cannot work, but lives and thrives on the sweat and toil of others, must perish as soon as they cease to support him.

Prudence

1. *Al-ḥâjet bâlak tebni*
   illa-s-sâs ḥeǧâreh kbâr
2. *w-al-bâjeh ḥaḏrak teżnih*
   damhât al-bawwâh kṯâr
3. *w-al-mar'i ḥaḏrak ter'ih*
   elja' ra'ejt er'a-n-nuwâr.

1. Beware of building a wall,
   Except when the foundation is of big stones.
2. Beware of taking an ingrate for thy companion,
   For much trouble he will cause thee.
3. Of land that has been grazed upon beware;
   If thou desirest to pasture, on blossoms pasture.

The poet was a settler from the oasis of al-Ǧowf; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. As the houses in al-Ǧowf (as in all the settlements of inner Arabia) are built comparatively high, their walls must have solid foundations. During the fights in which the settlers frequently engage among themselves a weak foundation could be easily broken through by the enemy, and the wall would collapse. For this reason only big boulders are used in foundations. 2. *Al-bâjeh* is a man without a heart, *mâ beh ḳalb*, devoid of sympathy, gratitude, and even of morals. Whoever takes such a man for his companion, *ḳawi*, on a long trip will suffer more troubles than could be found even in hell. 3. *Al-mar'i* is either a woman divorced by her husband or a widow. Do not marry such a one; rather take a blossom, a virgin.

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Genuine Bliss Dwells with All True Believers 539x 577x

1. *Aṣ-ṣîb mâ ḥw bass maʿ aṣ-ṣaʿânina*
   muḥassem ʿala râs al-ʿejâl al-mefâliḥ
2. *bejt aš-šaʿar w-alli ḳaʿad leh bṭina*
   al-ḥaṣar w-al-bedwân min habb leh rîḥ.

1. Not with those only is bliss found who load tents and their fixtures on camels,
   But it is distributed also on the heads of those poor sons
2. Who live in tents of goat's hair or in the mud-brick huts,
   On settlers, on Bedouins, and on all on whom the wind blows.

The poet was an unknown orthodox Moslem; the reciter, Gwâd al-ʿÂni. It is a firm belief of the Rwala that honesty and, hence, both physical and spiritual welfare are to be found with them only. All the settlers from the ruler down to the slave are, in their opinion, nothing but hypocrites and full of low cunning, who misuse for their own benefit the religion as well as the power with which they are entrusted and who are a torment alike to the stranger and to themselves. For the Bedouins cannot understand why the settlers should be so eager to acquire both property and honors. A Bedouin's heart never longs for such vanities, for he knows that he may lose his life, the most treasured possession he has. Why, then, should he depend on riches and worldly dignities? The passionate hunt for wealth is, in the opinion of a Bedouin, the root of all the troubles and want of integrity among the settlers. Moreover, because the settlers are true Moslems while among the Bedouins Islam does not carry conviction, the latter consider Islam weak, as it cannot free the settlers from their miseries. In the two verses cited above the correctness of such Bedouin views is denied by an orthodox Moslem, who maintains that genuine bliss dwells with all true believers, *mefâliḥ* — that is, with people who live and act in accordance with their inner religious convictions. 2. *Habb leh rîḥ* would mean with a Bedouin: "success or luck is blowing towards him"; to the settled Moslem it means anyone on whom a wind blows or who breathes, hence all men without distinction.

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539 R
577 R

Complaint Against a Knavish Neighbor

1. *Kâl al-mhâdi w-al-mhâdi muhammal*
   já 'alleten biṣ-ṣadr má-ḥaden darâ bah
2. *en aẓhartaha bânat al-kummejde al-'eda*
   w-en aḫfejtaha zâd al-ḥaša' beltehâbah
3. *ṭemen snîn w-ǧârna mǧarren bina*
   narfah čema tarfa-l-'aḏâra' ṭejábah
4. *já má-ṭ'amna ǧârna min berîra*
   w-ḥenna-lja barejna-čelha má darâ bah
5. *w-já má 'aṭejna ǧârna min selâle*
   w-aḥlafna 'ala ḳawwâdha má jinṭenâ bah
6. *al-aǧwêd low 'âšartahom má temellahom*
   w-al-andâl low 'âšartahom 'efet má bah
7. *al-aǧwâd 'edd w-min wardeh esteḳa'*
   w-al-andâl lá jesḳa' w-lá jenseḳâ bah
8. *al-aǧwâd ḳamra' blejlet ad-duǧǧa*
   w-al-andâl ẓalma' w-táh min sará bah
9. *al-aǧwâd ṣandûḳen mišcen w-'ambar*
   lija futtiḥen bibânha fáh má bah
10. *al-aǧwâd miṯl ar-rabî' al-muḫtalef nabteh*
    w-al-andâl zejza' te'áwa ḏijábah.

1. Thus spoke al-Mhâdi and al-Mhâdi was shedding tears:
   Alas! the pain in my breast, of which no one knows.
2. If I should show it, my enemies would know of it from the grief on my face;
   If I conceal it, inflamed the torment will grow.
3. It is eight years now that our neighbor has despoiled us,
   And we patch up our wound as the women patch their dresses.
4. How often have we fed our neighbor with dainties!
   But when we ourselves would enjoy a dainty he cared nothing.
5. How many a thoroughbred mare have we given our neighbor,
   And yet we had to make him who led it away swear not to slander us.
6. If thou livest with noble men, thou never wouldst be surfeited with them,
   But the knaves thou hast met will fill thee with disgust.

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7. Noble men are a spring from which he who comes may drink,
But knaves give no drink, nor can one drink with them.
8. Noble men are like moonlight in a dark night;
But knaves, they are a dark night in which he goes astray who starts on a journey.
9. Noble men are two chests filled with amber and musk,
When their lids are opened a pleasant fragrance streams out.
10. Noble men are like the time of abundance with its various plants,
But the knaves — a scorched, stony desert where wolves howl at one another.

The poet was al-Mhâdi, a Rwejli of the Freǧe clan; the reciters, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i and Ġwâd al-'Âni. The poet complains of his neighbor, a member of a strange clan who was camping with him and under his protection for eight years and proved a constant trouble to him.

Verse 3. *Mǧarren* means literally "he ground us like a millstone." Al-Mhâdi, desirous of maintaining good relations, repaired what his neighbor spoiled. 4. *Berîra* is a dainty possessed by nobody else in the camp. *Barrejtak biha* means "I let thee taste dainties." 5. *Seldîle* is a thoroughbred mare about one year old.

Moral Precepts

1. *Elfen w-welleʃ w-ḥala mâ laḥḥi*
buʃâten biha lil-ʃâhemin arbâḥi
2. *benejt bkâfhen w-e'ǧebenni*
w-enbâḥ mâ biṣ-ṣadr ṭumm enbâḥi
3. *tara ḥuǧr čelâmak jimleḥak*
aṣ-ṣumt 'azz lâ tkun ḥenâḥi
4. *ṯabât al-'elem miṯln al-feta'*
tara-l-feta low zill 'elmeh rîḥi
5. *ǧamm al-ḥerr bênât al-mela'*
lâ tiǧurrû bênahom malwâḥi
6. *elja' ḥall al-kya' min 'âtel*
afḍal w-otruk ḥâlaten biṯlâḥi
7. *ḥijâr en-nâs raǧolen ʃâhem*
baṣr al-mu'ini menhaǧ al-menâḥi

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539x
577x

8. *dell an-nafs 'an wahmâtaha*
tara-l-wahmát tekaṭṭer al-ašnâḥi
9. *ṭadlîl al-'adw ma'azze*
lá ṯheff ma' al-'adw jinsâḥi
10. *rijêse hije ḥijár al-merğele*
w-al-lejṭ má jinṭaḥ birejr slâḥi
11. *zemânak low 'aṣa ṭáwa' ma'a'*
eṣber w-ṣabrak lil-faraǧ miftâḥi
12. *saddak lá tbiḥeh lan-nisa'*
teṣbeḥ čema maḳṣûmt al-ǧenâḥi
13. *šowrak lâ jifâḫet râsak*
tara hw ašwa lak min an-naṣâḥi
14. *ṣâḥeb aṣḥâb abûk w-ǧeddak*
w-bâži-l-mela' jarzik minhom ṣfâḥi
15. *ṣeddak low ṣaḥak eẓḥak ma'eh*
w-ḳalbak jišádi laṣ-ṣafa' sammâḥi
16. *ṭalbet ḥáǧten maǧhûle*
ḥaṣṣo-lja ṣárat ma' al-ašḥâḥi
17. *ẓujúfak elja-lfaw raḫḫeb behom*
aṭleẓ ḥeǧâǧak ḫejr zádak râḥi
18. *al-'ajn 'edd aṣ-ṣidẓ lá trâwi beh*
low hw 'ala-ṣdaḳ ṣiddiẓ enṣáḥi
19. *ṛannem limin laṣa' lak 'âni*
tara' jihḳa' bak haḳwat al-felâḥi
20. *fál al-ḫalḳ tálîhom ṣena'*
maktúb 'alejha bḥáfeẓ al-aluwâḥi
21. *ḳátel al-'ada' lá thábahom*
ṣajûr má já láḳ w-bjadeh slâḥi
22. *kuff aš-šerr 'an ba'aẓ al-mela'*
tara-l-mesâjer jireṭ al-aṣlâḥi
23. *lumm al-ḫazz lá t'ani-l-feta'*
tara-l-fṭa' low mâl ḫazzeh ṭâḥi
24. *má wannejt ḫubl má ṭrarak*
kis al-meḥâza w-e'ref al-misbâḥi
25. *nijjatk allaḍi bpadrak*
tesri w-hi tekzob lak al-meṣbâḥi
26. *we' weǧdi 'ala kill min sala'*
ṭár al-'adw w-enṛaṭar w-hw ṣâḥi
28. *low haddejt bâlak tenṭeni*
w-as-seif maḥni lil-'adw miftâḥi.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

1. As a friend I compose—and how fairly they are by me embellished!—
   Verses from which those can profit who understand.
2. Much labor I took with rhyming them before they pleased me,
   But then all my inner self was clearly revealed.
3. Behold! The multitude of thy words makes thee unpopular!
   Silence is a power, yet be not morose.
4. The strengthening of a reputation is the scale on which the youth is weighed.
   Behold, if a youth falls, his good name is gone.
5. Much evil has spread among the people,
   Thus use no bait for it among them.
6. If a decision of the court has been refused by a wise man,
   Then better wouldst thou go away and cease uttering words of moderation.
7. The best of men is he of understanding,
   For to penetrate the meaning of a thing leads to good
8. Free thy soul from needless worry; [counsel.
   Behold, trifling cares increase misunderstanding.
9. To humble thine enemy is a proof of strength;
   To the enemy be not lenient, else his insolence grows.
10. To command well in war is the best bravery,
    For even a lion stabs not if without weapons.
11. If thy time has failed to give thee all thou desiredst,
    Be patient, for patience is the key of success.
12. Thy secret plan disclose not to women
    Or thou soon wilt be like a bird with broken wings.
13. Let not thy good advice leave thy head needlessly—
    This will be better for thee than to disclose thine honest view.
14. Keep up the friendship with the friends of thy father and grandfather,
    And from other people content thyself with a salute.
15. If thine opponent laughs, laugh with him,
    But in yielding let thy heart be like a bare rock.
16. The result of a request for what thou needest is uncertain,
    Especially when thou hast to deal with misers.
17. When guests arrive, welcome them kindly
    And let thy brows smile even if thy best supplies are gone.

539x
577x

2: Musil 5-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD

539K 18. The eye is a spring, but to a friend it will not give drink
577K Though he be the best of friends to thee.
19. Share thy booty with the captive who comes to thee,
For, behold, what he will say of thee will benefit thee
20. All creatures are doomed in the end to die,
For thus it is written with the keeper of the records of
21. The slayer of the enemies will not run from them [fate
And will never relent as long as his hand holds a weapon
22. Some men thou shouldst compel to abstain from evil!
Behold, an aggressor often inherits peace.
23. Guide the desire — hold not back the youth,
For, behold, a youth whose desires slacken will be de-
24. Thou didst not lament before drowning; [stroyed
Survey the ford and learn to swim.
25. The desire hidden in thy breast
Will come out on a night's march and hold a lamp to thee
26. Ah, how I grieve for him who has forgotten
To avenge a wrong and, in affluence resting, remains calm
28. When thou hast pacified a man, beware of doing so
second time
For a saber pointed downwards is a key to violence.

538 This poem is anonymous. Ğwâd al-'Âni's statement that it was written by aš-Šerif Barakât was opposed by 'Awde al-Kwêčbi and Ḥmâr. Prince an-Nûri, however, thought its author was a Bedouin of one of the tribes encamped on both banks of the Euphrates, as the ford mentioned is called *maḥâḍa*, a common word for ford in southern Mesopotamia. An-Nûri's opinion seems to be correct, because the consonant ḍ, which a sherif from either al-Medîna or Mecca would never have omitted, is lacking in the poem, and also because the whole moral tone is nearer the views of the free Bedouins than the exaggerated sanctity of the sherifs. I took it down according to the recitation of an-Nûri, Ḥmâr, 'Awde, and Ğwâd, each of whom knew a few verses of the poem but none the whole of it. None of them could remember the verse beginning with the consonant *jâ* (27). — The whole poem has 28 verses rhyming on *âḥi*, and each verse begins with a consonant in the order of the Arabic alphabet, excepting the sixth, ninth, eighteenth and twenty-eighth verses, in which the second or third syllable begins with the appropriate consonant. The first two verses excepted, each of the others conveys some moral precept for life

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Bejt* means the whole verse, *ḳâf* its second half and then, specifically, the rhyme of this second half. 3. *Šenâḥ* is a man of morose disposition, who will neither talk nor smile. 4. *'Elem* signifies a report circulating in regard to a man. If such a report is consistent it is considered unshakable. A good report must be that, otherwise a man would fall in the public esteem. 5. *Melwâḥ* is the decoy swung by a falconer when trying to lure a falcon towards him, *lawwaḥ 'ala-ṭ-ṭejr*. When a man breaks off a twig of the luxuriant *rûṭe* and shows it to a riding camel, he coaxes her to come near, *lawwaḥ 'ala-d-delûl*. There are people whose actions lure evil into the tribe, regardless of the fact that their fellow tribesmen are already suffering. 7. *Meshaǧ* is a path or trail. 12. The women will reveal your secret plan, and you will then be unable to realize it. *Sadd* means, in particular, the planning of a great raid against a certain enemy. The men taking part in it do not themselves know accurately either the time of their departure or the enemy they are to attack. Should the commander's wife learn of it she would undoubtedly tell it to some of her friends, and the enemy would receive warning even before the raiders started. 18. When you have a good friend, share your last drop of water with him. Do not confound words with deeds. *Al-'ajn* means both a spring and an eye. *'Edd* is the name of a well with spring water which never dries up. 22. Violence, force, often leads to peace sooner than mildness. 23. *Ḥazz* signifies a passionate desire for something. Out of a youth filled with such a strenuous desire an exemplary being can be formed by a man of good sense. 25. *Nijje* is a plan, intention, desire, which robs a man of sleep, drives him to undertake night marches, and lights him on his way. 26. *Ewṭaṭar* is said of a man who likes to eat well and to amuse himself with women. 28. The appeased man has not laid aside his saber; he has only dropped its point and could, if angered again, strike at him who had just appeased him.

1. *'Endi ſetâwi bil-ſahîm al-ſûhem*
   ſarmi bḥalb al-ṛâſelîn aḥḥa'
2. *al-'aſen low ta'ṭih mâl ḥeiet billeḥ*
   mâ ſakker ſaṭiak w-lâ ſarodd ḥana'
3. *ḥeiw elja' ǧâk ma'âiz ḥâǧa*
   w-'aſen elja' laḳḳa-l-'amîl ḳaſa'

539x 577x [203] [828] [203] [721] [829] [828]

577*
539*

4. *aš-šejḫ sammât želîl ḥarğa*
mleżżi ḥâjerât al-'elûm ḫafa'
5. *elja 'âd mâ jeżḥak w-jarḫi bâleh*
želîl alli min al-maḫlûḳ tela'
6. *aš-šejḫ mâ jaḳkom min dûn ğemâ'a*
w-as-sejf mâ jinḥaz be'aṣa'
7. *w-al-ğibb mâ jemlah ṭall an-neda'*
w-al-'eṯb mâ ḏ̣ḳer nâbet beṣafa'
8. *jâ nâzel aṣ-ṣa'nûn teżbaḥ râḥel*
w-lâ jinḳaṭen ğaw brejr fela'
9. *al-ḥanżala mâ tereṭ illa miṯlah*
miṯl aḫâḫ al-'ağûz bzellat żana'
10. *mâ kw âḫedha 'ala ḫalâlah*
w-lâ kw ṭerbîl riğleteh beḫaṣa'h.

1. I know rules of life which he will understand who comprehends quickly
And which will guide the hearts of the careless.
2. An egoist, even if thou givest him all thou hast stored up,
Will not thank thee for thy benevolence and repay thee in kind.
3. He is full of sweetness when he comes to thee in need,
But an egoist he will remain, for when he meets his benefactor he will turn his back.
4. A chief should think more and chatter less,
And be prepared for news which is the reverse of
5. If he does not smile and is not forbearing, [favorable.
Few creatures there will be who will follow him.
6. A chief without an assembly cannot rule,
And a saber cannot be parried with a stick.
7. A drop of dew will not fill a well;
And no one remembers grasses growing on a bare rock.
8. O thou who by a dry well art camping! thou must move,
And not long will camels tarry at a rich watering place if no pasture is near.
9. A colocynth inherits nothing except [illegible] equal,
Nor does he who has married an old hag unable to bear;
10. As to him, he married her only for her property,
For he is not impotent and he has the power of begetting in his loins.

The poet was al-'Âṭem, a rich Šarâri, who in buying splendid weapons, beautiful saddles, and the best riding cam-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

eis squandered all his property in a short time, as he did not take care of the things he purchased. In his old age he sat in a corner of Prince Saṭṭâm's tent and had to be satisfied with eating what was left from the meals there. The reciter was 'Awde al-Kwēčbi.

Verse 2. *'Afes* is an egoist devoid of all virtue. *Ḥešet*, for *ḥešedt* or *ḥešett*, thou hast gathered or saved. 5. *Elja 'éd* has the same meaning as *es čéa ennek*, should it happen that he. 6. *Mín dún* is equivalent to *min ṛejr*, without. Without the consent of the assembly the chief can do nothing. 7. *Ğibb* is a deep well. *Ṭall* is the dew or a drop of it. 8. *Ṣa'wán* is a deep well without water; these are found when there has been no rain for three or four years. *Jinḳaṭes* or *jinḳeṭún* means: "they stay long on the same camping ground." 10. *Ṭerbil* is a man with a crushed sexual organ.

Advice to a Friend

1. *Já dmejm efham wēredi bēri-waṣṭik*
   čún ent min alli lil-waṣdja-jḥafṭún
2. *elja' ğák wdḥeden 'ajelen min dwénik*
   eščik lalli min el-ğemá'a j'arfún
3. *es entaha' hw wudd 'ajnak wa-mrāṭik*
   w-es má-ntaha' ma'ak ṭabb alli-j'llún
4. *aṣ-ṣejf lá tiebbik menčeb 'alábik*
   w-aṣ-ṣomt jowmes es al-maǧáles jeḳiṭún.

1. O Dmejm! understand my speech, for I wish to give thee the last warning.
   If, of course, thou art one of those who pay attention to the last warning.
2. Should'st thou meet one of thy fellow tribesmen who wrongs thee,
   Complain of him to those who judge the comrades.
3. If he ceases harming thee, let him be a favorite of thine eye and thy friend.
   If he does not cease harming thee, thou carriest with thee a cure against those who commit wrong.
4. To the guest show not thy shoulder blades or nape of thy neck,
   And take care not to be rash when the visitors slander each other.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577* 539* The poet was Mâne' eben Durmi, one of the Rwala chiefs
the reciter, 'Awde al-Kwêbi.

Verse 2. *Dwênik* means the same as *beni al-'amm*, fellow
tribesmen. 3. *Ṭabb* are weapons generally.

828 Men are divided according to their qualities and the
temperament into four categories, *takṣim ar-reǧâl arba' ḳo
ṣaṣ*, as follows:

Ḥaṭṭ ar-riǧel 'ala-l-ḳalb	He who puts his foot on his heart
w-al-jad 'ala-l-lisân	His hand on his tongue;
w-al-'ajn 'ala-l-iḏen	His eye on his ear;
w-az-zebb 'ala-l-baṭen.	Or, his sexual organ on the belly

Many are those who hasten to obtain what their hear
desires; here the foot obeys the heart. Another will not brook
an insult; as soon as he hears someone slander him, he seize
his arms to punish him. Yet another is unusually cautious; a
the least rustle he looks sharply at everything around him
and cannot be deceived or surprised. There are also those wh
care for nothing but to satisfy their carnal desires.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳṭâṭa bêḍa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *ḫaffâl.* 763

The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits. 628 614 602

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *aḥl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man."[1]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṣṛad w-jenṣṛad.* The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥelîf*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *aḫl ez-enṭwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *ḥallâṭ eddamm*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dêmijje.* The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[1] See above, pp. 49–52.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in th
614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the leas
attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. Thes
three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-dam*
or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avenger
ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones an
their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even a
old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet thei
mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of th
forelegs, *je'akkerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captiv

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for the
he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whol
tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprit
proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerfu
chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of ou
heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *t*
râna blawbak [*billâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân beḥafâfna w-aṭrâfna*.

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save you
lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahle*
w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whol
kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, load
the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carrie
them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. T
the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according t
ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târu' dûm*
kom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-sodni al-'atîk ḥassekom nafsekom

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay wit
thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from commi
ting violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powe
ful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefo
wilt not protect culprits forever, *má tezebbenâkom ka'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's ten
and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Shou
the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pr

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance.

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *weǧhahom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ǧandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words:

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lheǰb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ǧarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognized as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ǧalwijje* or *ǧallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ǧalwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse cha: and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message:

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 "Your fellow tribesmen, *beni 'ammekom*, dwell among us. Accept the blood price, *medde!*"

If the blood price is refused by the avengers, the guilty parties can only remain abroad, *jejáwerún dájem al-awkát*. But if the avengers say: "We will accept the blood price," the chief asks them to name their sureties of peace, or arbitrators, *čefil ed-dafa'*, while the culprits name their sureties for the payment, *čefil al-wafa'*. Then both parties agree on the chief before whom they will meet to settle the matter. When the culprits with their tents and herds, accompanied by their sureties for payment, arrive there, they send word to the avengers, *jedfa'ún lehom*:

"Here we are with our surety. Make haste to come here too; we wish to pay you the blood price. *Ha' henna ma' čefilna elhakow ájj nabri neddi 'alejkom.*"

The avenger proper then sets forth with his surety of peace to the chief with whom the guilty party is camping, and in his tent the chief asks the avenger in the presence of all:

"What dost thou ask from thy fellow tribesman?"

"I want this or that mare!"

The surety rises, brings the mare, and, handing her over to the avenger, says: "Thy fellow tribesman gives thee this mare."

The next question is: "What else dost thou ask of thy fellow tribesman?"

"I ask fifty she-camels; a complete armament of a rider — that is, a rifle, a saber, a dagger, a camel saddlebag, a hunting falcon, and a greyhound bitch, *ainke* [sic]." If the culprits object, pleading their inability to pay so much, the chief threatens to have them escorted to the camp where they sought refuge; *en dán má entom šábella neraffe'kom 'ala mejlákom*. This makes the guilty party declare their willingness in these words:

"We came here to agree to pay the blood price and will fetch every animal demanded, *henna má jína kawd šábella bel-medde ulli jabyth eben 'ammena nasíkeh.*"

One third of the blood price is paid by them at once, the rest as soon as possible, the avengers not being permitted to trouble them on that account, *w-el-'ar má je'asserúnahom*. Should they find out later that they cannot pay all that was demanded, they visit one of the prominent, *šídemín*, chiefs, with the entreaty:

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allāh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zādkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for. *ḥenna mā neammmi ḥoud alli ḥawwalna leh tanfejnah*."

"May Allāh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjākom allāh alli ṭubrūn 'enda rajjākom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allāh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *maajjer ḥasne*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [577]

"May Allāh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zaghārit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever!

The blood price of a man, *medda rjalu*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mā bi mitl ar-rajleme nākhes 'an ar-rajleme*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [485 562]

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 672 562 614 602 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḫaṭājāha w-aṯāmiha ber ḫubt ar-rajol ḫajrah w-ḫarrha laḫalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu ṣirve ba'id 'an al-ḫejr ḳarib 'an al-meṣarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *dawā'untah*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands com-
683 843 628 pensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istiʿjalat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 628 562 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death *sikṭha wa-ḥtarajṭha ḥra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient. 682 628 562

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *malk*. 682

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents. 593

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naglr* or *ḥaddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance. 682 672 628

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *wuš ent jâ zelema šabl el-wahama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *maḥṭa-l-'arṛ*. 836 684

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman. 684 628

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, 000

513 628 [764] A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bedouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

628 682 672 On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *istaddow ṭârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

685 For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

628 In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the 'Ebede between al-Ṣurâb and at-Tinf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *'ajjar 'alâ*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the 'Ebede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *ṣarab beh lewâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwadow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *mogrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realised what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Maike, ran inside, and begged:

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"People, behold, here I am, guiltless. I ask Allâh's and your protection for the hair of our heads and for our herds. *Jâ rab' ana balâš w-dâẖel 'ala-llâh w-'alejkom 'ala ḥaṣâfna w-aṭrâfna.*" 628

Eben Msejjeb replied: "He that has asked for protection is saved, *daẖal ad-daẖil w-eîlem.*"

Then he assembled all his relatives both on his father's and mother's side and rode with sixty men to the tents of Mnezzel eben Nimr' kin, loaded and carried them away, driving also his herds to the tents of his kinsfolk in order to be there before Ḥarrâs' kin could learn of the latter's death. The Arabs with whom Mnezzel and his relatives were camping ran about, *rdǧow*, wondering why he had left them so suddenly, but received no positive information until all the relatives of the imperiled man were in safety with Eben Msejjeb, who immediately marched off with them to Eben Ḳardûš of the 'Ebede. Arriving there, he stopped his camels in front of the tent, stepped inside, saluted, and quietly sat down. When fresh coffee was made for him, he refused it. To Eben Ḳardûš's question why he would not drink coffee with him he replied:

"Because I desire, Eben Ḳardûš, something else of thee first!"

"Well, and what is it?"

"We demand the old custom of you, *eḥna nabi minkom as-swâni al-'atîża.*"

"Tell us! *sowlef.*"

Here Eben Msejjeb told what had happened, Eben Ḳardûš, who was related to Ḥarrâs, listening with the greatest attention. When Eben Msejjeb had finished, Eben Ḳardûš said:

"The matter about which thou hast come to me will receive our attention. Drink thy coffee. *Wušu ent ǧâjen leh raraṣak teîża ẖoḏ al-ḳahwe.*"

"Grant us a truce of some time!"

"I will grant you a truce of ten days."

Eben Msejjeb drank his coffee, left the tent, and at once rode on with Mnezzel's relatives to Ṛaṭwân eben Merîed and from him to Eben Štêwi. The latter then took the culprits to the Mwasserîn kin of the Rwala, who had camped for the last few years with the Sirḥân, and handed them over to their chief with the words:

"These men are seeking a place of refuge, so I pass them from my countenance on to thine; *har-rab' ḥaḏowla ǧallâje min wağhi ana bwağhak.*"

628 The chief of the Mwasserîn replied obligingly: "Whatever comes to us, comes to its goal; *má waṣalna wâṣel*."

Mnezzel's kin stayed with the Mwasserîn a whole year. After that time the Mwasserîn herdsmen sighted a strange Bedouin. They pursued, caught, and brought him before Mnezzel, who recognized him at once as the avenger of Ḥarrâs. The Rwala therefore fettered his feet with a chain as they fetter a mare. On the fourth day they said to Mnezzel:

"Mnezzel, we do not wish to kill the avenger, but, if he refuses to accept the blood price, we will take thee to the Beni Ṣaḫr; there thou wilt be safer than with us; *já mnezzel ḏabḥ má ekna ḏábeḥineh čân inneh má hw žábel al-medda newaṣṣelak 'a'a ahl aš-šemál 'ala miğlák*."

Their next step was to visit the avenger and ask him whether he would accept the blood price. The man said:

"I am willing, but there are besides me other brothers and relatives whom I must consult first. Allow me to return, and I will send you a report."

So they let him go and soon received news that the avengers were willing to accept the blood price and had named at the same time Eben Ḳardûš as their arbitrator. The Rwala therefore conducted Mnezzel with all his kin to Raṭwân eben Meršed, who sent the avengers the following message, *dafa' 'alejhom*:

"Mnezzel eben Nims is staying with me. If you want the blood price, come. I guarantee its payment."

Finally Eben Ḳardûš arrived. Raṭwân brought Mnezzel's mare and asked Eben Ḳardûš:

"Will ye accept Mnezzel eben Nims?"

The answer being in the affirmative, Raṭwân delivered to him one mare, four she-camels, and a rider's equipment. The rest of the she-camels were to be given to Ḥarrâs' kin in the next few years. And when the rainy season began Mnezzel once again migrated and camped with the 'Ebede — they were reconciled.

628 593 682 A Bedouin of the Eben Mhejd kin of the Fed'ân struck his wife with a pestle, *mihwa'*, from a big mortar, breaking her head so that she died shortly afterward. He was sued by her kin, but all the judges, *'awâref*, declared that he had struck her in anger with no intention of killing and, as he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

Me'ǧel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammiṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ǧel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammiṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ǧel.

As soon as the head chief Ṭaṭwân eben Meriḍ heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ǧel's and Sammiṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Ṭaṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥidi.*"

Ṭaṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ǧel.

A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ǧubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍîn. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

623 that the guilty camel, but nothing else, belonged to the dead
672 man's father.
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In the camp of Meǧwel eben Meṣreb, who was married to a French woman, there lived with the Bedouin ʿÂfet a youth named Meṭḳâl, a native of Irak, working for hire. Suddenly he disappeared. ʿÂfet made a search for him but without success. At last he was found by a strange wayfarer with his head shot through, the corners of the mouth slit, and his ears stuck into his mouth. This showed it to be the deed of an avenger who was in the camp as a guest at the time and soon made himself known. Having proved that it was his duty to kill Meṭḳâl, he was allowed to go back to Irak in peace.

Ǧrejd eben Mowzân tracked, *tehajjer*, a guilty man with his relatives for a whole year. He knew that by doing so he exposed himself to great dangers and might even lose his life, should the Arabs sheltering the culprits catch him; but this did not deter him from his purpose. Learning finally that the guilty men were living with the Sirḥân, he entered the service as *ʿedâwi*, free servant, of a member of this tribe in order to discover the tent occupied by the culprit proper. At last he succeeded. One morning creeping to the tent he saw the culprit milking a camel. Foaming with rage he leaped at him, *ʿadlah ʿalejh*, and with a dagger stabbed him to the heart. Having thus done his duty, he sought protection in a tent, *zeben ʿala bejten*, and found it, because the murdered culprit's relatives were able to testify that he was the avenger proper, *meṭṭâri*, who had avenged his relative, *teṭâreh*.

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Song of a Culprit Longing to Return to His Fellow Tribesmen

1. *Ḳum jâ nedîmi w-eʿteli ſowḳ maʿſaʿ*
   taʿda raflf aṭ-ṭejr bel-ʿaǧrumijje
2. *maftûlt aḍ-ḍerʿân killah mwazzaʿ*
   elja-ʿteztah taḳṭaʿ baʿîd ad-dwijje
3. *telfi ʿala hâk ar-rbê' al-mebenna'*
   bimdâḫel al-wudjân barzen ʿaḍijje
4. *telfi ʿala ǧezzê' w-aṣ-ṣejḫ melfâh*
   elfaʿ ḫaṣar bel-koun ǧîb as-serijje

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5. *já ḥejḥama jeṣreb al-ḳalb membâk*
we-ṣḥûnakom dubb al-lejâli meḥijje
6. *al-'aǧrafi min aṣ-ṣejm al-jowm jeṣḥa'*
min ân ḳamlen ṭellien 'alijje
7. *'ala-r-refâḳa ḳilt ena-l-jowm waǧdah*
'id as-salâm w-ḳabbereh lil-ḳaṣijje
8. *maǧjen ma' al-aǧnâb iǧl-'adw temanna*
w-alli ma' al-aǧnâb má beh ḳamijje
9. *abu ſahad ḳabîb alli jet'annah*
jeſuzz al-meâḍel w-ad-da'âwi-l-ḳawijje
10. *al-ḥejḫ eben turki w-lâ beh mrâwa'*
zejzûm ḳarb w-lâ jeḳaſſe' niwijje
11. *sallem 'ala ṣâri zebûn al-mu'anna*
ṣajr aṣ-ṣafer baṭ-ṭîb w-al-marḥabijje
12. *ḥejḫen 'adîm w-teſ'an al-ḫejl jimna'h*
hom máḳa'en laṭ-ṭîb w-ahl al-ḳamijje
13. *sallem 'ala maſ'ân ajjâk tensa'*
ḥaǧâk aḫw ǧaḳla zebûn ar-radijje
14. *já lâbeti lâ já zebûn al-mǧella'*
jeḫallûn ṣejtât al-meḍâheb ſafijje
15. *afrâſahom jedleh bihen kill men ǧâ'*
swâlfen dubb al-lejâli 'aǧijje
16. *enḫa'-r-refâḳa kill abûhom 'ala-fla'*
alli wara-l-ǧeddejn bed-dahmaḥijje.

1. Rise, comrade, and mount a rested she-camel
Resembling a heron in the 'Aǧrumijje swamps,
2. With forelegs muscular, symmetrically built,
Who, when thou needest her, will cross vast plains.
3. She will reach yon tent for men only, pitched
On the borders of al-Wûdijân, that wholesome land;
4. Will reach also Chief Ğezzâ', for whom this poem was written
And who, when in battle engaging, is like a wolf among the riders.
5. O chief of ours, at whose message the heart rejoices!
Your platters remain full all the night through.
6. From bondage al-'Aǧrafi today utters his battle cry
For bitter distress has come upon him.
7. Against my traveling companions today I cried: "O woe!"
Repeat [O messenger] the salute and tell what has happened.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539[K] 628 8. Thou mayst wish that thine enemy should walk with strangers,
For he that dwells with strangers lacks protection.
9. Fahad's father is dear to each suppliant;
He solves problems and disputes, be they ever so dif-
10. The chief, Eben Turki, has no defect, [ficult.
In war he is a shield never changing his views.
11. Greet for me Ẓâri, the protector of the violated,
Who is jealous of the victor in contest and hospitality,
12. He is a chief all-destroying, for his right hand pierces both rider and horse.
These are supporters and sure protectors in battle.
13. Greet Maʿ'ân! Woe to thee shouldst thou forget!
He is a brother of Gahla, a shield even of a common mare.
14. O relatives of mine, let not the protectors of him who seeks refuge desert me,
And let the anger in their breasts dissolve.
15. For he who once reaches their lines can untroubled
Amuse himself by telling stories the whole healthful nights through.
16. I ask help of my traveling comrades, who have with me a common ancestor
Removed by two generations; I call on them with the war cry of the Dahâmše tribe.

Al-ʿAǧrafi, a member of the tribe of ad-Dahâmše, subject, *min ḫowm*, to Chief Hâjes eben Meǧlâd, killed his relative during a quarrel while journeying with him and some comrades to as-Samâwa and then sought protection from the blood vengeance, *ǧala'*, with Prince an-Nûri. The avenger refused the blood price, and al-ʿAǧrafi was pining away. Having killed his own kinsman and being without brothers — the father had fallen in war —, he fled alone and, friendless as he was, felt utterly abandoned and powerless. After two years he composed this poem and sent it to the most respected men of his kin. The reciter was my traveling comrade Ṭâreš eben Melfi, another Dahmaši, although he was not intelligent enough to explain every detail in the poem.

Verse 1. *Nedîmi*, a poetical expression for *aḫi*, *rafîḳi*, or *ḫawi*, meaning comrade. *E'teli*, instead of the colloquial *erčab*, ascend or mount. *Ma'fa'* is a she-camel whom the owner re-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbê'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Ĝezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *ḥejḫ alḥâdd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâ'* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenâḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'ârefa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zebn*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maï'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ĝaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ĝaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ĝaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *hdiš*. 14. *Flân meḏhaḇeh* (pl., *meḏâheb*) *ṣajjeḳ*, or *ṣidreh ṣajjeḳ*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

CHAPTER XXI

WAR AND PEACE

721 619 181 The Rwala are ever at war with one tribe or another. Without war a Rwejli could not live. War gives him an opportunity of displaying his cunning, endurance, and courage. He neither loves the shedding of blood, nor craves booty, but is allured by danger and delights in the predatory art. The booty itself he will give away without thinking much about it'—even to the wife of the very man he has just robbed. Some tribes, not always entire strangers, hate each other cordially. Between them peace is never of long duration. Despite the greatest efforts of the chiefs to prevent war, their people continue to attack and destroy one another. With the tribes settled along the desert borders and fully subject to the Government, peace is never concluded. If the Government, which is supposed to protect them, is weak, the Rwala despoil them whenever they are so inclined. The more distant the pastures of two tribes are, the longer will the war between them last.

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

721 The causes of war are, as a rule, petty thefts and the capturing of stray animals. The individual tribesmen begin to accuse each other of harboring stolen she-camels, *naḥâjes*. Then they call on their chiefs for help. Couriers ride from tribe to tribe with verbal and written messages. Evidently both tribes desire war. Finally the chief of one tribe sends to the chief of the other a letter worded somewhat as follows:

"To the well-born, highly honored brother, Chief So-and-So! May Allâh preserve his good name! Amen. Extending our greetings and entreating Allâh's mercy and blessing for you, we announce to you that your Arabs are harassing our people and robbing them of their property continually without any effort on your part to put a stop to it. From this we judge that it happens with your assent. We now demand that you return without delay the stolen camels. If you refuse, you are, behold! hereby deprived of your fair name, *mafrûd an-nafs'*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'alejkom, and our face shall remain blank to you. You must not accuse us and blacken our face. This much for you to know, and greetings. Your brother, X Y." 721

Should the other chief be averse to war, he will write back: "Both thine and my people reb each other mutually, *rab'i w-rab'ak jitsamā'arūn bēnkom*. If thou desirest war with us, *elja' tabyi ḫwāmetna*, return our fair name to us, *rudd 'alejna ṣa-ṣaḫa'*. We do not intend to fight with you and shall not return your integrity to you. Let us know whether ye are our friend, *ṣāḥbī* or *ṣāḥeb*, or enemy, *ḫowwāni*."

When in the early part of 1909 the Rwala began to harass the oasis of al-Ĝowf, which lies in their territory and for more than fifty years had belonged to the kin of Eben Rašīd, the minister of the Emir Sa'ūd eben Rašīd, still a minor, sent messengers to Prince an-Nūri eben Šā'lān asking why his people were acting thus. An-Nūri's answer is worth noting:

"If Eben Rašīd is still as strong, 'azīz, as before and can protect al-Ĝowf, I desire to live in friendship with him. But if his power is shattered and he is threatened with foreign sovereignty, then I shall not allow al-Ĝowf to fall into other hands. This is my land, and my land I will give to nobody. It has been reported to us that Eben Sa'ūd has defeated Eben Rašīd and is pursuing him in the direction of his seat, Ḥājel. Go there and see for yourself what power your emir still has. If he prevails upon Eben Sa'ūd, we will come to a friendly agreement; but until that happens his representative had better depart, together with the garrison. If he does so at once, no Šammari shall suffer the least harm. Before tomorrow's sunset let me know when the garrison will leave. Should the answer not be in my hands by that time, behold! my face will remain white to you, you will be our enemies!"

Sometimes a chief will send word: "By God, let there be enmity between us, so that blood flows; *w-allāh w-el-ḫowm el-ḫamra*." Or: "Let there be between you and ourselves regularly declared enmity; *bēnna w-bēnkom ḫowm 'ala wejha-n-neka'*.

Neka' means honesty, a fair name. After peace is made the *neka'* remains with both tribes. Should one of these tribes attack the other, it would cover itself with infamy and stain, or blacken its face — meaning its honor or integrity. This status of integrity or of a good name must be first removed; this is done by the declaration of one tribe that it returns the

721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejhom*, or wipes, or scrapes, it off, *maḥrûd 'alejhom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, they may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elja' raddejna an-neḳa' naṣîr 'ala waṣḳa-n-neḳa'*. Their face will remain white. But when they attack without having first wiped off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their honor; *elja' má raddejna an-neḳa' ḥâḍa bowḳen buḳtûna jâ sûdda al-ḫejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳudme*, also the pillar of fighting, *'amûd al-ḥarâjeb*, and thus signifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 622 643 619 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribes ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renounce their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Weld 'Ali, the Elâġ'a, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he never declares war in the name of them all but merely of his own Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *ṣâḥeb*, with the Fed'ân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali from making war, *ḳowm*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri declared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a division of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeared before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all the allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declare war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them, *ḳowm 'ala-l-ǧamî'*.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 701 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large and small, begin and often a regular battle, *manaḥ*, is also fought. If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men start out for robbery on foot, *jiḥanželûn*. If the camps are at some distance, they ride on camels, *maʿâjir bizhûr ar-rčâb*. When more than twenty men on camels, *ǧejû*, or on horses and camels, *ḫejl w-ǧejî*, gather, then it is a raid, *ġazw*, called *ṣaṭîr* when the number of participants is small, and *čebir* when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leader, *'âḳid* (pl., *'uḳda'*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe, as every tribe can have its own military leader or war commander, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognise only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi ʿalḫaṣêd* or *ʿalʿajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *aimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl aẓ-ẓulma' zêne lil-maʿâjir w-al-ḫawâl*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḫamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd ḫazzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *ẖḍû ẖejlkom w-mazzeuû zahâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bweǧbet aṣ-ṣaḥn*."

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Já-lláh maḳsúm ḫejr alláh jaʿṭi ʿa-saʿed*."

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zummeil*. If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rubiʿ*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetamaṣṣel ḥdaḥa*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberún al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rubiʿ* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *ʿarrís* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *ḫrán al-ʿara*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

[585 777] [834] [714]

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

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preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdsman might easily 721
give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves.

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger 701
groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place 721
of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delil*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out.

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a 791
seer or sorcerer, *šâḥeb as-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams 787
in his sleep of a certain significance, *'arṣa ma'âwdijje*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arṣatk ǧat:*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is cooked. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḥa ḫaḍra*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arṣa ḥêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *wâṣi'en bel-ẓelîb*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow.

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any 721
member of the 'Orṣân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of 784
the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eššâġe'a, or of the Kšûš (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking, *'arṣathom mâ hi zênc*. 701

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the 721

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701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *rišda ḥaw-aijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lewewlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *'aṣîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *wâkt aṣ-ṣîdd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mḥawwe'*, and finally a she-[782] camel for sacrifice, *al-'aṣîre*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid.

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-munîḫ al-muṣfir*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-munîḫ al-muṣfir* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *aṣḥab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḫarîzatek* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zewl*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 727 425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḫîder*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṣejr ḫîder*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *'aṣîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mkeddak beḥal-ṣuzw 'okob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧîkom ḫoǧ illi ṭarṣîk*." The she-camel he thus takes is called *ṣuṣwa*. If stray horses, *mâreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *ḫâreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

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701 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner
727 who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures
425 only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *megîdîjjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *'âjde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *rubâ'a*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *jistaḳâsûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *'ażîd* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called [825] *'ajn* (pl., *'ujûn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

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721 designed for their night's rest, they send one of their number to the commander with the report of what they have found, while the others keep an eye on the strange riders or continue their search for a better place to sleep in the direction given to them by the leader.

In the morning the leader announces to his troop: "Our supper will be in such and such a place." Each man saddles his animal. Then he looks fixedly at the leader. As soon as the latter jumps into his saddle, all follow his example and ride after him.

Raiders' Marching Songs

539 K On the road, especially in the morning, the Rwala exercise their horses or let them prance at will, and amuse themselves with songs known as *ḥdā'*.

Já-lláh ṭalabnák já-l-ɣafúr
já-bo-d-daráj al-'álije
teǰ'al lena ḫaggen jeṭúr
bel-awwala w-at-tálije.

O Allâh! we beg of thee, thou forgiver,
O Lord of the stairs which lead up to the heights!
To let our luck uplift itself
With the first she-camel and the last one too.

Jeṭúr means a kneeling camel in the act of rising from the ground.

Fálakom já ɣarw ṭíb
fálakom ṭarḍen 'azíb
fálakom já ɣarw ṭajjíb
fálakom ṭarḍen ḳrajjíb.

May your omen, O *ɣarw* (raid)! be good;
May it signify herds spending the night far from tents.
May your omen, O *ɣarw*! be good;
May it signify herds close by.

[787] *Fál* is a sign, omen, from which either the success or the failure of the undertaking is judged. *Ṭarḍen 'azíb* is a herd grazing and sleeping far from the tents, which are usually pitched near a watering place.

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Já má ḥala ṭárí-l-ḥarájeb
w-ál-ḥejḥ jowled nárahu
min fowḳ muḥammart al-ḥelli
w-mu'akkarin mismáraha.

Oh, how dear are the tidings of wars,
When their fire is stirred by the chief
Riding on a mare with her tail held upright
And with the nails of her shoes inward bent.

Ṭárí-l-ḥarájeb, the report or tidings of wars, has the same meaning as *ḥabar al-ḥarájeb*. *Šelli* signifies a tail and the hairs of the tail. A good mare holds her tail upright, *muḥammart al-šelli*, while galloping, so that her hips are covered by the hair of the tail.

Ḥaríbna miṯl al-'alli
w-elja' beri 'ádeh beláh
'áḍátuna ḍabḥ al-ḥalli
w-aṯ-ṯámeḥ nelḥečha ḥawáh.

He who wars with us is like a sick man
Whom, scarce recovered, his disease overtakes once more.
We are wont to kill a husband,
Enabling a woman who sighs for a braver man to choose whom she desires.

[721]

He who is at war with the Rwala is never safe from an attack. Even if a whole month or two go by without their making their appearance, he must not imagine that they will come no more and that he is wholly safe and well. They might be twenty days away, for example when camping in northern Palmyrena and their enemies in the valley of ar-Rma' or in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar, yet they will come suddenly, and thus his disease — meaning defeat and the loss of herds — will return. In fighting them, many a husband will die whose wife was longing for a better, braver man. If her husband refuses to divorce her and her kin will not allow her to leave him, she can only wait till the enemy's arms rid her of him. Thus the Rwala offer her, as a medicine, *nelḥečha*, the free choice of a better husband.

Al-bâreḳa ḫulli ḫerib
w-al-jowm base dijárahom
da' bálak ar-riḥm aṯ-ṯoil
radik taṭdí' nárahom.

539*

Yesterday my beloved was near
And today [I only see] the territory of her tribe.
Behold the stone pile on the high hill,
Perhaps [from there] thou wilt see her fire.

Yesterday he left the camp, passing by the tent of his beloved, while today he is far away from her but still in the same territory. There, on a high hill, he sees a cairn, *rijm*. He wishes to ascend, hide behind the stones, and look in all directions. Perhaps he will see the smoke or flame of the fire in the tent where his sweetheart is living. The desert [151] air is clear, the Rwala have sharp eyesight and can see a fire even if sixty kilometers distant.

Abṛi aṭamarna mewweṭi
ḥaḳra ḏehûb muḥaǧǧala
abṛi elja' laḫî aṭ-ṭalab
w-rajjeḍha má-'aǧǧelha.

I wish to explain for what I long:
For a gold sorrel with white forelegs!
I wish, if the pursuing enemy overtakes us,
To let her walk but slowly, not urge her to speed.

Ṭalab is the term for camel riders pursuing raiders. While being overtaken, the greedy cowards urge the captured animals to the highest speed in order to make their escape. Our rider, who desires to capture a sorrel mare of a golden tint, has no intention of galloping away but means to check his animal in order to repel the enemy, although he knows that the owner of the mare and his relatives will do their utmost to throw him from the saddle in order to recover the sorrel.

Já 'amm wa-štur li ǧemûḥ
já budd má ki sâjera
já budd min jowmen jesir
beh al-ḳalâje' ḥâjera.

O uncle, buy for me a mare that clears all obstacles;
Oh, truly, how such a one will attack!
Oh, truly, on the day when she attacks,
Mares whose riders have been thrown will run to and fro.

Ǧemûḥ is a mare able to jump over any obstacle. She does not slip on soft salt-covered ground, nor fall from a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

sunken bank, *ʿurf*, nor stick her foot into the holes made by the various field mice; hence she never throws her rider. When such a mare attacks, *sâjere*, the enemy, her rider throws his opponent easily from the saddle, and the enemy's mare then runs to and fro, *ḫâjere*.

ʿAmmi šaraʾ li mohrati
lâ jâ baʿad kill al-ʿamâm
al-jowm urawwi ḥarbati
w-azreb ʿala wasṭ al-čitâm.

My uncle bought a mare for me,
Oh, may he live longer than all the uncles!
Today I shall give my spear blade [blood] to drink
And strike in the midst of the rising dust.

Lâ was explained by the word *rejt* (for *lejt*), "Would that, If only"; *baʿad* signifies both death and the remoteness of it. *Ḥarba* stands for the spear blade. *Čitâm* is used here instead of *ʿağâğ al-ḫejl* or *maḥâs al-ḫejl* and means the opaque cloud of whirled-up dust and sand which envelops fighting riders. Our warrior intends to throw himself into the midst of this *čitâm*, although he knows the danger threatening him there. *Čitâm* in its original sense signifies a slight fog or haze obstructing a free view.

Jâ mâ ḥala rkûb al-aṣîl
jâ mâ ḥala heḏbâtaha
maʿ surbeten mâ hi želîl
ʿala-l-ʿedw ʿejlâtaha.

Oh, how sweet it is to ride on a thoroughbred mare!
How sweet her prancing!
And with the troop not of the smallest
The enemy shall feel her rearing.

A thoroughbred mare greatly enjoys a fight. When the riders clash she prances merrily, and as her rider attacks she rears, trying to strike down the enemy's horse with her forelegs.

Jâ mohrati ḫobbî ḥabîb
w-al-ḥarf lâ jeṭri ʿalejč
mâ ṭûl aḏu ḳuṭne ḥarîb
w-al-roẇğ lâ jenzi ʿalejč.

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539K

O thou little mare of mine! prance but slowly
And let not galloping enter thy mind;
For as long as Ḳuṭne's brother is warring
No stud horse shall cover thee.

Ḫobbî ḥabîb is an easy gait combined with playful prancing, as is the wont of young, spirited mares. If a mare walks in that manner, the rider can look all around and see danger much sooner than when she is at full gallop. *Ḫobbî ḥabîb* denotes the same as *emši ʿala kejfeč*, or *ʿala dûbeč*. (In this latter phrase *dûb* means "slowly," "carefully," "with difficulty." "*Farask radijje dârha dûbak maʿaha*" means: "Thy mare was brought up poorly, be careful with her." "*Al-ʿarab baʿîdîn dûbak tâṣalhom hal-lejle*, the Arabs camp far from here, thou wilt hardly reach them tonight." "Didst thou understand what they were saying to each other?" "By God! no; only the sound of men talking was heard; *lâ w-allâh dûb ar-reǧâl jatharraǧûn.*") *Harf* means a gallop. Ḳuṭne's brother is Turki, chief of the Fedʿân, who use the war cry: "I am the brother of Ḳuṭne! *ana-ḫu ḳuṭne*," because they call by the name Ḳuṭne all their camels, especially white ones, just as the Rwala call their camels ʿAlja. Turki was constantly making raids on the Rwala, who for their part were always ready to retaliate. Therefore the rider will not let his mare be covered by a stallion, because a mare big with young is good neither for a vigorous defense nor for a furious attack.

[552]

Al-asmar alli ḳâdda
w-al-bîʿ mâ jaṭri ʿalejh
jâ mâ ḥala ǧowz ar-redâni
wa-mǧarrez ǧazhi ʿalejh.

Dark skinned is he who led her,
And to sell her will not occur to him.
Oh, how sweet to carry two pistols
And a spear, too, rising above the rider.

From a raid undertaken in summer the participants are now returning after a long absence. One of them, burned dark by the sun, leads a captured mare, which he refuses to sell. A youth observing him comforts himself with the idea that he too will succeed in capturing something in the next raid. The words *ǧowz ar-redâni*, a pair of pistols, prove this song

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to be of considerable age, because for the last fifty years no pistols have been carried; revolvers have now taken their place. *Al-mğarrez*, the killer, means the long spear—but this also has had to yield to a good repeating rifle. 539*

Jâ hejh jâ râ'i-l-ḳa'ûd
rajjeẓ ḳa'ûdak jammana
min 'oḳob mâ ḥenna ba'id
w-naḥmed alli lammana
w-elja' telâḳen bes-semâḥ
narẓîk w-naz'al 'ammana.

Oh, hail to thee, O thou camel rider!
Let him walk by our side leisurely.
Now that we are far away
We, it is true, praise him who assembled us.
Still, if [our mares] should meet [the foe] on a hard plain,
It is thee we desire, for we are angry with our uncle.

The negroes serving with Prince an-Nûri wished to be commanded on the raid by his son Nawwâf, even if the prince himself took part in the expedition. Young Nawwâf was more fiery than his prudent father, who was too considerate of the lives and health of his warriors. They expressed their wish in the above ditty. [703]

The camel rider is Nawwâf. The raiders were assembled by an-Nûri. *Semâḥ* is the term for a hard plain where there are no impediments to the swift movements of the horses. *Elja' telâḳen* is said of the mares of the Rwala and also of their opposing enemies. *Narẓîk* stands in the Šammar dialect for the *nabṛîk*, we wish or desire thee, of the Rwala. After the power of the Šammar emir, Eben Rašid, had collapsed in 1906, many of his negroes went to an-Nûri. *'Ammana*, "our uncle," is Prince an-Nûri himself, for the negro addresses his master with the word *'ammi*, "my uncle."

Jâ 'aẓejb jâ marḫi-l-ğerîr
jâ ḫowḳ mardû' al-wašâm
muḫli-l-'ağûz min al-ğenîn
jâ-lli ṣwîbak mâ janâm.

O 'Aẓejb! O thou who slackenest the rein,
O darling of her who is tattooed with dye,

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539x Thou deprivest an old woman of her only son,
O thou by whose hand the wounded finds no restful sleep!

'Aẓejb eben Mow'ed is a Rwejli hero. He slackens the rein to let his mare take him into the midst of the enemy. A *ǧenîn* is an only son of an aged mother.

Jâ ḥṭejl wa' ḳalbi ṛada'
mâ bên dlejjel w-ar-raṭû'
jâ ḥṭejl low tašûfaha
mâ telbes al-meḷṭam dalû'.

O Ḥṭejl! ah! my heart is wandering
Between Dlejjel and the mare Raṭû'.
O Ḥṭejl! shouldst thou ever see her,
She wears no veil but keeps her mouth free.

The youth is to take part with his mare, Raṭû', in a raid of at least a month's duration; but, hating to part for that length of time from his sweetheart, Dlejjel, he complains to his comrade, Ḥṭejl. *Raṭû'* is a species of the *kbejše* breed. *Meḷṭam* is a large kerchief, folded under the chin and sometimes pulled by women and girls up to their noses, thus forming a sort of veil. A *dalû'* is a woman who never covers her mouth.

[291]

Waǧdi 'ala-r-rab'i sanad
ṭannab ar-râ'i jaṣîḥ
zaban al-ḥṣân elja' balad
ar-rab'i ḍassâb al-mediḥ.

My desire takes me after Sanad ar-Rab'i,
As soon as the herdsman's high voice gives the alarm.
He defended the stallion when he stopped from exhaustion.
Ar-Rab'i was a raider of great fame.

Sanad ar-Rab'i, the famous Šammari war chief of the Rbâ' clan, rode a mare whose endurance surpassed that of any stallion. When, in a long fight, the strength of even the most powerful stallion was so far gone that he exposed both himself and his rider to the danger of capture or death, it was Sanad who, appearing in the nick of time on his mare, rescued the rider and the stallion too and never failed to return with booty. When giving the alarm cry the herdsman or watchman holds the palm of his left hand before his mouth and shakes it, at the same time prolonging the vowels. In his

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right hand he holds his staff or a rifle, to which he ties his kerchief for a flag, and points it in the direction of the threatening danger. *Ḥṣân* always means a stallion, *faras* a mare, *ḫejl* horses in general. The *ḥṣân* is, as a rule, more enduring than the mare. *Al-ḥṣân balad* means "the stallion became tired," implying that he stopped moving owing to oversweating or because he was so weakened by heat and thirst that he could not escape from the enemy hard in pursuit of him. *Zaban*, he protected, took his part. He that is threatened with death or is in fear of an avenger asks the protection of one more powerful, who will then shield and bring him to a place where he can live in peace, *zabaneh*.

Jâ 'ejâl dukḳû-l-barûd — My sons, pound the powder;
lel-morrebi muḥḥ al-ḥadîd — For al-Morrebi we need steel,
lâ budd min jowmen ja'ûd — And the day is sure to come
jafroḳ wadîden 'an wadîd. — Which will take the lover from his sweetheart.

A Turkish officer, known to the Rwala only by the name of al-Morrebi, was in command of the regular troops who drove back the Bedouins whenever they tried to encamp in the settled territory. This happened in the seventies of the last century, when it was the policy of the Turkish Government to protect the *fellâḥîn* from the Bedouins. The Rwala, who had lost many men, thirsted for revenge and as they could go neither to Syria nor to Irak they manufactured their powder themselves. *Muḥḥ al-ḥadîd* is steel. They wished to shoot al-Morrebi with a steel bullet, thinking that an ordinary one of lead would not kill him.

Narmi-l-'aša benḥûrhen laṭ-ṭejr
w-en kankabb al-adnas wara'
bemšenšelâten ṣan'ahen bed-dejr
berḳab 'adlât al-ǧena'.

Before the throats [of the she-camels] we shall throw their supper to the birds of prey,
Though the base one still lingers behind;
With spears adorned with chains made at ad-Dejr
[Driven] into the necks of mares fed from the new crop.

Benḥûrhen means the confusion of galloping camels and also their throats. Our riders are loath to retreat; they want

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539x to knock down the enemy blocking the way in front of their she-camels. The word *kankabb* (or *kankab*) is used of a rider
[703] who pretends to repair something in order that he can stay in the rear. If his comrades are getting the best of the fight, he, too, joins in, but otherwise he makes his escape. The honor of such a man is stained, he is an *adnas*, a base or filthy one.
[713] *Mšenšelât* are spears adorned at the ring between the shaft and the spear blade with tiny chains which tinkle at every movement of the rider. Ad-Dejr is a town on the right bank of the middle Euphrates.

Jâ ḏib jâ ḏib an-nefûd
ṣawwet 'ala ḏib al-ǧalad
er' at-tijâha bes-senûd
mâ bên aš-šâjeb w-al-walad.

O wolf! O thou wolf from the Nefûd!
Say to the wolf of the rocky desert:
"Behold those wandering in the upper part of the valleys,
What a throng is there of old men and youths, too!"

The repulsed and defeated enemy hide in the gullies intersecting the rocky desert. *Nefûd* (pl., *nifd*) means sand, a sand-covered country, a sandy desert; *ǧalad*, stone, rock, or a rocky desert. *Senûd* signifies that the enemy is fleeing upstream.

Jâ ḥzûm w-eḥleb lel-faras
jeḏkar abu mâjele lafa'
ḥarâjeb mâ bah manâǧi
w-lâ bah 'ala-l-ǧâhel ḫafa'
abṛi 'alejha naṭḥat âl ṭajjâr
w-al-'elem elja' ḳilteh wafa'.

O Ḥzûm! draw milk for my mare,
For it is said Abu Mâjele has arrived,
And the wars to come are no secret,
Not even from a fool concealed;
That is why I will attack Âl Ṭajjâr on her,
And what I foretell will doubtless occur.

Abu Mâjele negotiated with Eben Smejr and Eben Ṭajjâr about the settling of various mutual complaints but without success. After his return it became evident that war with Eben Smejr and his followers was inevitable. Âl Ṭajjâr, famous

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for his personal bravery, was in command of the hostile troops. 539x
— It is seldom that camel's milk is given to a mare except in the time of the greatest abundance and then only when preparations are being made for a difficult raid. *Ğâhel* does not mean precisely silly but, rather, imprudent or indifferent to everything, a Jack-of-all-trades and master of none.

Waš 'âd low radd an-neḳa' farḥân
w-ješûf nafseh zâjede
narwi-l-ṛalab wa-mḏalleḳât az-zân
w-nu'awwedeh 'awâjedeh.

And what if Farḥân returns our good name
And boasts of his greatness?
We shall give drink to the ostrich feathers and spear blades
And shall make him accustomed to what is already his wont.

Waš 'âd (correctly, *w-ajj šaj 'âd*), what happens?, occasionally *wšu*, what?, is said. Farḥân eben Hdejb was the father of Barğas, the chief of the 'Ebede. *Ješûf nafseh zâjede*, grows conceited, arrogant. *Mḏalleḳât* are the blades and *zân* the shafts of spears. The spears are often adorned in their upper part below the blade with ash-gray ostrich feathers. The blood flowing down from the blades will give drink to them. Farḥân eben Hdejb allied himself with other tribes, thinking to overcome the Rwala in this manner. Till then he had always been defeated. Ğed'ân eben Ğandal, an-Nûri's father-in-law, in composing this ditty urged the Rwala to cure Farḥân of his conceit and make him accustomed to another defeat.

Jâ ḏrajjem wa'-šûfak bḍin
šab'ân w-lâ-nt beḥâlana
ğanneb 'an as-sejhed jemîn
nabṛi načîl 'ejâlana.

O Ḏrajjem! I see thou art well fed indeed,
Satiated, too; thou farest not as we do —
Thus go to the right of as-Sejhed
For we want to load supplies for our children.

Once when the Rwala had to travel to Kerbela (pronounced by them "Karbala") to buy supplies for their children — for the Turkish regulars prevented them from entering Syria — Ḏrajjem eben Haḏḏâl, the leader of the 'Amârât, with a strong

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539x army, attempted to block their way. Refusing to let them pass, he was defeated and killed. This affair took place south of Kerbela, at the end of the escarpment Ṭâr as-Sejhed.

Jâ ṭârešen leben haḏḏâl
jižbel 'ala-l-ma' w-ar-rabî'
bên al-obejjeẓ w-al-ṛadaf
beshejleten nal'ab ǧamî'.

Thou who goest to Eben Haḏḏâl, [ask him]
To approach the abundance and water.
Between al-Obejjeẓ and al-Ṛadaf
On the plain there we shall play together.

The Rwala invited Eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, to come to the inner desert, *ješarreẓ*, and there to meet them between the valleys of al-Obejjeẓ and al-Ṛadaf, both of which belong to the 'Amârât and where the herds of the Rwala were grazing at that time. This region was full of water, annuals, and perennials; and hence abundance, *rabî'*, reigned there.

Approaching the Enemy

721 If no report comes in from the *'ujûn*, the commander rides without stopping to the night quarters where the *'ujûn* always wait for him. But should the commander see a troop of riders who on coming closer are found to be enemies, there ensues a fight the result of which decides whether the raiders shall return or go on with their venture. If the *'ujûn* find a better place for the night's rest, the leader accepts it. There they water and feed the horses, let the camels graze, and prepare supper for themselves. As a rule five or six men club together for that purpose. The different groups invite each other with the words: "We invite you, O brothers of ours! let him who comes reach out for the luck, and may he fare well who remains seated! *al-ḫwa jâ ḫwijâna eflaḥ min ǧâ' w-eršed min ḳa'ad.*"

The invited answer: "May booty be our food and another such supper, and also may we be not too long absent from our kin! *ḫwa min ṛana' w-ṭana' w-ǧâ' haleh mâ twanna.*" All are eager for booty and an early, happy return to their families in order soon to make a new raid and again to invite their brothers to a supper like the last.

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721

After midnight the leader sends out the scouts, *'ujûn*, once more and repeats this till he comes near the camps and herds of the tribe he wishes to attack.

When the *'ujûn* report that the enemy is close by, at a command from the leader six or eight men mount three or four camels and go to examine the situation. These are called *sabr* (pl., *sbûr*). Concealing their camels in a gully, they find out in the daytime how many camps there are in the neighborhood and where the camels are grazing; at night they try to count the tents and horses in the camp. If they succeed in capturing one of the enemy, they bring him to the leader, who makes him tell, by kindness or, if necessary, by threats, all he wants to know. Otherwise he must depend merely on the report, *'elem*, brought by the *sabr*.

Having learned the strength of the enemy and the location of their pastures, the leader examines the camels of his own party. The exhausted or slow animals are separated from the hardy and fast ones. The former (called *radd*) are then laden with all the baggage of the raiders and sent back to the previous night's quarters where they are to wait. The rest of the camels are then mounted each by two men armed with rifles. They are called *ṣâbûr*. Each horse is mounted by a man carrying a revolver or pistol and, when possible, a spear. The leader rides on horseback in front. Near the camp they conceal themselves. The cavalry prepare for the attack, *ṛâra*, while those on camels wait quietly for whatever may happen.

The Attack and Counter Attack

The attack is timed either for sunrise, *ṣabbaḥnâhom ṣabbâḥ*, when the left forelegs of the resting camels are being unfettered, or for the *ẓaḥa*, i. e. when the herds start for the pasture. *Eḫṭâfa* is an attack made in the middle of the afternoon; *swêlme*, an evening attack, when the herds are still scattered over the pastures; an attack on the herds returning from the pasture is called *ṛâra ṭa'labijje*; when they have already returned to the camp but are still unfettered, an attack known as *ṛâra dakka* is made. All these attacks are considered honorable, because the attacked party has time for defense. In daytime they can see and hear; after sunset, not being yet asleep, they can hear; after midnight, however, and especially when the morning star appears, they are sound

721 asleep. Both men and dogs sleep under cover in order to protect themselves against the dew and chill. An attack launched at this time is called *bejât* and is dishonorable, as the surprised enemy cannot defend himself.

726 The order to attack is given by the leader with the words "Gain success, O ye looters! *efleḥû jâ ṛânimîn*," and by a gesture of his hand to the cavalry to advance. For their part they shout: "O Allâh, by Allâh himself!" or: "O Allâh, thy will be done! *jâ-llâh 'ala bâbak*," and throw themselves on the herds without paying attention to the herdsmen. Every one tries to reach an animal with his spear, calling at the same time on his comrades to witness that it was he who captured it; he then drives it before him to a second and third, which he also makes his own. A long spear is very useful in this kind of work. Sometimes they succeed in surrounding and capturing all the herds, but usually some of the camels shy and gallop away madly. These animals can never be overtaken by the attackers unless they run towards their last quarters, for frightened camels will not stop until quite exhausted.

704 The captured herds are driven by the cavalry to the
725 leader, who waits for them with the camel riders. There the cavalry divides. One half, armed with spears, drives the booty to the last quarters, the other, armed with revolvers, pistols, and rifles conceals itself in some suitable spot between the leader and the camp of the enemy. These hidden warriors are called *čemîn*, the reserve.

Both the reserve and the leader with the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, wait for the counter attack, *faz'a*, which the enemy usually makes in order to rescue the captured animals and to drive the raiders back. The task of the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, consists in opposing the sortie, and in this they are supported by the reserve in their rear. If the sortie is beaten back and the enemy dispersed, the *ṣâbûr* fall on the camp, taking all the tents there with everything in them.

721 However, it is only on rare occasions that the enemy
704 can be taken wholly by surprise, because the chief of every
726 camp follows the rule of sending out riders on camels, called *ṭullû'*, to observe the country on all sides. They usually start before sunrise, ascend the highest hillocks, survey the neighborhood in all directions, and do not return till after sunset.

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Should the pastures be more than twenty kilometers from the camp, the herds are accompanied by a troop of cavalry, *ǧanab*, who stay with them all day and also return only after sunset. Besides this, on all the highest elevations at different points around the pastures and between them and the camp, sentinels lie hidden behind piles of stones. These keep a sharp outlook for anything suspicious that may appear on the horizon. If something unusual is noticed by one of the mounted pickets, *ṭullû'*, he ties his kerchief to the muzzle of his rifle, waves it in the direction of whatever has aroused his suspicion, and shouts at the top of his voice:

"At their backs, O riders, an attack threatens you! *ẓhawrahen* [sic] *jâ-hla-l-ḫejl 'alejkom ṛâra.*"

This shout is repeated and the direction indicated by the next sentinel, so that the whole camp is put on its guard in a few minutes. The girls and women hasten to open the iron fetters on the mares' forelegs, while the men put on cartridge belts and seize their rifles. One rider after another speeds in the direction from which the danger is expected, singing *ḥda'* ditties on the way. Those who own no mare wait, weapons in hand, for the next report. If the alarm cry, *ṣijâḥ*, proves false and thus that the man who gave it, *ṣâjeḥ*, called for help, *fazza' al-'arab*, unnecessarily, the sentinel shouts: "Forgiveness, *al-'âfje*," and the cavalry who came out return home in groups, singing. But if the enemy really appears and is near at hand, the warriors who have no horses run from the camp afoot to help the cavalry. In case the enemy flees and the cavalry cannot overtake them, they return to the camp, pick their riding camels from among the herds, saddle them, load them with water bags and food, and start as the *ṭalab* in pursuit of the hostile troop.

Should the rescuing cavalry who make the counter attack, *faz'a*, find out that the attackers are too numerous, they dispatch messengers to the neighboring camps, who shout from afar: "Come out to our help quickly! Your comrades have been robbed! *efza'û rab'akom. wuḫedû.*" As this cry is repeated by the sentinels of the other camps or by the herdsmen, it is often unnecessary for the messenger to reach the camp itself. He stops and waits for the first riders to respond to his call, and with them he then gallops to assist his people.

If, for instance, Eben Ša'lân is informed that a strong

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721 704 726 enemy is approaching, he orders all his tribal divisions to get ready. Soon troop after troop headed by their chiefs arrive at his camp, defile before his tent, *je'arżûn*, and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyes, *'ajnâk*, O chief! The rider protecting the 'Alja camel herds rides before thine eyes, and that rider is a Rwejli, *'ajnâk ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli*."

703 726 The battle cry, *naḫâwa*, uttered before the chief is intended to rouse both his courage and that of his warriors, *ješiddûn maḥzam aš-šejḫ w-juḳawwûn* (sic) *'azmahom*. As a proof that they will not desert their fellow tribesman they defile before him on horseback; this is called *'arża*. The *'arża* is always connected with the *naḫâwa*. Without a *naḫâwa* there is no *'arża*.

Whenever Eben Ša'lân sets out to rescue his captured herds, he shouts to the enemy from afar:

"Oh, how many times have we freed herds like these from enemies like you. The rider protecting the 'Alja herds is a Rwejli! By Allâh himself! This day is the most ruinous of all days for you. Oh, how far are your kinsfolk from you! *Jâ mâ fakkejna miṭlehen min miṭlekom ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli w-allâh hal-jowm aḳrad al-ajjâm 'alejkom w-ba'ad ahalkom al-jowm 'alejkom*. All of you must perish, your kins will not come to help you!"

If the victorious attackers expect a second counter attack, *faz'a*, stronger in numbers, before hiding themselves their cavalry defile before the commander and the camel riders and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyesight, O chief! Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting the 'Alja is a Rwejli!"

The commander answers: "We shall not desert each other! *lâ ḫala' w-lâ 'adam*," and is the first to throw himself on the enemy, with the words:

"If Allâh grants luck to us we shall capture your mares as we have already taken your camels!" for nothing inspires the troop so much as the bravery of its leader. On the other hand, if he betrays hesitation, all is lost. If the leader on his part notices that his men are wavering, he admonishes them with the battle cry:

"Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting 'Alja is I, So-and-So. I fill even heroes with fear, I, So-and-So, *ḏa"âr as-sebâja w-ana flân eben flân*." If they answer: "Enough

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now and grace! *kafw w-na'am*," he is positive that they will not desert him. 703 726

If he sees a man fleeing, the leader cries: "Shame on thee for running away! Thou art not worthy to mount a she-camel! Thy daughter shall not marry lest she bear a scoundrel like thee, who desertest thy comrades!" If more try to run away, the leader shouts: "Shame on you, ye runaways! Face about, come back, ye are going in the wrong direction!" and beats them with the flat of his saber. This is effective. First one and then another rejoin him, howling: "At them! At them! O So-and-So! say not afterwards that thou hast not seen me throwing myself at them! at them! at them! *fowkahom 'alejhom*." If it seems as if the enemy would win, the girls, if present, with words and gestures encourage the warriors to persevere. With their breasts bared and hair loosened they ride on camels where the greatest danger appears, call to their friends and to those dear to them, remind them of amorous moments spent together, and threaten to join the enemy if their own people disappoint them.

Many, especially the younger warriors, then with the left hands raise the hem of their cloaks before their eyes and, with the saber or dagger in the right hand, throw themselves on the enemy. During the fight they shout: "Away! Tremble! At you! at you! O faithless people! Ye shall not escape. We came from [illegible] to get you!" And then the fight changes into a series of du[illegible]. Personal bravery, though greatly limited by the use of firearms, may even now be exhibited.

If the attackers learn that there is in the camp to be assailed a fighter feared for his bravery, they prepare to destroy him. The evening before the attack the leader takes a cup of black coffee in his hand and says:

"This cup is filled with the blood of So-and-So. Who will drink it?"

If one of the men present takes the cup and drinks the coffee with the words "I am drinking the blood of So-and-So," he is obliged to meet the aforesaid hero in a duel. During the fight he asks again and again:

"O riders, who of you has seen So-and-So?"

If the hero is not among the fighters on that day, a comrade of his will answer: "O thou son of an honorable family, he is not here. If he were, thou mayst be sure he would not hide from thee. But here is one who will take his

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittaḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr ẓarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḍa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṭaṭarni w-bâḳni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḫoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḥ w-fâṭer.*"

266 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḫat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-fâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *tḫasa jâ ḥâfiẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

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avenge thy father, the fire of hell will be thy punishment; *daḫilak bên abûk w-an-nâr*," or: "Higher than thy hand is the hand of Allâh, who is sure to prevent blood flowing from this neck of mine." If the one who is challenged does not feel guilty, he corrects the other: "O thou, suspect me not! Seek him not with me at any hour of the day or of the night; for it was not I who cut his skin and made his son an orphan! *Jâ flân lâ-tâhem mâ leh 'endi medâr w-lâ sâ'at al-lejl w-lâ sâ'at an-nahâr w-anni mâ šaḳḳejt leh ǧild w-lâ ajtamt leh wild.*" Then, when the avenger looks at him more closely, he may answer: "And I do, by Allâh, believe it; *w-ana ballâh žana'at.*"

He who sees certain death before him asks for pardon in these words: "Give pardon, O rider! *emna' emna' jâ ḫajjâl.*"

The man addressed will answer: "Come hither and thou wilt save thy neck. Come hither, Allâh lies on thee," or: "Dismount before the face of So-and-So" — naming himself. The suppliant, coming nearer, says: "'*Aṭni allâh*, give me Allâh," or "*Ḥoṭṭ 'alejji allâh*, lay on me Allâh!" When this is done, the pardoned man says: "'*Aṭâni allâh w-'aṭajteh allâh 'an al-bowḳ*, he assured me by Allâh and I assured him by Allâh against treachery."

He then surrenders his arms and most of his clothing and receives from his captor either a kerchief or head rope, accompanied by the words: "Here, take my kerchief (or my rope) and tell any one who approaches thee that thou hast been pardoned by So-and-So, *hâk ḫṭâṭi* (*'aṣâbti*) *w-alli jeǧik ḫabbereh ana mani' flân.*"

His mare or she-camel is taken by the victor, *mâne'eh*, or the latter lets some comrade keep her for him a while and returns to the fight. The pardoned one waves the kerchief or the rope, crying: "I am the *mani'* of So-and-So." If both himself and his animal are wounded, his pardoner, *mâne'*, conducts him to his own party where assistance will be given him, or else the *mâne'* will allow him to return home at once. Should he live too far away, he is furnished with a she-camel, water bag, food, and a reliable guide, but must give his word of honor to return everything or to give compensation.

When a comrade of the victor is about to return home, *jenḳeṭ*, the victor says to him: "The man who stands before thee was pardoned by me. Conduct him to my relatives!"

He who asks no pardon while in danger is generally killed, *elja' mâ mâna' engabaḥ*. There are many who hide, concealing

727 their arms and clothing among the rocks or in the sand, and at night manage to creep to some tent. If they see a little boy or girl, they salute the child; if the salutation is repeated or if they succeed in entering a tent, they are saved. But if the fugitive is seen by an adult man, he may be killed despite his crying: "Give pardon! *emna'*." For he should have asked for it during the fight, not now, they say.

Sometimes, however, the commander-in-chief declares that no pardon will be given. "O comrades, behold! the granting of pardon to them is abolished; *jâ ǧemâ'a tarâhom makṭû' al-man' 'anhom.*"

726 Frequently the fight lasts many hours. If the attacked party succeeds in scattering the horse riders, it then usually surrounds all the camel riders, *ḥâlow 'ala-l-ǧejš killeh*, captures them, and starts in pursuit of the raiding party which is driving off the captured herds. During the pursuit they encourage each other with the words: "At them! at them! *fowḳahom fowḳahom.*" Or: "It has come upon them [i. e. defeat] ê... ê... ê... Hail, I smell the fragrance of So-and-So from their tails. *Râḥat 'alejhom râḥat ê... ê... ê... hejh jâ riḥat al-flâne bedjûlehen.*" Just as he would allow nothing to keep him away from the maiden of his heart, so he has now to overtake the fleeing enemy.

After the Attack

727 If the rescuing counter attack of the despoiled camp is repulsed by the *ṣâbûr*, camel riders assisted by the *čemîn*, reserve cavalry, the reserve starts in pursuit of the scattered enemy, while the camel riders surround the camp, take from the tents what suits them, roll up the tents, and load all on their camels. The women and children suffer no harm; on the contrary each woman is given at least one she-camel so that with her children she can reach her nearest relatives. The girls beg the raiders: "*E'ṭû 'alejna*, give us something to fetter," and the she-camel returned to a girl by a raider becomes her property. As the saying is: "A girl's booty is the animals returned to her by the raiders, *časb al-banât 'oḳl al-ḥalâl.*" Should a raider accidentally rob a tent belonging to some fellow tribesman then camping with the enemy, he returns either to him or to his wife everything he has taken, *al-waḥama tarî'*. This is also done when the raiders rob on

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the march travelers unknown to them and later discover they were their friends. 727

To spend the night in the camp of a friendly clan which maintains amicable relations with the plundered clan is not allowed.

The Rwala bury their dead friends; their wounded they carry off on their camels, having first bandaged their wounds as best they can. To the dead enemy no attention is paid. At the same time whoever has swept an enemy from the saddle and sees him writhing on the ground is obliged, as a man of honor, to help him. Should he kill an enemy in that condition, *ṭarîḥ*, he would commit a dishonorable deed, *'ajb*, in the same manner as he who kills a man he has pardoned, or one sleeping, or a woman, or child. Likewise it is considered shameful to attack a related tribe, even if hostile, after the appearance of the morning star, *bejât*, or to cripple or kill captured animals when to escape with them proves impossible, *feda' bel-ḥalâl*. 727 577

The successful bringing of captured herds from a distant territory to the home camp is the highest proof of a leader's sagacity, especially if he undertakes raids against tribes encamped as far as 600-800 kilometers away. A prudent leader will at once separate the camel calves from the grown animals and have them driven back; he will occupy the more important mountain passes and try to retreat through a country where the camels will find sufficient pasture. If he returns with the booty without any considerable losses, everybody talks of booty and success, *ċasab w-salâme*, but if the booty is taken away from him by some ambushing party on the way, the raiders come back, one after another, very much depressed, for besides having gained nothing they have lost many comrades, *ḫasâra*. If the defiles have been occupied they can march and rest at their leisure, for, as they say, "our little brothers follow in our tracks, *ḫwijjâna ḳzabaw aṯârna*." The troop following the returning raiders and protecting them against the pursuers, *ṭalab*, is called *ḳaẓb*. 727

Returning Raiders' Songs

As soon as the returning warriors feel safe, they intone ditties, *ḥda'*, appropriate to such occasions; *elja ḳfejna naḥda'* (sic). 727 533

[Reciting Raiders' Songs]

539[2]

Já ǧíb já ǧíb eḏra'át
yawwet 'ala ǧíb al-baṭín
en čán 'ejálak meʿwijját
dúnak abu lehje samín
bšálfa min čaff eben Šaʿlán
faraḳ ḥabíben 'an ǧemín.

O wolf! O thou wolf of Eḏra'át!
Call for the wolf of al-Baṭín;
If thy sons go to bed without supper
Here, take this fat longbeard
Struck by the spear blade of Eben Ša'lán,
Who has parted the sweetheart from an only son of his mother.

Near the settlement of Eḏra'át, Eben Smejr, head chief of the Weld 'Ali, suffered a great defeat at the hands of the Rwala. Al-Baṭín is the basin east of Eḏra'át. *Meʿwi* is a supperless man. *Ǧemín* is an only son. The girl lost her sweetheart, the mother her only son.

Já ṭáreḳen lel-ǧandali
eslam w-sallem 'alejk
eʿ an-naʿwáši bel baṭín
ʿg-mkárwa dáǧen 'alejk
ḥenna ḥadejna ṭárukom
leʿujún mín nafri 'alejk.

O thou who journeyest to Eben Ǧandal!
Hail to thee and greet him!
Behold an-Naʿwáši in al-Baṭín,
How our young mares have enveloped him
And how on them we avenged him
For the eyes of her of whom we now think.

An-Naʿwáši, a chief of the Sardijje, who camp in the plains west of the Ḥawrán, allied himself with Eben Smejr and in the war that followed killed Hájel, a brother of the chief Eben Ǧandal. But in the decisive battle near Eḏra'át an-Naʿwáši was surrounded by Eben Šaʿlán's cavalry, defeated, and killed. *Dáǧen 'alejk*: the mares enveloped him in a cloud of dust and fine sand whirled up by their furious attack. The wife of the fallen Hájel eben Ǧandal, a famous beauty, called on the Rwala to avenge her husband.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

 539x

Já ḍrajjem laḥa!fat 'alejk
ḥoṣemt w-'aḳabk al-felâḥ
min 'oḳob má riḥak čeṭîr
w-al-jowm mak;ûm al-ǧenâḥ.

O Ḍrajjem! faith, it was measured to thee with the same measure.
A rap on the nose thou hast got, and thy success is gone.
Though many feathers thou hast inherited,
Yet today thy wings are broken for ever.

Faḳḳ al-ǧelam 'ajja jeṣûl
wa' direti ṛadaw baha
eḥraw lmarat 'ali zebûn
ḥalawk jalbes ṭawbaha.

He opened his shears, refused to attack.
Ah, they occupied my territory!
They purchased a caftan for 'Ali's wife
And made him wear her dress.

Owing to the lack of good rain, there was no pasture in the Rwala territory at one time and consequently no affluence, *dirt ar-rwala maḥal mâ baha rabî'*, but in the regions inhabited by their enemies, the tribe of Sba'a, the vegetation was luxuriant, *rif*. So they agreed among themselves, *tawâzaw*, to move into the Sba'a territory, *dira*, and said: 721 619

"We shall go there and encamp near our relatives, the 'Aneze; *eḥna ntawaǧǧeh ila ḥad-dira wa-azel ḥawâli ẓeribna 'aneza* (sic). If they accept our friendship we shall become their friends and conclude peace with them, *elja ḳbalaw ṣuḥebna ṣiḥsbudhom wa-tṣâleḥna ma'hom*; if they refuse we will fight them, *w-elja' má ḳbalaw ap-ṣulḥ willa nḥarebhom*. Either they will take us or we shall take them, drive them out and use the pastures in their territory, and thus save our herds and our own lives; *amma jâḥeḏûna w-amma náḥeḏhom wa-shaǧǧeḏhom w-nar'a al-mar'a alli bdirthom wa-nankkem ḥaldina wa-a'lâ.*"

Remaining steadfast in this resolve, *rṣubaw 'ala harru'j*, they marched into the Sba'a territory and soon reached the settlement of al-Midân, which belongs politically to the administrative district of Homs, *tab' homs*. There the Sba'a and Fed'ân tribes were already encamped and ready to fight. The Rwala, halting not far from them, at once formed a war 721 726

721 726 camp, *tenâwaḥaw menâḫ*. All camel herds were driven into one line, and each animal was made to kneel and was fettered. The women and children sat down by their herds, while the men, posting themselves between them and the enemy, waited for the attack. This situation lasted for four days. On the fifth day, when a few young camels had already died of hunger, the Rwala assailed the Sba'a and Fed'ân with such fury that they drove them out from their tents in flight, *'addawhom ila wara-l-bujût*. Some succeeded in loosening the fetters of their camels and in fleeing with them, *minhom min ḳadar jeṭallek ba'arînek w-inhazam bak 'ala-l-ḫala*, but others were surprised in this act and captured, *w-minhom min a'ǧelûh ar-raǧâl 'an taṭliż ḫalâlek w-ḥâlaw 'alejh ar-rwala*. The Rwala took all the tents with the sheep which they found near them, also many horses and camels, and continued to pasture their animals in that territory undisturbed until the Sba'a finally made peace with them. The Sba'a asked 'Ali al-Fḳiḳi, chief of the 'Ebede division, to join them in assailing the Rwala in order to eject the latter from their territory, but 'Ali refused. Then they sang the preceding ditty about him.

539[x] [291] *Faḳḳ*, he opened, is an insulting allusion to Fḳiḳi. 'Ali often called himself *al-ǧelam*, shears, meaning that he would cut up any hostile raid. *Zebûn* is a garment with narrow sleeves, open in front along its whole length and reaching down to the ankles. It is worn by men over the shirt. *Towb* is a woman's shirt of blue fabric.

Jâ mḥammad jâ bedîn ez-ẓejf
râ'i-l-wa'îde ǧâ' laha
slimân 'ammar leh sebil
min ḫufratak wa-dlâlaha.

O Mḥammad! O thou who hast sated thyself with the guest
Who came to the meeting agreed on!
Slimân has surely well filled his short pipe
At thy fire and did drink from thy coffeepots.

539[x] 721 726 Muḥammad eben Smejr sent word to his enemy Slimân eben Meried, the head chief of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, to come for a smoke to his tent. Slimân answered that Muḥammad should not expect such a guest with much pleasure. Shortly afterwards Slimân attacked Muḥammad's camp, scattered his warriors, took all his tents with their supplies, smoked Muḥammad's pipe, and drank coffee from his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

pots. *Ḥufra* is the pit in which fire is made in the men's compartment of the tent. 539 X 721 726

Slimân law taḳ'od wa-tšûf
al-'arfa waš ǧara laha
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala
ḥalǧen tadûr 'ejâlaha.

Slimân, if thou wouldst only sit down and look [thou wouldst see]
By the 'Arfa herds what has happened to them,
How between as-Swejda and al-'Ala
The she-camels now seek their young.

Slimân eben Meršed, the chief of the Ḳmuṣa, who call all camel herds "al-'Arfa," made a raid against the Rwala but was defeated and pursued as far as the inner desert. Then, before he could return home, Eben Ša'lân attacked his camp between as-Swejda and al-'Ala and captured many of his herds. The riding camels of Eben Meršed's troop after returning to camp sought for their weaned calves in vain, for the Rwala had driven them away.

Al-meširefe tarṭan raṭîn
taǧâwabat hi w-al-'ala
eben ša'lân aḫâl surûǧ
zowden 'ala ḥoms w-ḥama'

Al-Meširefe all the time is jabbering,
Talking with al-'Ala
How Eben Ša'lân loaded corn at Surûǧ
More than he would find in Ḥoms and Ḥama'.

Surûǧ is a settlement between as-Swejda and al-'Ala, inhabited by *fellâḥîn* who cultivate the fields of Eben Meršed's house. Al-Meširefe is peopled by Circassians, who also own some settlements in al-'Ala. Their language is not understood by the Rwala, hence the phrase: "She [al-Meširefe] is jabbering, *tarṭan raṭîn*." After defeating the Ḳmuṣa and plundering Eben Meršed's camp, the victorious Rwala took all the corn stored at Surûǧ. [563] 539 X

Jâ lâbeli tawen ǯirebt al-ḫejf
w-al-ǯalel ǧalejm ṣuffh
min 'aǧǧeten ṣârat 'alejhom
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala'.

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539[K]

O comrades mine! now I have drunk of satisfaction,
Because we have cleansed the stomach of its dirt,
And that in the cloud of dust that enveloped the foe
Between as-Swejda and al-'Ala'.

Jâ surbaten ǧat taḥtadi
mâ sannadaw ǧihhâlaha
wa' mâ 'aḏḏalnâhom w-'ajjû
jâ mâ baṭa! 'aḏḏâlaha.

When the troop came, singing its ditties,
The gay youths did not hold in their mares,
Oh, how we warned them and still they paid no heed!
Oh, what hero was even the least of that troop!

Surba is a troop of ten to twenty riders. *Taḥtadi*: it (lit., she) sings the *ḥda'* ditties. *Mâ sannadaw*: they did not hold back their mares on meeting a much stronger enemy. *Ǧâhel* (pl., *ǧihhâl*), a gay youth, is a youth between his fourteenth and eighteenth years, who is imprudent and will be neither advised nor remonstrated with. *Wa' mâ* has the same meaning as *jâ kuṯr mâ*, Oh, how much! *'Aḏḏalnâhom*: we warned them, we advised them to hold in their mares and to wait for help, for a counter attack, *faz'a*, from other camps; but they *'ajjû*, rejecting our warning, threw themselves on the enemy.

[157]

Jâ ṭejr jâ-lli tdîr al-ḥowm
sallem elja' ǧît ṭarḥûme
'ašîraha ḍa'ḍa' bel-ḳowm
telḳa' ta'âǧîb be'lûmeh
walluw ǧemâ'eh ṛašâkom lowm
alli ma' al-ḥejd mazmûmeh.

O thou bird of prey, who ever circlest above us!
A greeting, if thou wilt fly to Ṭarḥûme.
Her darling has shaken the enemy;
Thou shalt hear news of him to make thee wonder.
But his comrades fled — Oh, may so many reproaches
That they make the plain level with the hillside. [cover them

Ḥejd is a slope or hillside shutting in a plain.

Heǧǧi haǧîǧ aṛ-ṛejd ma' waǧh al-ṛulma'
ma' waǧh dasmin al-lḥa w-aš-šawâreb.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

Run as the hunted beast runs from the face of the heroic youth,
From the faces of those whose beards and moustaches are covered with fat.

701
883

Haǧǧ means a panic, helter-skelter flight. *Ṛulma'* or *ḥbwa'* are youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, who are ever making raids, from which they always return with rich booty and then feast on the fat camels they have captured until their budding chin beards, *lḥa*, and mustaches, *wâreb*, shine with fat, *dasmîn*. They are well fed, of great endurance, and never abandon the pursuit of the enemy's fleeing mares or camels until they have captured them.

Songs of Booty

539x
727
533

The returning victors are not met by the women or girls of the camp. When near they break into songs of booty.

539x

1. *Jowmen wald al-hejs jabḥa maẓẓa'eh*
   wa' mâ ḳaṭa'na lejleten ḥarmesijje
   wa' hâj jâ lallâh wa' hâj jâ lallâh.
2. *Jâ nâšeden 'amma miu ajje žebîle*
   'ejâl ar-rwejli min aḥjâr al-ḥamâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
3. *Ḥowfân az-ẓulma' marâwir az-ẓaḥa'*
   nowda' 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi debâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
4. *Elja-ddejt maǧhûdi w-maǧhûd fâṭeri*
   mâ-ni 'ala-d-dinja čeṭîr al-ḥasâjef
   wa' hâj . . .

1. While the idler shook up his bed,
   Hey! through how many dark nights have we ridden!
   Hey! glory be and by Allâh himself!
2. O thou who askest about us of what tribe we were,
   (Know that) we are descendants of the Rwala, counted among the best of tribes.
   Hey! glory!
3. Like thieves in a dark night, like attackers after the passing of the dew
   We are wont to plant ulcers in the enemy's stomach.
   Hey! glory!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x 4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

[833] Verse 1. *Mažza'* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebîle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers 827 or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating un- 269 pleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

Jâ mâ ḳaṭa'na dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâzi 'ejâlaha
wa' hâj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

727 Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *ḳaw ʃlân.*" Answer:

"O greeting to thee! *jâ hala.*"

"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:

"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"

"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalaḳ hal-fowd.*" Answer:

"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalaḳ wa-tfid.*"

[431] Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-ḥazijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *bešš behal-'aṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

727 Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with 574 them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Loosen your spittle! Look at the abundance! The *ğîre* oath rests on you!" Should they be reluctant to accept the invitation, they usually declare their readiness to have the oath rest on them and continue on their way. (On the *ğîre* oath see above, p. 460.) But if some one implores them with the words: "The *ğîre* oath of the slave Râšed rests on you, *'alejkom ğîrat al-'abd râšed*," they must stop and eat something. Who the slave Râšed may have been, nobody knows. It is said of him that he was most hospitable and even forced travelers to eat with him.

Within three days after his return either the leader or the man appointed by him offers the customary sacrifice, *'ažire*. He kills a she-camel and exclaims:

"O Allâh, this is our custom! This belongs to the face of Allâh and to the face of our ancestor! *Jâ-llâh hâḏi 'âdatna hâḏi liwağh allâh w-liwağh ğeddina*." Every kin reveres its ancestor but never knows at what period he lived or where he was buried. The blood of the sacrificed animal is caught into the bulging iron sheet used for baking bread, *sâğ*, and with it the humps of the captured animals and the necks of the riding camels are besmeared. This is done in order to make sure of fresh booty.

A boy who has taken part in his first raid and brought back booty with him tries to buy a goat or a sheep in order to sacrifice it. Its blood he then sprinkles over his booty, *ḏbîḥa rušûš al-čâseb*; if a she-camel, he besmears her whole hump, if a mare, her whole forehead. From the tail of the captured mare he cuts a lock of hair, which he hangs up in his tent. This he does with every horse he captures to let all the guests know how many he has already taken; this custom is called *šeḏeb*.

After the return from a raid the story of who has fallen, where, and in what manner, quickly spreads. The female relatives of the slain men then walk out of the camp to a distance whence even a loud cry cannot be heard, there to bewail their dead.

A mother cries: "Alas, woe is me! alas, my child! alas, woe is me! alas thou whom I bore in my womb! alas, woe is me! alas, thou little son of mine! *Wa' wâjli wa' waledi wa' wâjli wa' ğenîni wa' wâjli wa' bunajja.*"

A wife cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! ah, ruined is my tent! *wa' wâjli wa' hadem bejti.*"

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

727 765 A sister cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! alas, thou brother of mine!"

A daughter: "Alas, woe is me, alas, thou father of mine!"

Then they sit down, cry till their eyes are dry, and return quietly to their tents. There is no other mourning.

LARGE BATTLES, OR *MANÂḤ*

721 726 The fight called *manâḥ*, as distinguished from the *razw* or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame, *zowd al-i'tibâr*, it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter, *ṣâl 'alejh ṣowla*, and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows, which behind the herds graze; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue. In these few tents there is nothing except the utensils for making black coffee, meals being prepared in the tents behind. All the mares stand saddled by these war tents, *bujût al-ḥarb*, while the riding camels lie fettered between the other tents. The men on foot are posted right and left of the war tents. Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents.

721 726 703 The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within rifle shot. Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhûr is fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback. These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting:

"He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi jeśred al-jowm mâ leh 'endana ḥakk.*" Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zaṛârît*, are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa, a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, likewise, mount she-camels and shouting *zaṛârît* hasten to join the melée in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa to conceal

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

herself, as the capture of the ʿAṭfa by the enemy would mean the greatest disgrace for both the reigning kin and the whole tribe. Thereupon the girl on the ʿAṭfa drives her animal to her father's tent, makes it kneel here, and either jumps off, unbuckles the litter, and pulls it inside the tent, or flees with it from the camp.

When the tribe is attacked while migrating and the women driving the camels laden with all their household goods fear that the enemy may rob them — the men, meanwhile, being engaged in repelling the attackers — they beg every passing rider to defend them, and the girls, especially, at the top of their voices, call out the names of their sweethearts:

"Bring me So-and-So, ye men! Call So-and-So hither, ye who like to amuse yourselves with girls! I want So-and-So, him of whom all talk!"

If a man passes by whom the woman expects to help her, she cries: "Thou wert praised to me so highly, and yet I have not seen thee do anything today."

When a lover reaches the woman of his heart, she breaks into an inspiring shout, uttering in a high-pitched tremulous voice the syllables of the word *zaṛârît*. The lover greets her: "Oh, how I rejoice before thine eyes! *jâ mâ ʿajnêč wa-fraḥi*," or: "To thy joy, O So-and-So! *farḥateč jâ flâne*."

Ditties Sung by Defenders of Their Camps

While speeding through the camp or the moving throng in order to repel a hostile attack the men sing short ditties.

*Jâ rabb naṯlobak al-huda*ʾ
w-as-sitr w-al-ʿelm al-maliḥ
*rabʿi medâbis al-ʿuda*ʾ
w-en ḥarrafaw ʿenda-ṭ-ṭariḥ.

O Lord! we beg thee for a lucky guidance,
For protection and good news!
My comrades, cudgels for the enemy,
Will not turn their mares save when a rider is thrown from his saddle.

They pray to Allâh for lucky leadership and favorable news about the position of the main force of the enemy, that they may attack at once and thus avoid being taken on the

2:Musil 8-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 539ᴬ flank. *Dabbûs* is a heavy wooden staff, about 120 centimeters long. *Medâbis* (sing., *medbes*) are youths armed with such staves. They beat the enemy with the staves, pursue those who flee, and if they turn their mares in another direction it is only to save a comrade swept from his saddle. *Ḥarrafaw*: turned their mares about for a new attack, *taḥrîf*. *Ṭarîḥ* is a rider thrown from the saddle. He is usually seriously wounded and calls to his comrades to help him. It is considered dishonorable, a shame, *ʿajb*, to give a *ṭarîḥ* the finishing stroke.

539ᴷ

Jâ rabb jâ rabb ar-raḥûm
tarmi-l-ḥaja bidijârana
narmi-l-ʿaša lalli jaḥûm
laʿujûn ǧillen bikârana.

O Lord! our gracious Lord!
Thou wilt pour forth a copious rain on our lands,
Whilst we shall pour forth a supper for the circling birds,
Before the eyes of our big she-camels.

Ḥaja are abundant rains which assure a luxuriant growth of annuals. If the latter cannot thrive, it is because there has been no *ḥaja*, and no affluence, *rabîʿ*, will follow. *Dîre* means territory belonging to one tribe or subject to one emir. Thus Eben Saʿûd is obeyed by many different tribes, and their territories all form the *dîret eben saʿûd*. The Rwala eat to satiety only once a day — in the evening — and therefore use the word *ʿaša*, meaning supper, to express a meal in general. *Jaḥûm*, it circles, is used of a white vulture with reddish wings and yellow beak. It accompanies the warriors on almost all their trips and flies above the battle ground untiringly. *Ǧill* are strong, big she-camels. The enemy tries to capture them, but their defenders come in time to repel the attack.

[619] [264]

Habbî lana hbûb ar-riḥ habbî lana
elja ʾ mâ tekâmel ḫejlana.

Blow luck to us, O wave of the wind! blow,
Until our riders are assembled.

The first riders on reaching the attacked herds must, together with the herdsmen, repel the first attack of the enemy; therefore they appeal to the breeze to be favorable to them, for, if they have to fight against the wind which

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

blows dust and sand in their faces, they are at a great disadvantage compared with the enemy. But as soon as they are overtaken by all the cavalry, they can attack the enemy from the rear too and the direction of the wind will not matter. The blowing of the wind also means the blowing of success, or the fortune of war. 539x

Ešrefû miz'aže
w-en'abû ṭejraha
dîrat ḥajji w-lâ
arîd ana ṭejraha.

Climb the hill from which we are wont to give the alarm
And by your cries summon the wild beasts of this terri- [tory.
It is the territory of my tribe
And no other I desire.

The enemy intend to drive away the tribe from an important watering place. A girl calls on the men to climb instantly a high cone and by alarm cries and various signals to attract the attention of outlying camps which could send help.

Miz'aže are the tallest cones rising near the camp, from the top of which warning signals can be sent to the herdsmen and sentinels of other camps, posted on similar hills. *En'abû* means the harsh cry with which the person giving the alarm ends his call. The word *ṭejr* in this ditty is used not only for the falcon but for any bird of prey.

Šahrên mâ ǧanni 'alâm
w-ašûf as-sulṭa misterîḥ
jâ waǧh aḍ-ḍîb en ṭâla' ar-ra'jân
adnâhom w-aḳṣâhom jeṣîḥ.

For two months, now, I have received no news [of a hostile raid]
And I see that the war chief entrusted with the highest power is resting.
Oh, the face of a wolf! when the herdsmen behold it,
Both near and far cry out in alarm.

In the wars with Muḥammad eben Smejr Prince Saṭṭâm was entrusted not only with the chief command but also with all political power. In a few raids he expelled the enemy from the disputed territory; whereupon the Rwala camped there

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639* undisturbed for two whole months, as the enemy did not dare to make a new attack. It was during this time that this ditty was composed.

[701 622] *Sulṭa* signifies a war leader who in times of the greatest danger also takes over the functions of the head chief. Saṭṭâm, who succeeded in terrifying the herdsmen allied with Muḥammad eben Smejr, is meant here by the word *sulṭa* and also by *d̲îb*, wolf.

Jâ-hl-as-sebâja ẓhûrehen
nâda-l-munâdi bel-felâḥ
lâǧ aṭ-ṭarîḥ benḥûrehen
šerbi naḳa' 'oḳb al-melâḥ.

O ye plunderers! mount on their backs,
The call has gone forth for success.
He who is thrown from the saddle will slide down their throats,
And this will be to me a sweet drink after salt water.

The enemy had long been harassing the herds but was never seen in time, so that help always came too late. At last the guard sighted him before he found the herds. As soon as it was reported in the camp, the rescuing troop hastened against him, fondly hoping to surround him and take all his horses and she-camels, in this manner tasting a sweet drink.

Jâ-lli tlowbed beš-še'îb
mâ 'endana illa sab'akom
narmi-l-'aša laḍ-d̲îḥ al-aṭwaḳ
w-naṭraḥ ža'îdet rab'akom.

O ye who creep through the valley!
We have nothing for you but terror.
We shall throw you for supper to a wolf with a neck streaked with gray
And shall cast down him who guards your clothes and camels.

The thieves leave their clothes and camels—if they have any—under the guard of one of their comrades called *ža'ide* and crawl on their bellies to the tents. *D̲îḥ aṭwaḳ* is an old dog or wolf whose neck is growing gray.

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539*

Já ḫajefin min al-manâja
min ǧâh melek al-mowt mât
al-mowt mâ fakk as-sabâje
jâḫoḏ ṛanâdîr al-banât.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That he whom the death angel visits dies.
Death, however, cannot free captured she-camels
Yet can take those who always linger with the girls.

Ṛanâdîr are elegant youths who from love of the girls remain at home instead of going out on raids.

Jâ ḫâjefin min al-manâja
al-mowt mâ ǧâ' leḥ naḏîr
al-ḫowf mâ fakk al-ḥabâri
w-lâ ṭawwal al-'omr al-ḳaṣîr.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That death is not preceded by a herald.
Fear cannot rescue the *ḥabâri* birds [from the falcon's talons]
Nor prolong life, short as it is.

Jâ-hal as-sebâja rûsehen
elja' mâ 'amâmi jelḥaḳûn
nakkâlaten šuṛul al-'aǧam
ḏabbâḥaten mâ jarḥamûn.

O riders! ye plunderers, pull up the heads of your mares
Till my uncles come,
Who are carrying arms of Persian make,
Who only slay and know not mercy.

Ahl as-sebâja has the same meaning as *ahl al-ḫejl*, horse riders who throw themselves on the herds and then drive them away as their booty. With *rûsehen ešbeṭû* is understood: "lift up the heads of your mares." In order to stop the galloping mares the reins are pulled up short, which makes them raise their heads and slacken their pace. They are to wait till overtaken by their paternal uncles—that is, by their kinsmen, as maternal relatives are not considered kin if not related to the father in some other way. The Persian-made weapons are mainly swords, broad spears, and daggers.

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539x

Jâ lâbeti jâ mḥajjelin al-ḫajl
tara'-l-'aẓab 'âdeh bala'
amma nefukk dijârana
w-allâh neǧûz min al-ḥaja'.

O comrades of mine who let not your mares be covered!
Behold, yon cripple has been wont to torment us,
Therefore we either must free our lands,
Or, by Allâh! we shall vanish from life.

Mḥajjelin al-ḫajl: they leave their mares sterile, so that they may fight without anxiety. *Al-'aẓab*, a cripple, was the name given to Muḥammad eben Smejr, the chief of the Weld 'Ali and commander of the allied tribes bent on expelling the Rwala from their territory. He was called so because his right hand had been shot through and was crippled.

Râkân juṣawwet bel-manâm
jâ min jubaššerni be'ažîl
rab'i muḥaddedet lal-ǧemal
kassâraten lal-ǧam' aṭ-ṭažîl.

Râkân in his sleep calls out:
"Oh, who will bring me joyful news of 'Ažîl?"
My comrades chained themselves to a camel
To defeat a mighty troop.

Râkân eben Meǧlâd led out his Dahâmše to resist an attack of the 'Amârât. Recognizing, at last, their inability to oppose the superior strength of the enemy, Râkân's comrades chained themselves to the camel carrying the 'Aṭfa litter. They fell to a man, the camel was also killed, and the 'Aṭfa taken by Eben Haddâl, the commander of the 'Amârât. The dead Râkân was supposed to be urging his son 'Ažîl in his dreams to take vengeance for this, and expecting all the time the joyous news that he was avenged.

Jâ-llâh ṭalabnâk jâ-l-kerîm
mâ hw 'ala čeṭr al-ḥalâl
mâ hw 'ala mâlen 'aẓîm
tarmi fahad walla' ṭalâl.

O Allâh! We beg of thee, O thou most generous one!
Not numerous herds,
Not great wealth,
But only to strike Fahad or Ṭalâl.

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The wife of the fallen Râkân entreats Allâh to destroy Fahad or Ṭalâl of the Eben Haḏḏâl kin who had killed her husband. 539 ×

Tadallahî w-er'î hawâč Leisurely move and graze at will,
jâ ḥâjilen ma' fuṭṭari O sterile one with she-camels old!
w-alli jeruddeč 'an hawâč And should anyone check thee
haḏâk 'elmeh mâ jenṭeri. Pay no heed to reports concerning him.

Tadalluh means a quiet, unrestricted movement; she can go where she pleases, fast or slow. Such a leisurely gait is enjoyed especially by the young sterile she-camels, *ḥâjel*, who like to prance and run from one place to another in search of the best pasture. They are often joined by she-camels more than twenty years old, which, if they bear no longer, are not restricted in their freedom. In regions entirely safe such animals can scatter far and wide, but in the proximity of the enemy they are kept together. The brave warrior tells the she-camels to disregard the danger, as he will protect them—and if any one should still try to herd them, not to obey him. *'Elmeh mâ jenṭeri* is said of a man who talks too much. The news, *'elm*, he brings is interesting, but nobody believes it, *mâ jenṭeri*. With such a babbler an honest Rwejli should have nothing to do, *mâ jaṭri leh*. [828]

Aṭ'an la'ajni fâṭeri
w-aṭ'an elja' ḥâb aḏ-ḏalîl
en mâ ḥamejteh bel-žena
jâ lejt mâ 'omri ṭawîl.

To rescue my old she-camel I will stab,
Yea, stab all the more when he becomes afraid who does not esteem honor.
And should I be unable to save her with my spear
Then, Oh, may I not live long!

Fâṭer is a twenty-year-old she-camel. *Ḏalîl* is a man who values his health and life above his honor. Seeing that during a hostile attack he would have to face superior numbers, he fears for his life, *ḥâb*, and takes to flight, while a man of honor stays and tries to replace such a coward by greater bravery. Rather than allow his old she-camel to be captured, he will die. [703]

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539x

Aṭ'an la'ajni bakraten miš'âf
waẓha' teẓedd ḥwâraha
min fowḳ šaḳra čannaha-l-ḥaṭṭâf
w-mu'askaran mismâraha.

I will stab to protect my she-camel with long thick hair on the hump,
Pure white, guiding her young by low murmurs;
I will stab from the back of a sorrel resembling a wild beast,
Whose shoe nails are bent inward.

[231] *Bakra* is a she-camel not yet eight years old. The humps of she-camels which have never carried loads or riding saddles are covered with long thick hair. They also grow very fat. *Waẓha'*, a pure white she-camel, is the most prized among the Rwala. *Ḥwâr* is the name given to a sucking camel calf. The careful mother looks back at her young incessantly and warns it by low and short murmurs not to go far away and get lost, *teẓeddeh*. *Ḥaṭṭâf* is either a wild beast or a good hunting hound which attacks its prey without being urged. The warrior is mounted on a sorrel which also starts in pursuit of the enemy of her own accord. Nothing [492] will hold her back, except perhaps the sharp pieces of basalt and lava, which may injure her feet. But no such danger threatens the mare of our rider, as her shoes are well nailed on. The nail passes through the horn of the hoof and is then bent inward, *mu'askaran mismâraha*, to prevent its loosening and falling out.

Šiḳḥan ta'âwed lar-ruḥûl
jowm aṣ-ṣabî dawda laha
tišrah 'ala-lli jiṭ'anûn
jowm al-ǧanab jibra' laha.

White she-camels of reddish hue accustomed to carry loads,
As soon as the lad cries *'daw'*
Begin to yearn for those who can stab,
Knowing that the protecting troop will soon join them.

233 *Ruḥûl* means the she-camels carrying smaller loads, especially the tent and its furniture, on the march. They are usually good tempered and will obey the youth whenever he urges them in a quiet voice to turn or to stop. The lad, *ṣabî*, either sits on one of them or walks behind and cries: "*Daw*, O So-

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and-So," calling the animals by their different names. This call is termed *daw* or *dawda*; the youth *jedôdi*. He urges them in this manner especially when there is danger of a hostile attack, in order to keep his herd quiet, for otherwise they would shy, throw off their loads, and run away. The older and, therefore, calmer animals understand at once that danger threatens them, and stop and wait till joined, *jibra' laha*, by their protecting troop, *ǧanab*.

Jâ nâǧiman 'an fâṭereh
maǧhûl 'aǧneh bes-sahr
halûbeteh rukûbeteh
ǧelûbeteh jowm ad-dahr.

Oh, he who sleeps unmindful of his old she-camel!
In his heedlessness he keeps not his eye awake
Over his camel which he milks, which he can ride,
And sell, too, when want threatens him.

Nâǧem 'an has the same meaning as *sâhi 'an*. The watchman sleeps carelessly beside his camels. The word *maǧhûl* or *ǧâhel* is used of a lad from fourteen to eighteen years old, who, from thoughtlessness, makes all kinds of mistakes. *Jowm ad-dahr*, or *jowm al-maḥal*, or *jowm al-ṛolla*, mean the period of want and misery caused by light and irregular rains. At such times the younger camels cannot even sufficiently nurse their sucking young and give no milk for use of the owner's family, thus compelling him to sell the old camels in order to buy barley or wheat for himself and his children.

Jâ nâǧeme nowm al-faḥad
lâ teẓ'edûn an-nâǧeme
a'ṭû-l-'aṣâǧer ḥaḳḳehen
w-ar-rûḥ mâ hi dâǧeme.

Oh, do not awaken this sleeping one
Who sleeps the light sleep of the panther;
Let pregnant camels have their right
And [remember that] the soul will not remain [in the body] forever.

'Aśra', a camel big with young, sleeps lightly, is easily frightened, and just as easily shies. Frightened camels run as long as possible and will not stop until completely exhausted.

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539x 231 Often they run all day and all night, many of them miscarrying in consequence. In our song the defenders of the camels are called upon to repel the hostile attack quickly and effectively, so that not even one single she-camel may awaken. The pregnant camel is entitled to protection, as she is willing to give her protector both her calf and her milk. Her protector should not be afraid of losing his life. The human soul will not remain forever in the human body. A man must die, even though he always stay at home in his bed and never take part in a fight.

Jâ hağmeten 'endah ḥarrâs
w-al-mowt 'end-arkânaha
w-mâ ḳaṭa'na 'endah min râs
mâ derhamen ḥirânaha.

Oh, the herd sleeping far from the camp under their guard's care!
Death is circling around them from all sides.
How many heads we cut off there
[So quickly that] not even the suckling calves started to trot.

539x *Hağme* signifies a herd spending the night far from the camp; it is also called *'azîb*. *Hağğamna* is equivalent to *mraḥna*, we spent the night. *Arkân* are the four corners of the world. *Min râs* is pronounced *mir râs*. *Derham* is the camel trot. The men guarding the camels repelled a bloody attack so quickly that even the timorous calves were not alarmed and did not run away.

Al-'alja tar'a' bel-ḫaṭar
w-ar-riğl fowḳ al-ma'lebe
ḥenna čema' sejlen nḥadar
naff al-'aḍa' bel-meğnıbeh.

Our camels are grazing amidst danger;
[Alien] feet already touch [their] necks,
But we, we are like a torrent which swiftly rolls
And carries away all that it gathers up between its banks.

Al-'Alja is the name given by the Rwala to their herds, especially the white ones. He who succeeds in mounting it

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is surest of capturing a camel when he crosses his legs on its neck and guides it by a slight kick of his foot. But if the enemy succeeded even in that, the Rwala would throw themselves on them like a flooded creek or torrent, and would overcome and capture them. *Naff* is a torrent which carries away everything in its way. '*Aḍa*' means both dry or live bushes, grass, excrements, dirt, coarse sand, etc., all of which, lying generally between the banks or in reach of the torrent, are carried away by it. *Meǧneb* is the slope shutting in the valley through which a creek runs. 539*

La'ujûn šiḳhen rawwaḥat
tasma' baha dann al-ǧaras
en mâ rumejt (sic) *'abd al-kerîm*
jaḥram 'alej rkûb al-faras.

For the eyes of the white [camels] of reddish hue who
have just reached the place of their night's rest
And from whom thou hearest a slight tinkling of bells,
If I do not throw down 'Abdalkerîm,
May I not be allowed to ride a mare.

'Abdalkerîm âl Ǧarba', the war leader of the Šammar camping in Mesopotamia, frequently attacked the herds of the Rwala when they were encamped with the 'Amârât on the middle Euphrates. A bell is hung on the neck of only a valuable she-camel which is inclined to wander afar.

Jâ lâbeti ḥoṭṭû ṛalab
w-ar-riš mardûmen 'alejh
jâ ḥejf jâ ḥaṭw al-walad
jinîr w-mašrûhen 'alejh.

O comrades mine, [on your spears] tie ash-gray ostrich
But cover them with the black feathers. [feathers,
Oh, shame! Many a youth
Flees and yet all relied on him.

Riš means the black, *ṛalab* the ash-gray feathers of a female ostrich. When a youth has distinguished himself in repelling an attack, the chief orders his comrades to fasten to the spear where the blade is set into the shaft ash-gray feathers of a female ostrich and to post it before his tent. When people ask in whose honor the spear is placed there, 703 554

703 554 they are informed of the youth's heroism. If during an att
an otherwise worthy youth does not stand his ground,
gray feathers are covered by black ones as a sign that
the first time he has not behaved in a manner befitting
honor. *Ḥaṭw* means "many a one." *'Alejh ḥarha*: he was
539A pended on; *kunt mašrûhen 'alejh*: I depended on him.

Aṭ'an la'ajni ṣâḥebi
w-aṭni la'ajni 'andeli
ḳalbi ṛada beh ṣâḥebi
minni 'aṭijjat ǧandali.

To aid my sweetheart I wish to stab,
And I will stab also to help my thoroughbred mare
Of my heart my beloved took possession.
She received it from me like a Ǧandal's gift which
never retur

'Andelijje is a thoroughbred white mare; in poet
language this expression is used instead of *aṣile*. *Ṛada*
[431] and *aḫaḏeh*, he took him, have the same meaning. Anyth
a father has given may be demanded back by the son. Howe
if any member of the Eben Ǧandal kin makes a gift, nob
as will be explained below, may ask for its return. Theref
he who wishes to make his gift secure, gives it first to a mem
of the Eben Ǧandal kin, who then hands it to the person
whom it was intended.

Aṭ'an la'ajni bint eben ḳublân
oḫt alladi zabn aṭ-ṭarîḥ
al-'ajn 'ajn mušaḏḏar al-ṛuzlân
'ašižaha mâ jesterîḥ.

I will stab to help Eben Ḳublân's daughter,
The sister of the defender of one from his saddle throw
Her eye keeps a sharp lookout like a frightened gaz
Her lover will, faith! not have much rest.

Eben Ḳublân is the name of a kin of the al-Ḥsene divi
[577] Weld 'Ali tribe. One who assists a comrade thrown from
saddle acts honorably, as by doing so he abandons any b
he might capture and also exposes himself to the da
of being attacked while lifting the fallen man from
ground and placing him on his own horse. The gazelles

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in constant fear and therefore keep a sharp lookout all the time. In the same manner the daughter of Eben Ḳublân watches for danger from the enemy and wishes that her lover may always be ready to go to her assistance. 539x

La'ujûn min labes al-ḥarîr
šukran ḏ̣ᵓâjeb râseha
w-elja' talâḳow bel-wa'ad
w-aš-šejḫ bimaḥâseha.

For the eyes of her who wears a silk garment
And has braids of fair hair!
When men shall meet in the fight appointed by Allâh,
The chief himself will be the first on the battle ground.

The daughters and wives of the chiefs wear silk kerchiefs. [292] Fair hair is rare among the Rwala women; they generally dye it. [142 Our beauty with braids of fair hair has a suitor in the person of the chief himself, who therefore hastens to her aid when the migrating clan is attacked and fights on the battle ground before her eyes. *Wa'ad* is a fight ordained by Allâh himself. *Maḥâs* means the place of an encounter, a battle ground. 302]

Arḫaṣt 'omrî w-al-faras
dûn al-ǧemal w-alli 'alejh
jâ-bu ḳrûn čaha-l-maras
ḳalbi muštâḳen 'alejh.

I risked my life and my mare
Before the camel and her who sat on him.
For her with braids like this rope,
My heart is longing for her.

Kill jowm 'ajden lal-banât
w-al-jowm hâḏa 'ajdana
narm-al-'aša lal-ḥâjemât
lal-'ujûn min teridana.

Every day is a holiday for the girls,
But this day is a holiday for us,
As we shall throw a supper to the birds of prey
For the eyes of her who longs for us.

The girls sing, amuse themselves, and turn the heads of the young men every day, but the youths show them their real qualities on the day when they repulse a hostile raid.

539r

Ḥenna zejzûm al-ḥarb al-awwal
naṣbor w-law enneh ṭeżîl
čamen ṭamûḥen min ʿedâna
râḥat tedawwer leh ḥalîl.

We are the rampart against the first onslaught;
Be it ever so fierce, we shall hold our ground,
For there are many wives of our enemies, displeased [with their husbands,
Who seek another man.

Al-ḥarb al-awwal is the first or surprise attack on a camp. It is repulsed as a rule by the bravest and steadiest warriors. *Zejzûm* is the man who guarantees the safety of the herds, caravans, and people. *Ṭamûḥ* is a married woman desiring another man. If her husband is killed, she may marry the one she desires.

Jâ mâ ḥalaʾ ṭard as-sebâja
min fowḳ mušammart aš-šelîl
w-jâ mâ ḥalaʾ ḥebb aṭ-ṭenâja
eljaʾ ṣâr ʿašîžak ṣaṛîr.

Oh, how sweet is a fight with the plunderers,
When thou sittest on a mare whose hair spreads over [her back!
And how sweet the kissing of teeth,
If thy sweetheart still be young!

Mušammart aš-šelîl is a mare holding her tail high so that the hair spreads over her back.

Jâ mâ ḥalaʾ ṭard as-sebâja
eljaʾ ṣirt min fowḳ al-ǧamûḥ
w-jâ mâ ḥalaʾ ḥebb aṭ-ṭenâja
eljaʾ ṣâr ʿašîžak ṭamûḥ.

Oh, how sweet to fight with the plunderers,
When thou bestridest a rebellious mare!
And how sweet kisses of the teeth,
When thy beloved longs for [thee] a braver man!

Ṭard is the actual encounter or clash, a hand-to-hand fight in which one man attacks another trying to outflank him. *Sebâja* are the fighters whose task it is to capture the herds of the enemy. To repel or at least to stop these warriors or plunderers is not easy, as they are always superior in number to the guardians of the herds.

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in number to the guardians of the herds. No woman if married to a coward will ever fall in love with a man like him. 539x

Já râčeben ḫorraa mu'anna
wa-mlaḏḏaraa zejn al-fedîd
mâ nuḫalli waṭanna
la'ujûn min lebseh ǧedîd.

O thou who ridest a thoroughbred camel making a straight course,
A camel looking round in fear, with a back falling away to its tail!
[Know that] our homeland we shall not desert
For the sake of the eyes of her who has put on a new dress.

Mu'anna is one who follows a straight, well-defined course. *"Ent la wên mu'anna*; where art thou headed?" or "Where art thou going?" *"Ana m'anna* (or *nâḥer*) *eben ša'lân*, I go to Eben Ša'lân." *Fedîd* is the sloping of the back to the tail, beginning at the hump. The more simple and symmetrical this line, the handsomer the camel. *Waṭan* has the same meaning as *dire*, a region, country, territory belonging to one of the tribes.

Lâbes zebûn ḳmâš w-ǧibba
w-al-mowt w-allâh mâ ṭara'
la'ujûn miss 'aṭâni ḫubba
w-ummaha w-abûha mâ dara'.

I put on a silk *zebûn* and a *ǧibba*,
And, by Allâh! it never occurred to me to die.
[I wish to fight] for the eyes of her who gave me a kiss
Unknown to her mother and her father too.

Zebûn ḳmâš is a silk coat open at the front and reaching to the ankles. *Ǧibba* is a waistcoat with narrow, tucked-up sleeves. It is worn only by the wealthier youths who wish to be admired. [292]

La'ujûn min faǧǧ aḏ-ḏra w-jeli
'aṭâṭa w-jabri ḫowfana
'ddâtana fakk al-reši
ǧejb al-ḫulâja' ḫowfana.

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For the eyes of her who draws apart the tent wall and peeps out
Thirsting and longing for one of our glances,
Our custom is to rescue the captured herds,
And our task is to bring in mares whose riders we have hurled down.

[727] When, after repelling the attack, the warriors return with their booty to their tents, they are inspected by the women and girls from the tents. Being themselves invisible, the latter look through the small space between the tent wall and roof. This wall or tent side is called *aḏ-ḏera*. *"Derrûna ʿan ha-l-bard*, hang up the wall to protect us from the cold." *Awâḳ* means to examine something thoroughly. The chief orders the *sbûr*, scouts on camels: *"Ewîžû ʿala ha-l-ḳowm*, examine this detachment of the enemy well." On their return they will report: *"Awaḳna ʿalejhom*, we have looked them over," and give a detailed report. With the same thoroughness will a maiden examine her lover when he returns from a raid, anxious to know if and what booty he brings. *Wsîž* is the same as *aḫîḏ*, i. e. a herd, *ṭarš*, captured from the enemy. *Ḳaʿâjeʿ* are the mares of the foes thrown from the saddle.

Mamdûḥ w-allâh mâ narûḥ
naḥûš ʿenda dijârana
laʿujûn min ḳarnha jelûḥ
ḏabḥ as-swâri ḳârana.

O Mamdûḥ, by Allâh! we shall not depart,
But harass you from our lands instead,
For the eyes of her whose plait is appearing —
For the killing of troopers is our sport.

Mamdûḥ Pasha was the commander of the Turkish troops fighting the Druses in the Ḥawrân. When defeated he asked the Rwala for help, but this they refused and, instead, com-
[721] posed this poem. *Naḥûš* means guerilla warfare, in which small regular detachments and frontier guards are attacked.
[725] The regular cavalry sent by Mamdûḥ against the Rwala were beaten by them because their horses could stand the heat and thirst much better than the army horses. They awaited the soldiers in ambush, surrounded, and killed them. *Ḳâr* means hunting by lying in wait or catching the game in snares.

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Lâ budd al-ašḳar dâre'an bel-ḫejl
amma jeǧi walla' jarûḥ
la'ujûn min rîḥeh zebâd w-hejl
alli 'an al-'âḳa ṭamûḥ.

Al-Ašḳar certainly is arming cavalry;
Either he advances or he runs away.
[We will fight] for the eyes of her who sends forth sweet fragrance —
Who instead of a coward longs for another man.

Al-Ašḳar is the surname of Sa'dûn, head chief of the Muntifeḳ tribe. Al-Ašḳar's impending raid became known, and the warriors from all camps hastened to help the camp most endangered. They knew that al-Ašḳar would certainly attack their camps, too, if he were not repelled in time. Therefore they meant to fight bravely for their sweethearts, among whom there was many a one who, although married, longed for another man, knowing her husband to be a coward. *'Âḳa* is a man who takes a long time to dress, to arm himself, and to mount his horse in order to evade repelling the hostile attack.

Jâ mḥammad ḫift eben rummân
'ajjentûh ḥammâj az-ẓa'an
walad al-frejǧi zaḳlabeh
la'ujûn bîẓen fara'an.

O Mḥammad, hast thou seen Eben Rummân?
Have ye seen the defender of the moving clan?
A son of the Freǧe gave him a good blow
For the eyes of the fair ones with loosened hair.

Muḥammad eben Smejr was an antagonist of the Rwala; Eben Rummân, a dreaded hero among Eben Smejr's warriors, was killed by 'Ejâd eben 'Arṣân of the Freǧe clan of the Rwala. *Zaḳlab* is said of a falcon, who first stuns its game with its beak and then kills it.

Lije ṣâḥiban zîna ḫikkâh
ḥelwan suwâd 'ujûnaha
lâ farra'at 'ala-l-mibṭâḥ
al-'omr jirḥaṣ adûnaha.

I have a sweetheart fair, white and rosy;
Charming is the black of her eyes.

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539x When she once rises in her litter,
Life before her loses its worth.

Šikkâh is white tinged with rose. *Mibṭâḥ* are the long upper poles of the litter by which the woman sitting in it supports herself when rising to look out.

Bint aḫu ḳuṭne jâ nawwâf
turkijje lâ tiğûnaha
elja' telâḳen bes-semâḥ
uḳalleṭak la'ujûnaha.

To the daughter of Ḳuṭne's brother, O Nawwâf,
To Turkijje go not too near!
If our mares meet on a plain covered with coarse sand,
I shall throw thee forward for the sake of her eyes.

Aḫu Ḳuṭne, brother or defender of the camel herds called Ḳuṭne, was the head chief of the Fed'ân. His daughter, Turkijje, famous for both her beauty and prudence, was greatly enamored of Saṭṭâm, the prince of the Rwala, her love being returned. Nawwâf eben Ḳa'ejšiš, a near relative of Turkijje, claimed her for himself and would not allow her to marry Saṭṭâm. After trying in a friendly way to change Nawwâf's mind, Saṭṭâm composed this ditty and sent it to him with the threat that he would declare war on the Fed'ân if Turkijje were not given to him peaceably.

Ḳalaṭ is said when a camel saddle inclines forward. In using the word *uḳalleṭak* Saṭṭâm threatens to meet Nawwâf in a duel and so terrify him that he will flee; Saṭṭâm will then strike him from behind with his weapon and throw him forward.

Bint aḫu ḳuṭne jâ saṭṭâm
šaḫḫa ja'ûzak lownaha
tis'at ğemû'en rarrabat
mâ ẓanneti ja'ṭûnaha.

The daughter of Ḳuṭne's brother, O Saṭṭâm,
Is like milk and blood; her color is not to be thine!
Nine clans have gone from the desert to the settled [lands,
Hardly I think would they yield her to thee.

The Fed'ân were camping in the inner desert, when Nawwâf was visited by Saṭṭâm's messenger. In order to increase

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the distance between themselves and the Rwala, they left the desert, *rarrabow*, crossed the Euphrates, and encamped on al-Ḥâbûr, whence Nawwâf sent his answer, also in verse. Yet Sattâm got his Turkijje and was very happy with her.

Jâ râ'i-l-ḥamra šenûf
w-ḥelw šabṭat râseha
jâ mî ḥala' ḥebb al-henûf
w-mlâ'aben befrâšeha.

O thou who ridest the bay who always holds her head
Faith! pretty is the motion of her head. [high!
Oh, how sweet is the kiss of the smiling beauty
And the struggle in her bed!

Šenûf is a horse which habitually carries its head erect and breathes through its nostrils, even while galloping. *Ḥebb* means a kiss. "Kiss his hand! *ḥebb îdeh.*"

Ṣawâjeḥen w-al-ḫejl 'azzam
w-el'ja' račebna mâ nešûf
'âdâta :a ramja-l-muḥazzam
min šânak jâ-l-ṛarw al-henûf.

They cry alarm and the horses are shying,
And, as we rode out, nothing we saw.
Our custom is to strike down armed men
To please thee, our little gazelle, who smilest so prettily.

Ṣawâjeḥen are the sentinels announcing at the top of their voices that they have seen danger. On hearing these alarm cries, the horses begin to shy, pull at their halters, jump up, and try even with the forelegs fettered to run in the direction whence the alarm is heard. *'Azzam al-ḫejl*: the horses are shying, will not be controlled, *lâ tasṇed*. *'Azûm*: a shying horse, either a stallion or a mare. *Muḥazzam* is a warrior armed not only with a rifle and revolver, but also provided with plenty of cartridges, which he carries in one or two belts, one of them thrown over his shoulders and across the breasts. *Ṛarw* is a young gazelle; *henûf*, a young beauty with a pleasant smile.

[713]

Nešmijjeten ṭarčah lena
w-ḥelw ṛazzat 'âdaha

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malbûsaha rîš an-naʿam
w-mdellelen ḳaʿûdaha
rašûšaha damm al-ḥamar
w-al-bizr ṭalʿ enḥûdaha.

A beauty is leaning towards us,
And how prettily she stands up in her litter
In ostrich feathers dressed;
She rides on a camel with gay trappings.
Stained by red blood is she,
And her breasts appear like lead bullets.

A young girl, with her breasts bared, sits in a f
litter and during the fiercest fighting encourages her c
trymen to persevere. *ʿÛd* is the essential part of the li

Aškar ḏwâjeb ʿaḏḏabak
w-aṛwâk naḳḳâz al-ğaʿad
walad ar-radi lâ tâḥeḏeh
jiğîk miṯl abûh walad.

The one with his braids dyed blond is a hindrance to the
And he yearns for thee, he who often dishevels plaited h
The son of a degenerate thou hadst better not marr
Else thy son will be like thy husband's father.

[831] The *eben al-ʿamm*, or nearest kinsman whom it is
missible for her to marry, has a right to the girl since
has reserved her for himself, *ḥağğarha*. He is a hindra
to the girl, because he lusts, *ṛawa*, after her; *ṛawa* is n
sensual than *hawa*. *Hawjân* means an enamored one, w
ṛawjân is a man lusting for sexual intercourse. *Ğaʿad* is
plaited and combed hair, consisting in the case of a gir
kuṣṣa, or hair trimmed above the forehead; of *žiḍle*, s
braids made of the trimmed hair above the forehead; and
ḏwâjeb, long plaits on the upper part of the head and ab
the ears. *Naḳḳâz al-ğaʿad* is a man passionate in sexual
tercourse, thus dishevelling the woman's hair. The Rwala
such a man *radi*, a degenerate, and dislike their daught
[827] to marry him. Just as he has inherited his bad quali
from his grandfather, her son would be like his father.
Rwala firmly believe that both good and bad qualities p
from the grandfather to the grandsons.

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Jâ-bu ṯemânen ḏubbalen wa-rhâf
ʿeḏâb liṭarrâd al-hawa
jâ žiḏleten riš an-naʿâm erdâf
jelʿab beha ṣafž al-hawa.

O thou with eight teeth fine and small,
Which so torment him who is given to flirting!
O braids above the forehead, as thick as the ostrich's feathers,
With which nothing but a strong breeze can play.

Ṯemân are the four lower and the four upper incisors. The finer and smaller, the prettier they are. When they are shown by a smiling beauty, the passion of amorous men is inflamed to a high degree. *Ṭarrâd* is a warrior who, circling on his mare, attacks the enemy with the one aim of defeating them. No sooner has he vanquished one, than he throws himself on another. *Ṭrâd* is a hand-to-hand fight, also a mock battle in which the struggles of a real battle are imitated. It is often performed in honor of an esteemed guest. *Ṭrâd al-ḫejl* has the same meaning as *leʿeb al-ḫejl*, mock battle, cavalry play. *ʿArâẓa* has nothing in common with *ṭrâd*. In *ʿarâẓa* the warriors defile, one by one, before the standing chief, assure him of their fidelity, and by uttering their war cry raise one another's war spirit. He that devotes much of his time to love affairs also resembles a *ṭarrâd*, because, having gained the victory over one beauty, he leaves her in order to win the favor of another. The feathers on the hips of an ostrich are the thickest. A beauty's *žiḏle* should, likewise, be so thick and heavy that nothing except a strong breeze could move it. *Safž* or *ṣalf* is a strong, sudden gust of wind.

[826 832] [541] [703]

Jâ ṣowḳ jâ daḳḳâḳ al-ḫejl
jâ merteči fowḳ al-ḥani
eḳhar ḳaʿûdak ʿenda rkûz al-ḫejl
abi-ẓmanak w-atrok hali.

O sweetheart mine who givest forth a fragrance as if pounding cardamom!
O thou who supportest thyself by the bent litter pole!
Stop thy camel at the cavalry assault,
For I will desert my kin to guarantee thy safety.

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539x When a migrating tribe is attacked by the enemy, t maiden should put both herself and her camels under t protection of her lover. *Hejl*, cardamom, is pounded and add to black coffee. He that pounds *hejl* in a mortar smells of The women like to sprinkle their hair and dress with it. the girl or woman sitting in the litter wants to observe bette she has to kneel and support herself with her elbows on t bent horizontal pole. The lover will neglect the property his own kin in order to rescue his sweetheart from bei robbed by the enemy.

Jâ bint wa' ḳalbi širebč
širb al-karâh bel-kâjile
jâ bint w-al'âh mâ-'refč
mâr enn ǧa'ûdeč mâjile.

O girl! Oh! my heart drinks thee
With the same lust as we drink fresh water during the greatest hea
O daughter! by Allâh himself, I know thee not,
But thy waving plaits caught my eye!

The warrior saw the long, loosened braids of an unknow beauty and began to desire her with his whole heart.

Er' aš-šalâfi dâre'ât
miṯl aš-šenâber bel-hawa'
'ajnêč jâ tirf al-benât
jâ lâbesen ṯowb al-ṛawa'.

Behold the blades of the decorated spears,
Shining in the air like a red garment!
Before thine eyes, O tender maiden
Who appearest in a seductive dress!

[832] The blood-stained spear blades remind one of the long red kerchiefs worn by dressy women. *Towb al-ṛawa'* is a woman's dress unbuttoned below the throat. It hangs loosely over the shoulders disclosing both the throat and the breasts. Thus the girl, who in a perilous fight encourages the men to persevere, arranges her dress.

Jâ hejh jâ râ'i-l-ḳa'ûd
wa-mḳalladen riš an-na'âm

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al-ḳalb min jammak jahûb
w-al-ʿajn ʿajjat lâ tanâm
min šânaha narḫi-l-ǧerîr
narmi-l-ʿaša laṭ-ṭejr šamâm.

O hail! O thou who ridest a camel
Adorned with ostrich feathers!
The heart in thy presence takes fire,
And the eye will not yield to slumber
To please her, we shall loosen the rein
And at once throw supper to the birds of prey.

The maiden accompanies the men into the fight so that they attack the enemy with greater courage. They will loosen the reins to allow the mares to bring them into the midst of the enemy more quickly. Only a coward will hold back his horse. *Šamâm* means to reach a thing as quickly as a scent reaches the nose.

Jâ bint jâ šaḳra-l-ḏwejbe	O maiden! thou with the fair plait,
jâ ʿajn zubejj an-nâzije	O thou keen eye of a gazelle!
al-ḳalb min jammak jahûb	In thy presence the heart takes fire
w-al-ʿajn mâ hi ʿâzije.	And the eye cannot become calm.
Hejjeh jâ-bu ẖeḏîle	Hasten, O thou with little braids on thy forehead!
waʾ hejjeh jâ-bu ṯemân	Hasten, O thou with eight teeth!
ente taʿṭîni-llâh	Thou wilt with Allâh pledge me thy faith,
w-ana-ʾṭič amân.	And I shall pledge to thee peace.

The youth promises the maiden he intends to marry that he will not maltreat her if she remains faithful to him. Conjugal fidelity can be assured only by the fear of Allâh, as no witness will ever come forward in a suit for infidelity. [837]

Jâ raʿjet al-awẓah	O thou who sittest on a camel pure white!
ʿan ar-radi šûmi	Turn away from a scoundrel
šûmi laḫu ṣita	And incline to Ṣîta's brother,
jâ zebn al-mazjûmi	A protector of the oppressed;
šûmi lwaǧh allâh	Bow to the face of Allâh [beset.
ǧallâj al-ehmûmi.	Who leads into safety one by troubles

Aḫu ṣita, Ṣîta's brother, is the battle cry of the Šaʿlân reigning kin and signifies any of its members. *Zebn* means

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539x him who grants a safe asylum to one imperiled by a blood feud or in battle, or to those who are persecuted.

Lâ tâḫedî alli šarad jâ ḥâjibe
w-al-mesč w-ar-rejḥân beḏwâjibeh.

Wed not him who cowardly fled, O maiden who loves a coward,
Even if his braids were scented with musk and other perfumes!

Ḥâjeb is a man who returned without booty. Such a one brings no luck, for he is predestined to evil, *fâleh šên*. He who runs away from fear deserves no booty, and the maiden who loves him is in danger of forfeiting all good fortune and is, also, a *ḥâjibe*. The messenger bringing the first report that the raiders are returning is pressed with questions: "A raid with or without booty? *al-razw ḥâjeb walla' ṣâjeb.*" Many young men plait their hair in the female style into *ḏwâjeb* and then scent it with musk and other perfumes.

[302]

Râ'anê jâ-bu zmejjen râ'anê
ḥatta tšûf muṭâ'anê
jâ-bu zmejjem lâwîteh
čejf an-neḏel mhâwîteh.

Look at me, thou with a nose ring;
Behold how I fight!
O thou with a nose ring which thou squeezest!
How couldst thou fall in love with a coward?

[301]

Zmejjem is a brass or silver ring, about one or two centimeters in diameter, worn in the left nostril. *Muṭâ'anê*, properly *muṭâ'anî*, means a contest with spears, a contest in general. *Lâwîteh* or *lâwâjteh*: she kept pressing the ends of the ring together to prevent it from falling out of the nostril.

Jâ šowk jâ zejn al-meḏâre'
jâ 'awd rejḥânen raǧûḥ
en mâ ḥamaîna lak mešâre'
w-allâh 'a.. ad-dire narûḥ.

O sweetheart! O thou with fair elbows!
O fragrant flower stalk to all sides inclining!
Know that if we hold not the watering places,
By Allâh! we shall move from our territory.

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The sleeves of the woman's dress, *ṯowb*, are very broad but comparatively short, leaving the arms bare up to the shoulders. *'Awd* is a stalk holding blossoms. If these are too numerous or heavy, the *'awd* bends with the breeze, *rağûḥ*. *Mešâre'* is the term for places with abundant and good water, where, besides watering the herds, the women also get all the water needed in the camp. In our ditty it is from the watering places in the Ḥawrân territory, south and southeast of Damascus, that Muḥammad eben Smejr wished to drive the Rwala. This territory is called *ad-dîre* by the Rwala.

Helli-ḏ-ḏwâjeb	Loosen the plaits of thy hair,
hellîhen	Loosen them,
w-ṭla'î nhûdeč	And uncover thy breasts
kellîhen.	Altogether.

Ḏwâjeb are a girl's hair plaits. She usually keeps them covered with her kerchief. *Hallat aḏ-ḏwâjeb* is said of a girl who has thrown the kerchief off her head and has unplaited and loosened her hair. This is done only by girls or young women accompanying the men into battle, *manâḥ*, or when an attack is made on a migrating clan.

Jâ ḥmûd ballâh ḥebbeni
lâ jâ ba'ad ḥebb al-banât
al-ḳarm marḫi râsaha
jowm az-zebâja mowžifât.

O Ḥmûd, by Allâh, I implore thee, kiss me!
O mayst thou yet kiss maidens!
A hero gives his mare's head freedom,
When all the plunderers have stopped.

The maiden wishes in the thick of the fray to inspire the youth Ḥmûd with a kiss and give him courage. A hero disdains, even when the danger is at its highest, to restrain his steed, but will let it gallop at will into the midst of the enemy although he sees that his comrades have halted and therefore will not come to his aid.

Ṛazw al-ḳarâri rawwağat
bên ar-rwejžed w-al-ğeẓî'
jâ ṛazweten mâ fawwedat
ajtam biha mâjet raẓî'.

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539* The raiders led by al-Ḳarâri were seized with giddiness
Between ar-Rwejšed and al-Ǧeẓî'.
Oh, that raid, from which there was no booty
And which made hundreds of sucklings orphans!

Al-Ḳarâri was a famous war leader of the Sba'a tribe. The Rwala once surrounded his troop between the valleys of ar-Rwêšed and al-Ǧeẓî'a and killed them almost to a man. *Fawwadat*: they captured; the booty is called *fowd*. *Rawǧe* is giddiness; *rawwaǧat*: they spin around as if giddy. The Sba'a, who raise great numbers of goats and sheep, are often derided by the Rwala as suffering from giddiness themselves.

Ǧawna-s-sbûr w-aḳraṭaw al-aǧelle
w-arčebaw 'alejhen ḳaffalaw kill mišwâl.

When the enemy's camel scouts came to us, [our youths]
tore from the mares their long blankets,
Mounted them, and compelled each beast to lift its tail
to evacuate.

Aǧelle are the blankets protecting the mares from cold. *Ḳaffalaw*: they played with the mares till they evacuated, for this helps them to endure more fatigue.

Jâ 'aǧǧaten abṛi taṣîr — O dust, I wish thee to rise,
jenǧâl 'an ḳalbi ṣada' — So the dirt flies out from my heart!
aḫu šâha jâ 'anân al-'azûm — Šâha's brother is a check rein
elja' ṭâla' as-surba ḥada'. — And on sighting a troop he intones the *ḥda'* ditty.

[721] Among the Šammar in al-Ǧezîre civil war once broke out, the 'Abde and Aslam tribes trying to destroy each other. At the head of the latter was the chief al-'Âṣi with his son, the war leader al-Hâdi, while the former were commanded by Ǧârallâh. Tîḥ, a son of al-'Âṣi, sought refuge with Ǧârallâh, with whose son, Abu Rweja, he formed a close friendship. The cause of the war was jealousy between the two tribes. The 'Abde had been despising the Aslam for a long time, and Ǧârallâh reproached al-'Âṣi with acting dishonorably and with having defiled his honor. These insinuations embittered al-'Âṣi's heart to such an extent that he finally declared war.

The chief and war leader of the Aslam is here called, briefly, the brother of Šâha, Aḫu Šâha, because he called the

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herds Šâha and used this phrase as his battle cry. *'Aǧǧe* or *'aǧâǧ* is dust and sand caught up by a whirlwind which runs like a pillar through the desert. Such columns of dust and sand often envelop the cavalry, whose horses raise up the dust with their hoofs. During a war, when troops cross the desert every day, the *'aǧǧe* also appears more frequently. *Surba* means here a hostile troop. The warriors galloping to repulse the enemy sing the ditties called *ḥda'*. Aḫu Šâha never waits for his comrades, but, intoning a *ḥda'*, attacks the enemy as soon as he sights him.

Li direten ǧennat an'âm I have a land, a paradise for herds,
met'eb w-sîb jurideha Met'eb and Sîb long for it,
aš-šeiḫ miṯlak lâ jenâm A chief like thee must not sleep,
jet'ab 'ala tabrideha. But strive to hold his property.

Al-'Âṣi, the son of Farḥân, inherited from his father as his private property extensive pastures irrigated by a live creek, where he kept large herds of cattle and sheep. Some time afterwards Ğârallâh attempted to take the pastures away from him by force, in which he was supported by the Šammar war leader named Met'eb âl Hadab and by his own son Tîḫ, who likewise were seeking an ally against al-'Âṣi. This chief was not a little vexed with his son al-Hâdi, who seemed to care for nothing. His reproaches having no effect, the disappointed father composed this ditty, which was sung by his followers to insult the young man. *An'âm* means cattle, especially cows and sheep. *Tabrîd*: to defend what belongs to one lawfully. Roused by the poem, al-Hâdi answered with another:

Dâri beha ḳablen teḳûl
binten taǧadded 'ôdaha
mifrâṣ bâlûd alli jerûl
beḥnûk min juridaha.

I knew [our land] before thou didst warn me,
It is like a maiden, always changing its holiday garb,
While I am like steel pincers which crush
In their jaws him who longs for it.

Dâri beha: I know of it. *Mâni dâri*: I do not know. ("*Mâdri-n-čân aḥad behal-ḳaṣr*; I do not know if there is anybody in this castle," remarked Ḥmâr on one occasion. "*Beh*, there is" was Prince an-Nûri's answer.) *'Ôdaha*: her holiday dress. The

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539k land renews its holiday dress owing to the constant irrigation which stimulates the growth and blooming of the vegetation. *Mifrâṣ bâlûḍ* are teeth forceps. Al-Hâdi means to crush, *jeṛûl*, in his jaws those who try to seize his land.

Jâ zejd ʿabde ṛarrabaw
oḳʿod taḥejzem lâ tanâm
ṛadaw bemnaffeš ḏerwateh
hadwân zejzûm al-ǧahâm.

O Zejd! the ʿAbde are encamped in the settled lands,
Mount, gird thyself, do not sleep;
They assailed him who is wont to unplait the hair on
The leader, the protector of deserted herds. [his head.

The ʿAbde camped in the desert between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris; the Aslam on the middle part of the Tigris, the numerous islands, *ḥawâjeǧ*, of which belonged to them. In order to humiliate the Aslam completely, the ʿAbde marched from the desert direct to the Tigris, *ṛarrabaw*, and attacked al-Hâdi. In the furious battle that ensued both al-Hâdi and Ǧârallâh were slain. Al-Hâdi wore his hair in long, thick braids, which he unplaited before every battle. *Ǧahâm* is an abandoned herd, to be captured by the enemy without fighting. *Zejzam* is equivalent to *ḥamaʿ*, shielded, protected. Zejd was al-Hâdi's little son, who remained hidden on an islet in the river, taking no part in the battle.

Abu rwejs ǧâ minneh mediḥ
w-at-tîḥ mâ ǧâ leh ḫabar
jâ waǧeh ḏîḥ mžâbel ad-duḫân
waš bik nâjem jâ ṛabar.

Of Abu Rwejs nothing but praise is told,
But of Tîḥ no news is as yet heard;
Oh, the face of a dog sitting by the smoke!
What art thou worth, who art wont to sleep in the dust?

After Ǧârallâh's death the command was taken over by his son Abu Rwejs, who soon distinguished himself and won the praise of every one who left his presence. But with the Aslam matters were worse. Al-Âṣi had died in the meantime, al-Hâdi had fallen in battle, his son Zejd was too young, and his brother Tîḥ, who stayed with the ʿAbde, cared for nothing but women. He used to loaf day and night in the women's compartment,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

seated by the fireplace where his wife was cooking their meals, not unlike a dog who lies down on the dust and ash heap and does not stir until his mistress is done with the cooking and throws bits to him. 539x

Lije ẓanwiten ṛaẓejtaha
min ʿoḳb aḫu šâha fesâd
beha zuʿejli w-ad-dawîš
w-ʿaẓejb ḫâl abûh wkâd
ǧâsi ḥadîdeh mâ jelîn
mâ leh ʿan al-fetna ǧelâd.

I have sons whom I have suckled,
When Šâha's brother's activity ceased;
Of them are Zuʿejli and ad-Dawîš
And ʿAẓejb, his mother's brother, for sure.
He is hard, his armor will not soften,
Nor will he ever brook any opposition.

When there was no one left in the chief's family to unite all the Aslam, the command was taken over by Nâjef az-Zuʿejli, ad-Dawîš, and ʿAẓejb eben Mowʿed, chief of the Ṣâjeḥ kin and a brother of al-Hâdi's mother. ʿAẓejb utterly crushed the opposition of the Aslam, inspired them with fresh courage, and avenged the death of his nephew. This ditty was sung by al-Hâdi's mother, who brought up the orphans Zuʿejli and ad-Dawîš, and also her young brother, ʿAẓejb. *Fesâd*, or *fâsed*, means a useless, impotent, or inactive man; *bêẓa fâsde*, an egg that was not fecundated; his sons are good for nothing, *killeh fâsed*; he is impotent, sterile, *fâsed*.

Jâ wanneti wannejtaha
baḳṣa-ẓ-ẓumâjer testedîr
ẓajjaʿet ṭejr al-ḥabâri
wa-ḳneṣet bel-farḫ aṣ-ṣaṛîr
lâ zâl rabʿi jarkebûn al-ḫejl
aṣ-ṣulḥ w-allâh mâ jesîr.

This is my lament with which I mourn
And which enters my innermost entrails,
I lost a hunting falcon for the ḥabâri trained,
And then hunted with only a young one.
As long as my comrades cease not to mount their horses,
By Allâh, there will be no peace.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539K *Ṭejr* is a trained falcon. *Ḥabâri*, bustards, are ash-gray birds, rather smaller than hens, distinctly clumsy in flight. A falcon trained to catch them is very valuable. A passionate hunter when losing an old falcon will not fail to get a young one and to start at once to train it so that he can hunt again. A passionate fighter does not appreciate peace, but seeks all the time for a reason to fight and to get booty. — This poem is attributed to the widow of the fallen al-Hâdi. He was her trained falcon, while Zejd is her young, whom she has not yet tried.

TREATIES OF PEACE

728 It is long before a chief decides to sue for peace. He can do so only when he hears from all sides that after all it would be better if both tribes became friends again. A request for peace is hardly ever refused. And yet Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân declined three times when Eben Meğlâd, the chief of the Dahâmše, sued for peace, because the latter had not ordered three clans of the Kwâčbe tribe, rebellious subjects of an-Nûri, away from his territory. The offer of peace either verbally or in writing is generally brought by a traveler, very seldom by a slave of the opposing chief. Such an offer is nearly always worded as follows:

"As is known both to you and to ourselves, our people attack yours and your people ours. Ours harm yours, yours harm ours. There is no profit in it either for you or for us. Why this constant injury? Are we not relatives? We do not want to fight you any more. From today we are your friends. All that has happened we have already buried. Decide as you like and then let us know. Greetings!"

The answer usually is: "After a thorough consideration of your offer we inform you of the great joy we feel because you desire our friendship. We do not reject it but must request that our enemies be not allowed to march through your territory to attack us from there, *lâ jetamaṭnâkom w-jaṛirû ʿalejna*. This much for your information. Farewell!"

To conclude peace in a solemn manner the prince rides with his suite to the chief of the tribe with which he wishes to be reconciled, or the latter comes to him, and they agree on all points. After the defeat of the Beni Ṣaḫr Prince an-Nûri rode with fifteen companions from al-Azraḳ to the camp

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of Eben Fâjez near Žerjet Abu Ğâber and remained there for thirty nights. One fat she-camel was killed in his honor every day. The peace treaty ends with the words: "Interred and buried, *ḥafâr w-defân*," or: "Interred and buried under a steep bank, *damdûm w-ğurfen mahdûm*; a steep river bank has fallen upon its shadow, *ğurfen inhadam 'ala ẓelleh*; no wolf will hurt the sheep any more, *mâ ḏiben ja'di 'ala-š-ša'*." 728

The chiefs then grasp each other's right hands and say: "I give thee Allâh and the peace of Allâh. And whoever would deceive thee, may Allâh deceive him! I give thee Allâh against all instigation and calumny. *A'ṭajtak allâh w-amân al'âh w-min bâḳak jebûḳeh allâh a'ṭajtak 'an al-mesmesijje w-al-maḥâči-r-radijje.*"

THE TRIBAL EMBLEM, ABU-D-DHÛR

The Rwala have no flag of their own. They go on raids without any special device; but when waging war, whether of aggression or defense, that endangers the whole tribe, they take with them a special kind of a litter, called Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab. This is perhaps the old decorated litter 'Aṭfa destined originally for the prettiest girl, who used to lead the tribe to the decisive battle. But there is nobody now who can remember that a girl has ever sat in it. The Markab litter (Fig. 59) is constructed of stout poles, the frame being about 90 centimeters high, 270 centimeters long at the top, and 190 centimeters long and about 50 centimeters wide at the bottom. All the poles are wrapped round with ostrich feathers; to the upper poles are tied 12 short pegs, *zerânîž*, with plumes of bent ostrich feathers, *ṛalab*. To be loaded, the Markab is placed in the litter called *ḥaraǧ*, and this is tied to a camel with ropes, *mečârîb*. The *ḥaḳab* rope is drawn through under the breast, the *bṭâne* under the belly, the *ṭafar* under the tail, and the *lebab*, twisted from variegated camel's hair threads, under the neck. The single parts of the Markab litter (Fig. 58) are called: *ḥaraǧ* (*a*), *'idân al-haraǧ* (*b*), *bdûd* (this because they rest on the cushion, *bedd* (*c*), *ḥoṣra* (*d*), *mibṭâḥ* (*e*), *ǧenûb* (*f*), *ǧerâjed* (*g*), *zerânîž* (*h*), and *ṛalab* (*j*). 726 728

The Rwala believe that the litter is called Abu-d-Dhûr, Father of Indefinite Periods of Time, because it is inherited from generation to generation, from age to age, *min ǧîlen ila ǧîl*, and that it will last forever. Al-Markab forms the visible 728 643

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

778 643 token of princely power, and therefore this litter remains in the prince's tent all the time, in the part of the tent reserved for the women; here it is guarded, day and night, both by the prince himself and by his slaves, against everybody and

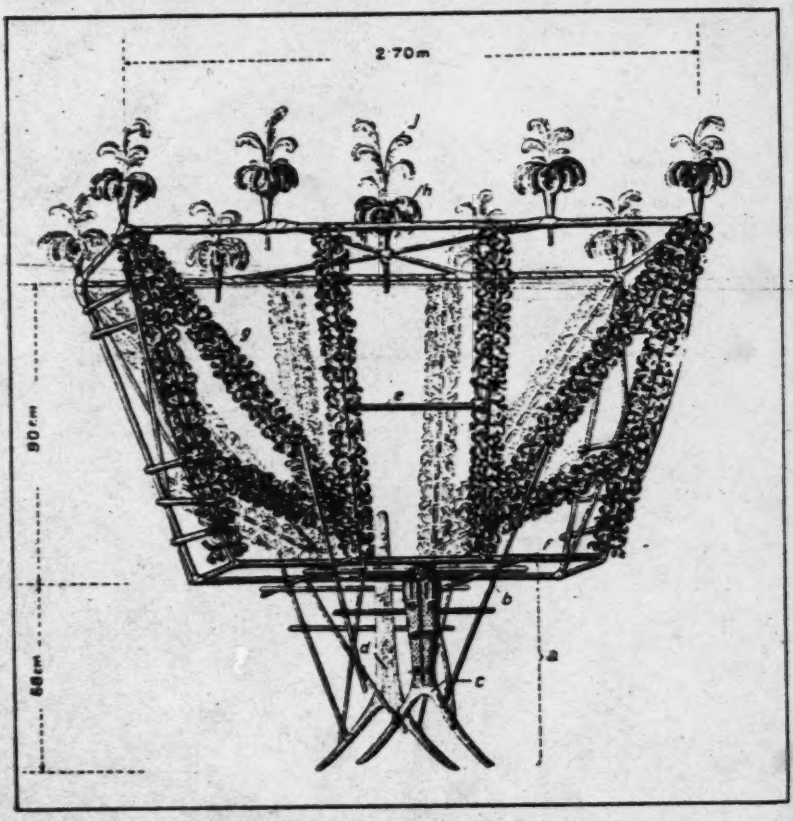

FIG. 58—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

especially against the prince's nearest kinsmen. For, if a revolt breaks out in the reigning kin against the prince, his opponents attempt first of all to snatch the Abu-d-Dhûr away from him, as he who has this emblem of the whole tribe in his possession must be recognized as their prince. Should the enemy at war with the Rwala succeed in capturing the Abu-d-Dhûr, the respect for it would be entirely lost, and the Rwala would not use it again. To carry this litter when the tribe migrates, an especially strong and docile camel, usually one

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of white color, is selected. The animal then, as a rule, walks between the laden camels and the herds, thus forming the center of all the migrating families.

When attacked by an enemy in force on the march, the

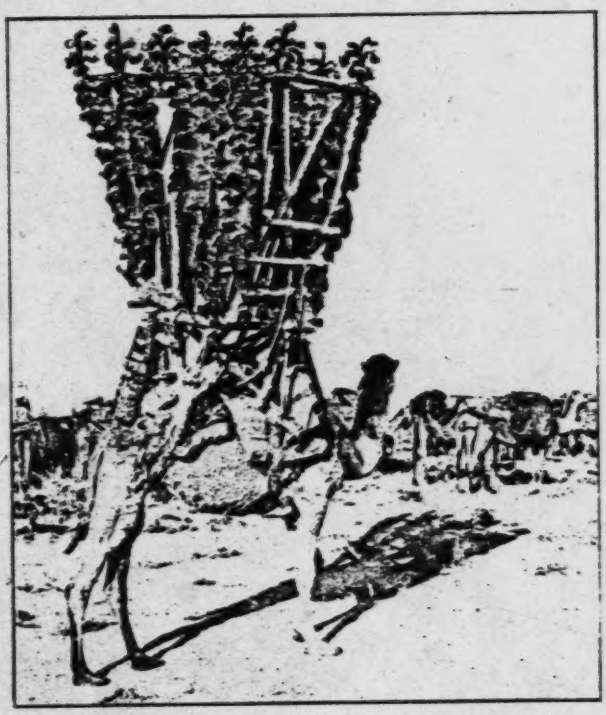

FIG. 59—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

best fighters at once surround the Abu-d-Dhûr to protect it. If it seems that the enemy will push back the fighters resisting his attack and that he will break through to the pack camels, the commander of the chosen troop of fighters (called *ṣanam*) who defend the Markab will take the camel carrying this symbol by the rein and lead her at the head of his troop against the enemy. The *ṣanam* are accompanied by girls seated on she-camels, who encourage the men to persevere, and behind them follow women who threaten to beat to death any one who deserts the Abu-d-Dhûr and flees. So far no enemy has succeeded in defeating the Rwala sufficiently to take the Abu-d-Dhûr away from them. The prince, it must be said, is very

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 prudent — the more dangerous the region through which the
778 tribe has to pass when migrating, or where it encamps, the nearer together stand the tents of the various camps.

When the Rwala engage in a war of *al-manâḥ* (see above, pp. 540f.), during which they move with all their herds and tents into an enemy's territory, the camel carrying the Abu-d-Dhûr walks at the head of the whole tribe, surrounded by warriors who follow every movement of the animal with the closest
787 attention. They believe that Allâh gives signs by means of
778 the Abu-d-Dhûr,[1] from which the outcome of the fight can be foretold. Sometimes, in a dead calm, the ostrich feathers adorning the Abu-d-Dhûr begin to flutter. At other times the litter leans to the right or left, but suddenly straightens itself, remains quietly upright, and then rocks a few times from side to side. All this, the Rwala think, happens by the power of Allâh, *ḳudrat min allâh*, who sends them help, *ʿenâje*, from al-Markab, where He is believed to seat himself for a while. The waving of the feathers and the straightening of the Abu-d-Dhûr are signs that Allâh has touched it with his power.

782 After each victory a camel is killed before the Abu-d-Dhûr in honor of Allâh. This is also done every year, even if the Rwala have had no war to which the Abu-d-Dhûr had to be taken.

NARRATIVES OF RWALA WARS AND RAIDS

539x 726x *Ad-Drêʿi eben Šaʿlân's Raid on the Ẓefir (Early Nineteenth Century)*

Of their wars and raids much was related to me by the Rwala.

In bygone days (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) they had a head chief named ad-Drêʿi eben Šaʿlân, who was celebrated for his bravery, *w-leh ṣit bel-furse*. Once, while encamped with his Arabs west of the Ḥawrân mountains, he heard of the defeat of Eben Haḍḍâl, the head chief of the ʿAmârât, who, while migrating with his tribe, was attacked by the Ẓefir chief, Sulṭân eben Swejṭ, and despoiled of all he had. During the fight one of the enemy's warriors had tried to seize a pack camel guarded by Ḥoṣṣa, Eben Haḍḍâl's daughter. She had defended her animal from the man as best she could, but when he struck her she had cried out: "Ad-Drêʿi, O my hero! *W-ṣâḥat ad-drêʿi jâ raǧǧâli.*"

1 [See pp. 571–573, cat. 116, — Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

As soon as ad-Drê'i in the Ḥawrân learnt that the girl in Irak had called to him for aid while in distress, he decided to help her, for he was a true man, *w-čân ja'edd min ar-reǧâl*. When the time for the departure of the Rwala to the inner desert came, *w-ṣâr wakt tešâriž ar-rwala*, ad-Drê'i issued an order to his people, *nebeh 'alejhom*, that nobody should lead his mare to the stud horse and that whoever happened to have a mare foaling should throw away her colt so that it might not impede the speed of the mares on the raid which they were about to undertake against Eben Swejṭ, because the cry for help emitted by Ḥoṣṣa must not remain unheard, *naḫwat ḥoṣṣa mâ trûḥ balâš*. The Rwala were encamped in the territory of al-Wudijân when ad-Drê'i set out against Eben Swejṭ. This chief defended himself as well as he could, but the Rwala attacked him like wild beasts, killed a great number of his fighters, *ḏabaḥow minch ḫilken 'aẓim*, and captured many of his camel herds. Among the warriors of the Ẓefîr tribe one Sulṭân al-'Amri especially distinguished himself by slaying many Rwala, but was finally struck down by the spear of Sulṭân eben Ša'lân. When the head chief Sulṭân eben Swejṭ saw his friend unhorsed, he threw himself, foaming with rage, on Sulṭân eben Ša'lân and killed him with his saber.

Some member of the Ẓefîr tribe sang thus of this fight:

1. *Sulṭân ḏabaḥ sulṭân bsulṭân jâ zejd*
   raǧlen ḏabaḥ bel-ǧâr ṭumma-starâḥi
2. *w-ḏabaḥ al-mšowbeš 'endana čenneh al-'îd*
   w-jinḳa' 'ala čabdi laḏîḏ al-ḳerâḥi.

1. Sulṭân killed Sulṭân to avenge Sulṭân, O Zejd!
   A man he killed for his neighbor and then was appeased.
2. Al-Mšowbeš he killed too, which was a great festival for us,
   And clear, sweet water filled my entrails.

This poem was sent by its author to Zejd eben Swejṭ, who had formerly been Sulṭân al-'Amri's neighbor, *ǧâr*. Sulṭân eben Swejṭ also unhorsed al-Mšowbeš of the Freǧe clan, who had raided the Ẓefîr frequently. There was much rejoicing among the latter tribe and also a festival, when the death of the dreaded raider became known.

1. *Al-bâreḥa mâ ḏiket nowm at-tarâčid,*
   w-'ajni sahira mâ terid al-marâḥi

539 x
726 x

2. *min ṛoll min jirsel čelâm at-twâ'id*
swêṭât kafwan al-luṛa w-al-mezâḥi
3. *jâ šejḫ mâ ḥenna ḥamâjel mesâ'id*
teḥarranna lannak same'et aṣ-ṣijâḥi
4. *embarže'in rûsena bel-bwâlid*
w-šilfen talâla' fowḳ rûs ar-rumâḥi
5. *w-tara ḥarbana jebḥal beh aš-šejḫ w-jiǧid*
w-jizell wâžef mâ jidûḳ al-bṭâḥi
6. *nežih min murr aš-šera' w-at-tenâ'id*
mašrûb ḥanẓal bâreṭîneh malâḥi
7. *ḥoṣṣa naḥatna bwazâjet ar-raǧâǧid*
'ajnêč jâ ḥoṣṣa nuhezz al-eslâḥi
8. *w-ǧîna čema-l-čitfi ṛada' leh senâžid*
w-aṭ-ṭard mâ bên al-žebûlên ṣâḥḥi
9. *w-jâ mâ ḏabaḥna min ḳrûmen w-wâlid*
wa-bṭûnana minkom bedûnen alḳâḥi
10. *hazzâ' ḫelli ǧabhateh tekred al-ḥejd*
w-al-ǧhejr 'ešši lâfeḥât al-ǧenâḥi.

1. Yesterday no refreshing sleep I tasted —
For mine eye wakened, not desiring rest —,
2. Thinking whom I should send with the promised words
To Swejṭ to compensate him for all the slander and sneers.
3. O chief! we are not of the Mesâ'id clans;
When we shall kick, thou wilt hear a cry of alarm.
4. Our heads are enveloped with steel,
And sharp blades glisten on our spearheads.
5. And, behold! in a war with us the chief must prove his worth
And remain firm, not lying on his belly.
6. We shall let him drink the bitterness of torments and miseries,
A cup of colocynth mixed with salt.
7. Ḥoṣṣa's war cry called us when we dwelt in Waraâjet ar-Raǧâǧid,
[Our answer being:] "For thine eyes, O Ḥoṣṣa! we brandish our arms."
8. And we came like small locusts who are visited by want,
And a fight ensued between two opponents.
9. Ah, how many we killed, both elders and sons,
Till our bellies ye made fat like those of the pregnant!
10. Hazzâ', whom I well knew, with his brow digs in the ground,
And al-Ǧhejr gives supper to those who wave their wings.

Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The poem was composed by a member of the Durmân clan in answer to the poet of the Ẓefîr who praised the reigning kin of Eben Swejṭ and inveighed against the kin of Eben Šaʿlân.

Verse 2, Swêṭât (Confounded) is an insulting nickname for the members of the Eben Swejṭ kin. 3. Mesâʿîd are breeders of goats and donkeys, *šikkâra*, in the Ḥawrân. The Rwala will remain calm before sneers and even thefts, but when they do decide to retaliate, Eben Swejṭ, the chief of the Ẓefîr, will soon hear the alarm cries of his followers from all sides. 7. Ḥoṣṣa, the daughter of the chief, Eben Haddâl, was with her people on the lower Euphrates, and when she called on the Rwala to help her they heard her cry as far as Wazâjet ar-Raǧâǧîd in the Ḥawrân. 8. *Kitfi* are young locusts not yet winged, which crawl on top of one another and can be held back by nothing, especially when they are hungry, *senâʿîd*. *Ṭard* signifies a man-to-man fight; *ṣaḥḥ aṭ-ṭrâd*: the fight developed. 10. Hazzâʿ and al-Ǧhejr, both of the Eben Swejṭ kin, fell in the war with the Rwala.

War Between Eben Šaʿlân and Eben Rašîd (Second Half of the Nineteenth Century)

It happened in the course of years, *w-čân min middat sinîn*, that Muḥammad eben Rašîd, also called al-Emîr, became the head chief in Neǧd. Allâh granted him many happy days, so that it seemed as if everything that he undertook would succeed. By wars and depredations he finally brought a number of Arabian tribes to obedience, *ṭawwaʿ al-ʿorbân bel-ḥarb w-al-aḥâjed*, and soon had no rival in the whole desert. The chiefs of the various tribes brought him mares, the envy of all, *al-ḫejl al-maṭlûba*, and female riding camels without blemish, *ar-rčâb al-mmuǧûba*, and they all sued for his protection and peace, *amân w-ṣulḥ*. The Rwala alone opposed him. Enraged at this, he organized a raid against them, attacked at al-ʿAǧrûmijjât the camp, *firḳa*, of the Ršûm kin of the Ḳaʿâʿʿa clan, and looted it completely, *aḫaḏhom aḫiḏaten ǧajjedaten*. Men, women, and children wandered round the camping ground disconsolately, *jetaḏâwaǧon ʿala-l-mrâḥ*. At that time Hazzâʿ eben Šaʿlân, the father of an-Nûri, was the head chief of the Rwala. His camp was four days from al-ʿAǧrûmijjât. On learning of the misfortune sent by Allâh on the Ḳaʿâʿʿa, he assembled all the Rwala warriors who were

539* 726* camping near him and went in pursuit of Eben Rašîd's raiders, *aṭlab ṛazw eben rašîd*. On reaching the looted camping ground, they found there some camel calves barely a few weeks old, searching for their mothers and wailing piteously. But, as their mothers had been captured, *ummahâtaha ma'ḥûḍa* (sic! not *mawḥûḍa*), the calves were threatened with death. This sad sight so moved the Rwala warriors that they paraded one after another before the young animals, *ḳâmow ja'reẓûn w-jintaḥûn 'enda-l-ḥejrân*, shouted their war cry, and encouraged one another with the words: "O thou little camel! listen to glad tidings of thy mother! *jâ ḥwâr ibšer bummak*."

During this parade, *al-'arẓa*, some of the warriors were so affected with pity that they dismounted and began to weep. Gnashing their teeth, they searched for the tracks of Eben Rašîd's troop, *ṭallabow bâṭâr eben rašîd w-ğmû'eh*, followed them, *masakow âṭârhom*, quickened their pace, and, overtaking them at the watering place of al-Ḥazel, attacked them at once, *arârow 'alejhom*. Chief Hazzâ' shouted to his men:

"This day is your day! You will either be killed or you will liberate your animals. *Al-jowm jowmkom amma tinḏabeḥûn amma-tfakkûn ḥalâlkom*. Leave nobody alive! *lâ thajjow minhom ḥaden*. Whoever amongst you shall flee today, will become a son of a slave; *alli jinhazem minkom al-jowm tarâh eben ra'ijje*."

The Rwala answered as with one voice: "A rider protecting 'Alja belongs to the tribe of the Rwala, *ḥajjâl al-'alja rwejli*," and instantly broke the enemy's lines. Allâh gave them victory. Eben Rašîd's raiding troop lost nearly a hundred men; the rest fled. Among the fallen were forty pairs of brothers, *'arba'în ğowz aḫw*. All the animals taken from the Ka'âb'a clan were recovered by the Rwala warriors, besides which they captured, *ksabow*, many horses and riding camels and won much glory by liberating their own she-camels and defeating the enemy, *tenawmasow bfikkat abâ'erhom*.

When Muḥammad eben Rašîd returned to his people, *jowm waṣal ila ḥajjeh*, and learned the extent of the losses the Rwala had caused him, he sent his friends, *ṣuḥbeh*, to the head chief, Eben Ša'lân, with the following message:

"I swear by Allâh, O Eben Ša'lân, that as long as I live, I will be thy comrade, the friend of thy friend and the enemy of thine enemy! *W-allâh jâ-ben ša'lân inni má-zâl w-ana mawğûd inni ṣâḥeb lak w-ṣiddîk ṣiddîk w-'adw 'adawwak*."

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In this manner Eben Rašîd and his tribes became the friends and comrades of the Rwala, just as if they were related by blood, *miṯl al-beni ʿamm*. Whenever Eben Rašîd wished to undertake a dangerous raid he asked the help of Eben Šaʿlân, *jistafzaʿ*, who then either went with him in person or sent him his Rwala with some other commander. All that was captured by Eben Šaʿlân he kept for himself and his troops, *kill min ksabeh leh eben šaʿlân ʿala ǧemâʿateh*. Eben Rašîd never shared with his ally, because Eben Šaʿlân was independent.

The battle at the watering place of al-Ḥazel is known among the Šammar as "the day on which the partakers in the raid who sat behind the camel saddle were slain, *jowm* (or *ḏbaḥat*) *ar-ridefa*."

1. *Al-bâreḥa bel-ḳalb waʾ min al-malâjel*
   w-sâbeži ḥaṭṭ al-ʿarač fowḳaha aʿîd
2. *jâ ḏen jâ ḥamlân ʿodd aṣ-ṣamâjel*
   eljaʾ ǧît sûḳ mečâṭṭerîn at-tanâšîd
3. *ḳil leh aḫu nûra-ḥad leh ḥamâjel*
   wa-ṭlabeh eben šaʿlân maʿ al-barârît
4. *eljaʾ ǧît ḫabra rmejḥ elja-d-damm sâjel*
   min ḥalḳ eben ḥaǧǧâǧ hw w-al-wâlîd
5. *w-čam menṣaben râseh ʿan al-maten mâjel*
   eljaʾ ǧît râs al-ḫerr miṯl ar-rwâǧîd.

1. Ah, yesterday [I thought I had] a red-hot coal in my heart,
   For a worn leather saddle was laid by Aʿîd on my unrivaled mare.
2. O unworthy one! O babbler! relate true stories,
   When thou comest to the market where men inquire for news.
3. Tell him [who should ask thee] that, though Nûra's brother has beaten the clans,
   Eben Šaʿlân did pursue him over the wilds.
4. When thou comest to the Rmejḥ rain pool there blood is streaming
   From Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ's and his sons' throats.
5. Oh, how many a grandee's head is rocking on his shoulders!
   When thou enterest the beginning of the al-Ḫerr valley,
   like a field with heaps of cut grain it will look to thee.

This poem was composed by Fahad eben Ṣbejḥ. The reciters were Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd and an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân. Eben

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539* 726* Rašîd, who calls his camel herds Nûra — whence his battle cry "*ân-aḫu nûra*, I am the brother of Nûra" — organized a great raid against Eben Ša'lân under the command of Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ, who succeeded in surprising some clans subject to Eben Ša'lân and in completely robbing them. The news of this disaster was carried by A'îd, a negro, who, borrowing a horse, rode in all haste to report it in all the camps. Our poet, Fahad eben Ṣbejḥ, was greatly affected by the news brought by A'îd, to whom he had lent his horse, yet he soon learned that the raiders had been at once pursued by Eben Ša'lân, overtaken by him at Ḥabra Rmejḥ at the beginning of the al-Ḥerr valley, and that, besides recapturing all the herds from them, Eben Ša'lân had also killed their commander, Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ, with his sons. Fahad therefore urges A'îd to spread this true account so as to give Eben Ša'lân the credit due to him.

Verse 1. *Al-'arač* is a poetical expression for a worn leather saddle. 2. *Ḥamlân* is a jester, a laugher, or babbler. *Ṣamâjel* means well-founded reports; *ṣâmel al-kilme*, the truth. A market place, *sûḳ*, is frequented by people from all sides who receive and spread news. 3. *Barârît* are desolate waterless regions. The negro Ḥmâr thought the proper spelling of the word was *barârîd*, meaning men armed with rifles. 4. *Ḥabra* is a shallow but often very extensive depression in a vast plain where the rain water remains for a long time. Ḥabra Rmejḥ lies near the beginning of the valley of al-Ḥerr. 5. *Menṣab* is a poetical expression for the lesser chiefs or their relatives. *Râseh 'an al-maten mâjel*, he received a saber stroke in his throat, which was not cut through completely, so that the head remained hanging by the skin of the throat and then fell on the small of his back, *maten*, from which it rolled to one side, *mâjel*. *Rwâǧid* are handfuls of cut grain laid crosswise.

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Wars Between the Rwala and the Beni Wahab (1850—1864)

The Rwala were wont to encamp for a few weeks every year in the fertile an-Nuḳra territory on the west slope of the Hawrân in order to supply themselves with all they needed during their ten months stay in the desert. But their encamping was resisted by the Beni Wahab, led by Eben Smejr, head chief of the Weld 'Ali. Long wars followed. The head chief, Muḥammad eben Smejr, succeeded also in winning to his side some

kins of the al-Eššâǧe'a clan, yet all the other tribes of which the al-Mihlef group was formed remained faithful to the Rwala, *mâ eḫtalafat 'an maṭabḍha dâjmen ma' ar-rwala bikill šaj'en* (sic! not *ši'*). Many years after, when both sides had lost great numbers of men, Muḥammad eben Smejr and Prince Saṭṭâm eben Ša'lân met, were reconciled, and both buried all the fallen men and the captured animals; *teḳâ'adow w-teṣâlaḥow w-teḥâfarow w-tedâfanow al-maḏbûḥ min ar-roǧâl w-al-ma'ḥûḏ min al-ḥalâl*. Consequently, neither of them could make any further demands, and they were forever relieved of all responsibility, *killeh hâfi*. The Beni Wahab as well as the Âl Ğlâs, to whom the Rwala belong, became and remained good friends, keeping faith with each other even under difficult circumstances, *bilhene' w-aṣ-ṣife'*. And so it is even today when an-Nûri is the head chief, *bšajḫat an-nûri*.

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1. *Jâ râčebîn kwâr ḫejlen meṣâ'îb*
   arba' abkâren ḥil min ẓummar al-hûǧ
2. *hejžen haǧǧât hejžen jesîǧen al-maṣâlîb*
   kejf an-nišâma zaffat al-heǧen bel-ḫrûǧ
3. *mirbâ'hen mâ ḫaddar at-tinf taṛrîb*
   wa-mḳizahen 'an ḫerwat al-roḥâ bel-mrûǧ
4. *jelfen labu farḥân 'aṭb al-aṣâwîb*
   en ẓâr bel-fersâx zâ'eǧ w-maz'ûǧ
5. *zejzûm ḥamlât wariden al-mzêrîb*
   en tarramow ḫemr aṭ-ṭwâži 'ala-ẓ-ẓûg
6. *ḳil ǧâ ḥmûd lâ jeǧnâk ṣafḳ w-'arâžîb*
   en entaṣar jeṭâk ber-reǧel bâbûǧ
7. *'endak ḫabar ba'adak 'an aš-šejḫ teṛrîb*
   w-riž az-za'al bên al-ḥarîbên mamǧûǧ
8. *ǧejṣal šaru'-l-ǧejdûr bemfâṣel an-nîb*
   w-ǧaṭwa'-l-ḥṣân mrâba' ar-râs hâjûǧ
9. *fejṣal elja' naṣṣab 'ala-s-sejf tenṣîb*
   w-mâ fuṭaḥ min ḳalb 'âžel w-ḫaǧḫûǧ
10. *ḫenna 'ala-l-ǧejdûr ḫakḳ w-tekâẓîb*
    w-'enda-l-ğlâs mudawwer al-ḫakḳ maflûǧ
11. *awlâd 'abdallâh balâḥom tarow ṭîb*
    emhârahom ṭow'ât w-arḳâbahom 'ûǧ
12. *w-jâ ḫejf jâ fakkâk 'ûǧ al-meṭâlîb*
    bên al-ḫwêlef w-as-serâǧîf mar'ûǧ
13. *jeṭni ḳafa'-hla-ẓ-ẓhûr al-maḥâdîb*
    w-ḫulli čema čabčen wara-ẓ-ẓân marjûǧ

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14. *akfow ma' hâk at-tlâ' az-zanâbîb*
w-hejl al-'alîž murabbaṭâten 'ala ğûğ
15. *w-'ejfe jeṣadder fâṭereh lel-ma'âzîb*
jedûr bel-belḳa' mḳâṣîd marğûğ
16. *jâ ḥejf 'ejfe mâ jedâni-l-lwâhîb*
ḥalḳeh wasî' w-laḳmeteh teḳil daḥrûğ
17. *w-'an sûḳ eben ša'lân ḥaḳḳ w-teḳâẓîb*
w-harrâğ tara min kaṭar al-herğ masmûğ.

1. O ye who ride in the saddles of stubborn she-camels,
On four young sterile she-camels, slender ones from al-Hûğ —
2. Like an ostrich they run, moving their upper parts;
The heroes can rest when their saddlebags are raised like wings by the riding camels!
3. In the spring they grazed southwest of at-Tinf,
But in midsummer at al-Mrûğ, far from the heat which brings bone diseases.
4. They will come to Farḥân's father, that tormenter of the wounded,
In a struggle of riders, when one vanquishes and the other is yanquished,
5. To the protector of loads, freighted for al-Mzêrîb,
When the redcaps fix the day of complaints.
6. Say: "O Ḥmûd! he surely will reward thee with cuffs and kicks,
And, if victorious, will tread on thee as on a slipper.
7. Thou must know what it means for thee to be far from the chief and what to be near him,
Also that the spittle of anger has long ago been spat out between the fighters."
8. Fejṣal bought al-Ğejdûr with the help of those with worn teeth
And of a few rutting stallions with their square heads.
9. Firmly did Fejṣal grasp his sword by the handle,
Oh, how terrified was the heart of the cautious and the incautious too!
10. We are entitled to al-Ğejdûr both by right and by possession.
And the Ğlâs think one who seeks his right is already vanquished.

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11. 'Abdallâh's descendants, behold! have recovered from their illness,
Their young mares obey and their men turn round [on the command].
12. Oh, shame! that solver of the most intricate disputes
Was wounded between his left shoulder blade and his [first rib!
13. He that protected the bent [fleeing] riders
Was deserted like a wether left behind by the flock and dying of the *rowğe* disease.
14. They fled through those narrow gullies yonder
And today keep their horses, fed only from food bags, tied up at al-Ğûğ.
15. 'Ejfe with his old she-camel searches for a host,
And in the land of al-Belḳa hands around pots of whey diluted with water.
16. Oh, shame! 'Ejfe goes no more near the flames of war!
His throat is so widened that his mouthful is like a bundle meant for a camel.
17. Concerning Eben Ša'lân's market place I declare that it is ours by right and possession;
He who denies it is for his babble justly despised by all.

The author of this poem was Jûsef eben Mğejd; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Meṣâ'îb* are camels which have been ridden only for a short time, *tawwah ma'sûfât*. They are very fast and equally disobedient. Al-Hûğ is the territory of the Šarârât north of Tejma, in which lies the watering place of al-Hawğa. The Šarârât breed riding camels of very slender build but of great endurance. 2. *Hejž* is a male ostrich. The camels run like a scared male ostrich; as he moves his wings and hips while running, so does a running camel move her shoulder blades, the small of the back, and the saddle frame. When a good riding camel begins to trot fast, both halves of the saddle bag rise, its fringe flutters in the breeze, and it seems as if the camel had wings and were trying to lift herself with them as the ostrich does. *Heğen* is a poetical term used instead of *rečâjeb* or *ḏelûl* in the singular. *Nišâma* is a word used of hardy and fearless young men. *Kejf* is always a substantive, *čejf* an adverb of interrogation. The faster the she-camel trots, the more comfortable is the seat of the rider.

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3. *Mirbâʿ* and *mekîẓ* are pastures in the time of *rabîʿ* and in midsummer. At-Tinf is an isolated hill in the northeastern part of al-Ḥamâd. In the time of *rabîʿ* the country around at-Tinf is covered thickly with grasses and perennials, but no spring water is to be found anywhere near. As soon as the rain water in the *ḫabâri* or rain pools evaporates, nothing is left to the Rwala but to depart. After this they stay for some time on the east or south border of the Ḥawrân, and in the *al-ḳêẓ* season they camp in al-Mrûǧ, on the numerous meadows south and southeast of Damascus. The abundance of spring water there protects the camels from the *al-roššš* disease which attacks the bowels, especially those of the young she-camels. 4. Abu Farḥân was a nickname of Muḥammad eben Ṣmejr, the chief of the Weld ʿAli tribe, his eldest son being Farḥân. The poet calls him *ʿaṭb al-aṣâwib*, a torment to the wounded, because the wounds caused by his blows were slow in healing. 5. The Weld ʿAli had undertaken to transport half of the supplies destined for Mecca and al-Medîna as well as half of the pilgrims from al-Mzêrîb, south of Damascus, to Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, or al-Ḥeǧr. Muḥammad eben Smejr guaranteed to the Turkish officials, who from their red tarbushes were called *ḥemr aṭ-ṭwâži*, redcaps, not only the safety of the transport but also its punctual delivery, *tarramow ʿala-š-šûǧ*. The latter word means a complaint or an accusation; *ent muṣawwaǧ* is equivalent to *ʿalejk daʿawa*: an accusation was brought against thee. For failing to keep to the time agreed on or for despoiling the caravan Muḥammad was liable to prosecution by the Turkish officials. He was therefore dependent on them, as if he were their slave. The second half of the transport and the pilgrims were convoyed by the Beni Ṣaḫr as far as Maʿân, from this place by the Beni ʿAṭijje to Tebûk, and thence by the Beli to Medâjen Ṣâleḥ. 6. With Muḥammad eben Smejr the chief of the Eššâǧeʿa clan, Ḥmûd eben Meʿǧel, originally an ally of the Rwala, was staying at that time. 7. The poet informs him that he should ponder upon the position he occupies with Muḥammad and also begs him not to be angry with him for taking this liberty. They fight each other, therefore the spittle of rage has already been spat out between them. 8. Fejṣal, the father of Ṭalâl and brother of Hazzâʿ, captured al-Ǧejdûr, a territory southwest of Damascus, with the help of hardy, old, and therefore prudent warriors and of a few bold young chiefs. *Me-*

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fâṣel an-nîb are she-camels, but also people whose teeth are worn down from long use. In the breeding of horses, stallions are sometimes used whose heads appear square when seen from the front. If sexually excited, such horses will shrink from no danger, like a young chief who desires to win the support of his clan. Should he not gain their full confidence and admiration, another chief will be chosen. 9. *Ḥaǧḥûǧ*, or *ǧâhel*, is a reckless, incautious person. 10. As a matter of fact the Rwala by occupying al-Ǧejdûr were the lords of that territory and thus had a right to it. Their opponents wished to have their right to al-Ǧejdûr reëstablished. The poet makes merry over the circumstance that with the Rwala and their allies, the descendants of Âl Ǧlâs, one who seeks his right, *mudawwer al-ḥakk*, is no more esteemed than one who has already lost it, *maflûǧ*. He that is strong will not allow his right to be taken away from him. He who seeks it, therefore, has lost it. The descendants of ʿAbdallâh, like Ḥmûd, joined the poet's enemies but owned their mistake, returned to their relatives, and obeyed them. 12. *Fakkâk ʿûǧ al-meṭâlîb* was the name given to Minwer âl Ṭajjâr, a celebrated judge, *ʿâreṭa*, who could solve disputes even after the most confused statements of the contending parties. After being seriously wounded by a bullet which entered his breast through his left side, *serâǧif*, and passed out above the heart between the shoulder blade and spine, he was shamelessly deserted by his own people. 13. He that singlehanded used to defend his cowardly companions, who bent their backs, *al-maḥâdîb*, with fright on their galloping horses, *hla-ẓ-ẓhûr*, lay there like a wether dying of the *rowǧe* disease. 14. The defeated enemy were afraid to let their horses out to graze; therefore they kept them tied up in the hamlet of Ǧûǧ, feeding them only from the food bag, *ʿâlîž*. 15. ʿEjfe, a relative of the poet, also went over to the enemy and after the defeat did not know how to become reconciled with his clan. In the territory of al-Belḳa he went from one host to another, where, after drinking himself, he had to pass the pannikin filled with *marǧûǧ* to the other guests. *Marǧûǧ* is a mixture of milk or whey and water. The poet scoffs at him because he, a Bedouin who would have considered it a disgrace to offer his guests anything less than pure milk, must now be satisfied with *marǧûǧ*. 16. ʿEjfe was tired of fighting, but would not return to his people, for he neither could nor would be content with a subordinate position.

539x 726x He is insatiable, *ḥalḳeh wasiʿ*, and needs a mouthful as big as *daḥrûǧ*, a large handful of rolled-up grass handed to a camel whole and also chewed whole by the animal but swallowed piecemeal.

1. *Jâ râčeben ḥorren eljaʾ ṣirt maddâd*
   nâb ad-defûf w-ǧâflen muṭrašâni
2. *jelfi lamḥammad mwârîṭ al-aǧwâd*
   waddak teḥûf leḥjeteh bel-ḥsâni
3. *ʿajjaʾ ʿan aṣ-ṣuḥbe jowm hije bel-awdâd*
   w-haḳwah keṭr melâṣef aš-šejšeḥâni
4. *ǧâb al-ʿasâčer min wara min ṛâd*
   w-ahl ṭwîl al-felǧ w-at-turkmâni
5. *w-lammaw bihom rabʿ min al-ṛoll zahhâd*
   w-mḥarremîn al-manʿ hw w-al-ḥesâni
6. *awlâd meǧles surbat al-ḥarb w-an-naḳḳâd*
   min fowḳ ḥîlen mukrammâten asmâni
7. *ekharaw hal al-ǧeḏʿa ʿala ʿujûn al-ašhâd*
   eljaʾ mâ tebajjen ǧamʿahom bel-bajâni
8. *raddaw ʿalejhom raddeten mâ beha snâd*
   wa-tsallemaw ḥaǧǧâǧ w-al-ḥammadâni
9. *w-awlâd ǧamʿân teḳel ʿaskar akrâd*
   min ad-damm bellaw jâbs al-murǧumâni
10. *bemḳarrarât ramîhen ṣowb beṣmâd*
    brâs al-ara w-en aḫṭateh bel-ḥṣâni
11. *w-eljaʾ ḳbaʿ neḳzaha tesned asnâd*
    w-mzajjenîn melḥahen bel-wazâni
12. *w-ǧmûʿ eben smejr râḥat šarrâd*
    jilemmahom lemm al-ʿamad beš-šebâni
13. *alli ḏubaḥ minna min wara-s-sejl min ṛâd*
    w-mowteh ḥaḳîḳ w-malfâh al-ǧenâni
14. *aḥadna meddâhom elfên baʿdâd*
    naṣfen fehîm w-naṣfehom ṭurṭumâni
15. *wêleh ʿala ḥokmeh maḇṭi w-al-aǧdâd*
    w-endeleh ber-rijâz al-amâni
16. *ḥârabt rabʿen jeẓtelûnak bel-abʿâd*
    ǧâsi-l-ḥadîd elja tmaʿʿenûneh lâni
17. *aš-šejḫ aḫu dinja furûsen w-muʿtâd*
    w-ʿaẓm alli jeṯḥaneh jowdaʿ marmahâni
18. *eljaʾ ṣijjiǧen ḥarab sbejbeḫ w-lâ ʿâd*
    wa-mtaḏajjeren teḳel ḳaʿûden ʿomâni

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19. *al-jâḳîn ʿağlen w-en baṛa minna-l-afwâd*
w-jowm enhazam erḥa-r-rasan w-al-ʿenâni
20. *dahžaw bujût al-ḥarb jâ ğdêʿ šarrâd*
ʿan wağh miṯl maʿâḳeb ad-dejdeḥâni.

1. O thou who ridest, when starting on a journey, a thoroughbred camel
With bulging hips, one that shies and is used to journeys hither and thither,
2. When thou comest to Muḥammad, the heir of noble heroes,
I desire thee to shave his chin with a razor.
3. He has refused our friendship while we were willing,
For he was dazzled with the flash from soldiers' rifles.
4. He brought soldiers from far away
With the dwellers in Hermon and the Turcomans,
5. And then near them assembled a throng of people burning with rage,
And both he and Ḥasan forbade pardon.
6. Sons of men of counsels, a fighting troop of prudent observers
On sterile she-camels, famous and fat,
7. Before witnesses drove back the protectors of Ǧeḏʿa
As soon as their troop came into view.
8. They returned to the attack, but the return did not maintain its course,
So that the Ḥağğâğ and Ḥamâmde kins yielded themselves.
9. Thou wouldst say that Ǧamʿân's sons were Kurdish soldiers,
So have they besprinkled scorched stone heaps with blood
10. By their steel rifles, each shot of which reaches its goal;
If not some agha's head, then it is his stud horse.
11. When their rifles' load is once fired, it will not depart from its course,
For they first weigh each bit of powder.
12. In quick flight Eben Smejr's troop vanished,
So that he gathered them up one by one as the tent poles tied with ropes are picked up for migration.
13. Those of our men who fell far beyond the creek,
Their death is atoned for, their pastures now are in Paradise.
14. For blood price we took two thousand lives,
A half of whom understood us, while half were barbarians.

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15. Woe to their chief for his reign! Long has it endured in his kin,
And he might peacefully rest in the irrigated depressions.
16. Thou hast begun a war with a tribe that can strike thee from afar,
As even the hardest iron yields when thou takest pains to bore it.
17. The chief, Aḫu Dinja, is accustomed to heroic deeds,
And the bone he grinds will change into flour.
18. As soon as the rutting she-camels dashed out, Sbejbeḫ fled, not to return,
And like an 'Omân camel forgot all prudence.
19. Al-Jâḳîn, too, hurried, though longing for our supplies.
And in his flight loosened both rope and rein.
20. On war tents they trod, O Ğdê'! when fleeing
From our face, just as the followers of the leader with the wild poppy-red tarbush.

The poet was Menzel eben Durmi; the reciter, 'Awde al-Kwêčbi, aided by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. Muḥammad eben Smejr was a dangerous enemy, *firz nedd*; tenacious in executing his plans, *lowlab miftâḥ*; of indomitable will, *râ' al-ǧer'a*; and greatly devoted to the Turkish Government. Unable to defeat the Rwala, he asked for Turkish help. This was given him by the commander of the Turkish garrison in Syria, who sent him a cavalry corps composed of regular troops and of Druse, Turcoman, and Kurdish volunteers. To avoid the threatening danger the Rwala asked some chiefs who were friendly both with Muḥammad and themselves to intercede, but they accomplished nothing. Then they sent imploring letters, *jetadaḫḫelûn 'alejh*, which Muḥammad answered with the threat that he would not become their friend before he had crushed them with help of the military. Fearing Muḥammad's strength, some of the Rwala's allies deserted them at this moment. Driven to desperation, the Rwala now sent their herds in charge of their wives and children to the inner desert, *šarraḳow*, mounted their camels, surprised Muḥammad and his Turkish auxiliaries, cut off their return into the settled territory, and drove them into the desert, where many of them perished either by arms or thirst.

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Verse 1. The male camel is wiry, but the she-camel more enduring. Sunk-in loins are a sign of exhaustion in a camel.

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One in that condition cannot be frightened. The fatter a camel, the more spirited and nervous it is. *Muṭrašâni* is a camel used mostly on shorter journeys. 2. Muḥammad eben Smejr lost his honor, therefore he should lose his beard too. To shave a man's beard is the greatest punishment among the Rwala. *Eḥsâu* or *ḥsâni* is a razor used in shaving, *jeḥassenû*. 4. Ṭwîl al-Feľġ, the High Mountain Covered With Snow, here means Hermon, inhabited chiefly by the Druses. 5. *Zaḥḥâd, ʿajjâf*, or *zaʿlân min ṛoll* are men who cannot show their hatred. *Al-manʿ* means pardoning an enemy who yields. The pardoned enemy, *manîʿ*, may remain in the tent until he has an opportunity to return home. Muḥammad and Ḥasan Pasha, the commander of the Turkish soldiers, declared that every Rwejli — even if he had yielded — should be slain. 6. The *awlâd meġles* were members of the Šaʿlân reigning kin. They with their servants and slaves were the first to attack the Ešâġeʿa, Muḥammad's allies, whose war cry was: *"Râʿ al-ġeḏʿa anaben meʿġel*; O protector of Ġeḏʿa, I am Eben Meʿġel!" 8. *Snâd* denotes a definite course. *Mâ bcha snâd* means either that the Ešâġeʿa were compelled to change their direction or that their counter attack did not meet with success. Eben Ḥaġġâġ and Ḥamâmde are kins of the Weld ʿAli, subject to Muḥammad eben Smejr. 9. Awlâd Ġamʿân was the name given to Daʿmân, Nṣejr, and Šlâš, the three heroes of the Šaʿlân kin. The Kurdish volunteers wore red waistcoats and red tunics. 10. *Makrûra* is a rifle of the original make, not an imitation. *Ṣoʿb beṣmâd*, direction to the goal; *ṣâmed ṣoʿb* signifies a marksman who hits his target, *mâ jiḫṭi*. 13. *Mouʿteh ḥakîk*: as if a sacrifice, *ḥakîka*, had been brought for him; his death is atoned for. In the opinion of the Rwala fallen warriors are allotted wide pastures in Paradise by Allâh. 14. *Turṭumâni* is a derisive name for the Turks, Turcomans, and Kurds, whose languages the Rwala do not understand. 17. Aš-Šejḫ Aḫu Dinja alludes to Nâjef aḫu Dinja, the first of the Šaʿlân family to rule the Rwala. 18. The camels of the attacking Rwala were so spirited that they neighed as if rutting and dashed at the enemies as if they were camels for whom they were craving. Sbejbeḫ was the commander of the regular cavalry. 19. ʿAġel al-Jâḳin, an officer subordinate to Sbejbeḫ, wanted to ambush the camels carrying grain and other foodstuffs to the Rwala before their return to the inner desert. A horse usually has two halters, one without a bridle, which holds the rope for

539x 726x tethering, the other provided with a bridle and rein. 20. *Dejdeḫâni* means the commander of the Turkish corps, whose military cap was as red as the wild poppy. Ǧdê' eben Mašhûr was a hero of the Eben Ša'lân kin.

1. *Jâ râčebîn kwâr ḥîlen 'arâmîs*
   jeṭwen mîd msâhamât al-ḥezûmi
2. *ḥîlen teḳubb 'ulûḳahen ben-nisânîs*
   rakkâbahen mâ jistaẓaff al-hedûmi
3. *hezzow al-manǧûb al-ḥarâr al-melâhîs*
   jibri-l-'alîl nisâ'ehen 'oḳob nowmi
4. *jimšen brâ'i mučajjes al-ḳâ' tačjîs*
   mamša ṭamânt ajjâm lel-heǧen jowmi
5. *ṣubḥ aṭ-ṭalâṭe brejb al-ǧân wa-blîs*
   temsûn bedijâr ar-refâḳa lezûmi
6. *w-elja' lifejtu mut'abîn al-maḥâmîs*
   jâ 'ejâl hâtow min ṛarâjeb 'elûmi
7. *telfi mḥammad sûr ḫejlen marâwîs*
   habb al-hawa lak jâ 'anân al-'ezûmi
8. *'an lâbetak ḳâmat teǧaddam 'an al-čîs*
   teḳazzebû lemḳaṭṭe'în al-ḥezûmi
9. *maṛâref al-aṭmâ' râḥû mefâlîs*
   min ẓarb šilf muǧarrebîn al-eḳrûmi
10. *čejf al-wahaḳ jarmi 'arûd al-ḳerânîs*
    mâ beh ḫlâf w-'âǧzen lâ jeḳûmi
11. *ḥâlow 'alejh w-neččes al-'awd tenčîs*
    jelûž bežijâ' aš-šeǧar teḳel bûmi
12. *ṣârat 'elûmeh kill abûha ḥamâlîs*
    jâ bint 'an miṭleh hâk al-jowm šûmi
13. *hâbb al-hawa jâ dâjerîn an-nwâmîs*
    bes'ûf nawlâna žuwijj al-'ezûmi.

1. O ye who ride in the saddles of sterile, hardened she-camels
   Which are running through distant, multicolored hillocks!
2. These are the sterile she-camels at whose fast gait the loads flutter in the air
   So that their rider cannot hold his garment with his foot.
3. Show a stick with its bark peeled off to thoroughbred and eager she-camels,
   Whose steady though fast pace will cure a sick man when he awakens from sleep.

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539x
726x

4. They keep to one course like one who has well surveyed a plain;
An eight-days' journey the riding camels make in one day.
5. On Tuesday morning — Oh, may both the ghost and devil vanish! —
Ye will be in the allied country where ye must spend the night.
6. As soon as ye, exhausted, reach those who are ever roasting coffee,
O sons! give them your wondrous news.
7. Thou wilt reach Muḥammad, that wall who protects the horse covered with sweat.
May the breeze of good fortune blow upon thee, O thou tried bridle!
8. And as to thy people, they began to crawl from a sack,
For ye must block the road against those who traverse the parallel hillocks.
9. They brought big spoons of greed but left empty-handed
Because of the spear wounds dealt by those who ride the fiercest riding animals.
10. What! will fright throw the molting genius?
Nothing has befallen him, and yet he does not rise.
11. When our warriors reached him the old man belied his former words,
Crawling like an owl among the roots of perennials.
12. His fame, no matter by whom spread, proved a lie.
O daughter of mine! beware of one who acts like him on that day.
13. May the breeze blow good fortune towards you who seek a good reputation
With the help of our Lord steadfast in his decisions.

Muḥammad eben Smejr, the head chief of the Weld ʿAli, became reconciled with the Rwala and promised not to allow the Fedʿân to cross his territory when bent on raiding the Rwala. It was then that he used the expression that he would hold both his people and the Fedʿân as if in a sack, *čis*, from which nobody would crawl out against his will. But soon after the Fedʿân did cross, while many of Eben Smejr's own men joined them and attacked the Rwala again. They were defeated and lost many of their own horses and camels, captured by the Rwala. In this raid the Fedʿân poet, Meḥdaʾ al-Hebdâni,

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539x 726x also took part; in some of his poems he had boasted of his bravery and threatened to humble the Rwala. During the attack Meḥda's mare stumbled, *taḳanṭa'at*, and threw him to the ground; fearing for his life, he crawled into the bushy perennials, where the Rwala youths found him. Prince Saṭṭâm, before whom he was brought, let him go free, after some sarcastic remarks. Muḥammad âl Mhelhel, one of the Rwala poets, then composed this poem and sent it to Muḥammad eben Smejr. I learned it from Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *'Arâmis* are she-camels which may be depended upon not to run away at night but to shift for themselves in the matter of food and to endure even the greatest fatigue. *Mîd* means far away, distant. *Ḥazm* is an elevation, rather low, but long, and dotted with many small hillocks. These *ḥzûm* usually run parallel. When shining in the sun's rays they assume variegated colors, white, pink, and bluish — whence their name, *msâḥamât*, multicolored. 2. The rider's garment is blown up when his camel walks at a fast pace against the wind. His cloak waves like wings, the long sleeves of his shirt fly up above his head, and its hem is lifted up, baring his legs to the knees. When this happens the rider wraps both the lower part of his shirt and the foreparts of his cloak around his legs and presses his knees to the camel in order to keep his garment close to his body, *jistaẓaff*. 3. If [492] the rider wants his camel to go fast for a length of time, he grasps in his right hand the small stick hanging by a band from his wrist and holds it straight out over the animal's head. With the motion of the camel the hand holding the stick moves too; this action is called *hezz*, rocking or quick pace. A *manǧûb* is a small stick from which the bark has been peeled off, no matter what its shape may be or what the wood it is made of. *Al-melâḥis* are she-camels which push to the front all the time, so that they must be held back with the stick. Therefore, *"Elḥas haḏ-ḏelûl*, make go back, push back this riding camel," has almost the same meaning as *"Eẓreb haḏ-ḏelûl*, strike, hit, this riding camel." *Nisâ'* is a long, regular pace, during which even a sick man can fall asleep. 4. *Heǧen* is never used in common speech; the poet thus prefers words which are seldom heard. A Bedouin would say *rečâjeb* or, in the singular, *ḏelûl*. 6. The Weld 'Ali are known to be great lovers of black coffee. They are said always to be roasting, grinding, and making coffee. 7. *Ḥejlen marâwis* signifies a

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troop of riders who, by exerting their whole strength, have come up with the enemy but are in danger because their perspiring and fatigued mares may succumb. Muḥammad eben Smejr interposed himself between the tired mares of his comrades and the enemy, like a strong wall holding back the hostile onslaught. 8. *Ḳâmat teǧaddam ʿan al-čis* is said of small animals held in a sack when they begin to stick out their heads and try to escape. *Žaẓẓebû lehom*: prevent them from returning, from reaching the watering place, etc. 9. *Eḳrûm* is a poetical expression for spirited mares and she-camels, which have not long been ridden. Only an experienced rider will dare to mount them, and even such a rider is often thrown. *Morrafa* is a big wooden spoon for taking meat from the kettle. The Fedʿân brought big spoons of greed expecting to capture many herds of camels. 10. *Žernâs* (pl., *ḳerânis*) are grown animals losing their hair, molting. Here the expression *ʿarûd al-ḳerânis*, a molting celebrity, means the poet Meḥdaʾ, whose head was almost bald and whose beard was very thin. *"Mâ beh ḫlâf*: there is nothing the matter with him, it is not so bad with him", is usually said after a sick, wounded, or injured person has been examined for the first time. 11. *Neččes tenčis*: by his cowardly behavior he belied all his claims to bravery; he proved them all to be idle words — and those who believed and spread them, spread lies.

539x
726x
415

Wars Between the Rwala and the Fedʿân (1877—1900)

The head chief of the Fedʿân tribe left this world, *dara*ʾ; and his son, Turki eben Mhejd, was recognized as his successor. He was classed with the heroic men, *čân jeʿedd min ar-raǧâl al-fursân*, and had great success on his frequent raids, *ṣâr baḫit bel-maṛârî*. Therefore he was famous all over the desert, *w-kad ištahar ṣiteh*. Once he attacked the Rwala. Saṭṭâm eben Šaʿlân, the prince of this tribe, was unwilling to fight him, *mâ hw bâṛi ḳwâmteh*, as he loved him, *čân leh ṭajjeb*, and was related to him, *nasibeh*, having married his sister, Turkijje, whom he kept with him all the time, *hi ʿendeh*. But Turki continued to provoke the Rwala incessantly. At one time he fell upon, *ṛâr ʿala*, a clan of the Kwâčbe tribe who were in the act of migrating, compelled them to construct a war camp, *nawwaḫhom*, and then fought them from morning until mid-afternoon, *ila-l-ʿaṣr w-al-kown ʿâǧed bênhom*.

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539x 726x After having killed some men and women, *zilm w-ḥarîm*, he robbed them of all he could, *aḫaḏhom*, and returned with the booty to his kin, *ila haleh*.

Shortly afterwards he undertook a new raid against the Rwala, assailed the herds of the Âl Zejd kin in the depression of al-Ḥôr, and took all their camels together with the ʿAlja herd, which consisted only of white she-camels, *maṛâtîr*, and which had belonged to them from ancient times; *isemha al-ʿalja w-hi maṛâtîr w-ẓedîme ʿendahom ʿala dawr ǧdûdhom*. These camels were then entrusted to the special care of ʿArsân abu Žiḍle. On his return Turki caught a member of the Rwala tribe, *ḳaẓab ḳaẓîb min ar-rwala zelema*, and, after learning from him where the prince was encamped, he let him go on his way but in parting shouted:

"Greet my relative Saṭṭâm and tell him that he should not allow himself to become a chief of nomads raising goats and sheep, because there is grass enough in al-Ḥamâd this year; *lâ jṣir šajḫ aš-šikkâra w-al-ʿešeb bel-ḥamâd wâǧed*."

The man gave this message to the head chief Saṭṭâm, *ʿallem saṭṭâm bhâḍa-l-ǧawâb*, who, enraged, instantly exclaimed:

"Oh, that man! Let Allâh decide between us and him. *Hâḍa-r-raǧǧâl ješûf allâh lena w-leh*. We did not want to fight him, but he provokes us all the time, *w-hw mubtalîna*. O ye Arabs, shoe your horses and get your supplies ready, for tomorrow we shall go on a raid as ordered by our highest commander; *jâ ʿarab eḥḍû ḫejlkom w-eḥsû zehâbkom w-henna tarâna bâčer meddâdeh ṛazw bamr al-hâdi*."

In that part of al-Ḥamâd called al-Herijjân the Rwala warriors sighted a herd of camels and also caught a man, to whom they said:

"Who are these Arabs? *minhom hal-ʿarab haḍôla*." His answer was:

"They are the Âl Mhejd, *haḍôla âl mhejd*."

Saṭṭâm then found a camping place for his men which was well hidden from casual observation and at night sent a special messenger, *naḍîr*, to warn the head chief Turki eben Mhejd in these words:

"We undertook a raid against ye, *ǧîna ḫenna ʿalejkom ṛazw*, not knowing that thou wert encamped on our route. Yet it has already happened, and now I cannot prevent my people from attacking you, *w-lâ atmakken aruddhom ʿan al-*

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ṛâra ʿalejkom. Think it over! If thou believest thou canst beat us, *tanṭeḥna*, behold! here we are, *hâ ḥenna ǧînâk*, but in my opinion thou shouldst make thine escape tonight, *wa-bšowfti ennak teheǧǧ bhâḍa-l-lejl*, and keep at a distance from us, *w-trûḥ ʿan waǧhana.* If thou dost that, we shall come tomorrow to thy camp, see that thou art gone, stop a while, and then return to our kinsfolk; *nančef w-narǧaʿ ila ḥalna.*"

After hearing the message Turki instantly said:

"God will help us against them, *ʿalejhom maʿânaten min allâh.* Tomorrow I shall fight them, *bâčer lâzem atnâṭeḥ maʿhom.*"

The next day the Rwala came like a whirlwind, attacked the camp, entered it, and possessed themselves of all the herds there, including the one called ʿAlja, which had been captured by Turki some time before. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen killed, as was the will of God, *bamr allâh*, the great chief Turki himself, and took his mail shirt, *ḍerʿateh*, his saber, and his mare, one of the fleetest of horses, *faraseh čânat min ǧijâd al-ḫejl.* Ḫalaf offered this mare to Saṭṭâm as a gift.

After Turki's death there broke out between the Rwala and Fedʿân a war so cruel that rider after rider fell off his horse, *w-ʿâd aṭ-ṭariḥ bênhom mâ jeṭiḥ*, and the members of both tribes were bent more on killing a man than on capturing animals, *w-ṣâr ʿenda-l-farîžên ḍabḥ az-zelema aḥsan min časb al-ḥalâl.*

Another version of Turki's death is as follows:

"It was at the time of abundance, when we set out against Turki eben Mhejd. He was generally called al-Haḍḍâb, meaning omnipresent, as never half a month passed without news coming in of a fresh attack by him on some Rwala camp near or far. Many a warrior was afraid of him, the women frightened their children with his name, and the herdsmen were reluctant to drive the herds out of the camps. Finally Saṭṭâm agreed with other chiefs to undertake a raid against him. Personally he liked Turki, for besides being a brother of his favorite wife, Turkijje, he was also a man of noble mind and honest. The Rwala, however, threatened to depose Saṭṭâm if he would not crush Turki once for all. We were encamped in aṣ-Ẓrejbînât at the time. Saṭṭâm set out for the decisive fight with six hundred riders on horseback and eight hundred on camels, he himself being the commander-in-chief. The Eṣâǧeʿa clan was led by Eben Meʿǧel, the ʿAbdelle by Eben Mǧejd, and the

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539K 726K Sirḥân by Eben Merdeğ. Ḥalaf âl Iḍen was Saṭṭâm's chief lieutenant. First we drank from the Ḥubejrat ad-Daḥal, then we found water at the head of al-Ṛadaf, crossed aṣ-Ṣwâb, and saw a small camp of the Ṣlejb, who told us that Turki was encamped at al-Heri. In al-Ṛadaf Saṭṭâm hired a Ṣlubi and sent him at night secretly to Turki. The Ṣlubi overtook the latter on the march to a new camp, made a sign to him to come nearer, and then gave him the message he was entrusted with:

'O Turki! I was sent to thee by thy brother Saṭṭâm. The Rwala are on thy heels, desiring thy life.'

"This enraged Turki to such an extent that he drew his saber menacingly and commanded the Ṣlubi to be gone, with the words:

'Leave at once! Let nothing of what thou hast now said to me escape thee. If thou utterest a single word before my people, I shall kill thee. Am I, from whom the Rwala have fled so often, expected now to run away from them?'

"Turki's slaves wondered not a little why he had his tent erected so far southwest from the camp.

"We first sent five of our scouts on horses, *'ujûn*, to examine the country ahead of us, but these turned back as soon as they caught a glimpse of the camp fires. In the morning we sent out others, this time on camelback, *sbûr*. One of them soon returned with the report that the enemy was withdrawing in a northerly direction and was being followed by the rest of our scouts. We moved after them in a leisurely manner. Not long after noon a second scout finally came with the report that they had put up their tents and that coffee was being ground at Turki's tent.

"At that moment every rider mounted his horse, grasped his weapons and ammunition, and waited for the command. The commanders pointed out the places where the riders of tired or overburdened she-camels, *radd*, were to wait, placed the other camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, between them and Turki's camp, divided the horse troop into two halves, posting one of them on the flank of the *ṣâbûr* to form the reserve, *čemîn*, while with the other they decided to attack, *ṛâra*. Then we attacked the camp directly. At that time the Âl 'Awâği clan was also camping with Turki, so we had at once several hundred riders against us. The fight of rider against rider lasted till sunset. Turki exhausted six mares during that time, his slaves chang-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

ing them at his command. An-Nûri was wounded and many other Rwala, and still the fight was not yet decided. Saṭṭâm was loath to call up the reserve, for he wanted it either to decide the victory or to cover the retreat. 539* 726*

"Finally Turki's mare was hit by a shot. In falling she pressed his leg to the ground, and, as he was clad in a mail shirt, he could not free his leg quickly enough and was stabbed by a spear twice. At that moment Ḥarrâf, Saṭṭâm's slave, sprang to the struggling chief in order to save him, pulled him from under the horse, and the women carried him into the tent, which was at once occupied by four of Saṭṭâm's slaves as guards against the Rwala, inflamed by the battle. Turki's fall having been observed and jubilantly announced by the attackers, the Fed'ân began to retreat but were intercepted by the reserve cavalry, while the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, sped to the camp to pick up both their dead and wounded friends. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who was left in charge of the camel riders, now reached the tent where Turki in the meantime was being cared for by Saṭṭâm himself, and was on the point of giving him the death blow but was prevented by Saṭṭâm, who threatened him with instant death should he lay a finger on his friend. Then Ḫalaf called on his camel riders to come and get their enemy themselves. In response all the Rwala — and there were some five hundred of them — surrounded Turki's tent, while Ḫalaf spoke to the prince thus:

'O Saṭṭâm! the Arabs do not fight on such conditions. Behold, we shall not ask thee again. I swear by Allâh, if thou dost not give way, thou wilt roll into thy grave. Canst thou not see that the muzzles of all the rifles are pointing at thee?'

"Thus coerced, Saṭṭâm turned to Turki with the words: 'Forgive, my brother, and may Allâh also forgive me. There thou seest how my Rwala obey me. O Ḫalaf, O thou rascal, sell me him whom thou wishest to destroy. I will give thee gold!'

'Away with thee, brother! Knowest thou not that an-Nûri has fallen, that Kurdi, Nâṣer eben Me'gel, and countless others also have fallen today?'

"Nodding to his slaves, Saṭṭâm then with them left Turki's tent, stricken with grief on hearing that an-Nûri and his brother Kurdi were among the slain. Kurdi was dead, but an-Nûri still lived and later fully recovered. After Saṭṭâm's

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539K 726K departure the enraged Rwala threw themselves on Turki and beat him to death. They captured all the herds and tents in the camp. Over thirty Rwala had fallen, and about a hundred were wounded. Of the fallen the hero Za'ejtel was the most lamented. They also lost twenty-five mares."

1. *Jâ râčeb alli mašīha rowǧ w-arwâǧ*
   ḥâjel ṭemân sinîn maḫlan ẓaharha
2. *ma' al-bejâḥa mašīha al-'aṣr dîflâǧ*
   wa-hmîme má 'omr al-mu'anna nazarha
3. *telfi 'ala meḥda' al-habâdîn ma'âǧ*
   w-ehči-l-'elûm alli bḳalbeh ḫabarha
4. *ḳelt ehwât ḳuṭne ḥârabûna belâ ṣwâǧ*
   w-ekfow bîikhen 'an mešâti dijarha
5. *w-al-'elem ṣâdež w-ṣâr len-nâs neǧnâǧ*
   w-mel leh ḫalîle 'âf raṣṣat ṭamarha
6. *w-aṭṭâm 'ajjaw beh maḫlin al-asrâǧ*
   w-kattaw 'alejkom biǧmû'en ḥadarha
7. *jâ ḥzejl w-allâh ḳâjem teḳel ṣejjâǧ*
   w-tḳawwedû serd as-salâjel beṭarha
8. *w-ḥîn az-ẓaha sawwaw 'ala-š-šejḫ semâǧ*
   bsaḥâbaten ḳeṭṭ al-ǧwâher maṭarha
9. *w-turki šallawh muḫlîn al-asrâǧ*
   min čaff ḳarmen šaḳlabeh min ẓaharha
10. *w-hâḏa-l-faḫar má hi b'ârîn behbâǧ*
    alli 'azal 'ejlâtakom 'an ḥadarha
11. *já ḥejf jâ-lli rab'ateh miṭl haddâǧ*
    bisjûfena w-ḥelw manṭar ḫemarha
12. *abkârana jâ ḥzejl min ra'jet al-ḳafr ṣejjâǧ*
    w-abkârakom jâ ḥzejl ter'a wabarha
13. *ekṭâ'akom 'an rûṭṭ al-ḫôr tin'âǧ*
    w-abkârana teḫoṭṭaha binaḥarha.

1. O thou who ridest a she-camel with a regular pace,
   A sterile one, whose back has borne no burden for eight years!
2. Over the plateau towards the evening she quickly trots,
   For, being fleet of foot, throughout her life she has never been urged on by any rider
3. Reaching that babbler, Meḥda' al-Hebdâni,
   Relate the tidings that he also well knows.

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4. I said that the sisters of Ḳuṭne attacked us, though not at feud,
And their riders came back with our fair camels from where the herds spent the winter.
5. That news was true, and men shook their heads about it,
And whoever had a wife ceased to press her breasts.
6. The throwers from the saddles would not obey Saṭṭâm
And rushed upon you like a rolling flood.
7. O Ḥzejl! by Allâh, Ḳâjem was like a rutting camel
And led a troop of fleet-footed mares in the wake of the captured she-camels.
8. Then when the dew had evaporated they prepared red dyestuff for your chief
In a cloud of dust, dripping with blood and amid the thunder of costly weapons.
9. A blow was dealt to Turki by the throwers from saddles,
By the hand of a hero who rolled him from the mare's back;
10. And it is this deed which brought glory, not the capture of she-camels in a rolling land;
This deed drove your families from the shelter of their tents.
11. Oh, shame on him whose followers were like Haddâǧ
For our sabers! and how glorious the dripping of their blood!
12. Our young camels, O Ḥzejl! grew gay with pasture which no one has touched,
And your young camels, O Ḥzejl! are eating off their own hair.
13. Your herds must not come near the *rûṭe* in al-Ḥôr
Whilst our young camels move thither.

The poet was Ḥalaf âl Iḍen eben Zejd; the reciters, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i and 'Awde al-Kwêčbi.

Verse 1. *Rowǧ w-erwâǧ* is a uniform, fast walk. For eight years the she-camels have neither been ridden nor used in carrying loads. 2. *Bejâḥa* is a plateau with a wide view on all sides. In the time of the day called *al-'aṣr*, mid-afternoon, when the sun is sinking to the west, the rider on such a plateau may be seen from afar; therefore he urges his animal, fatigued by an all-day march, to greater speed in

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order to reach the rolling country where he can prepare supper for himself and let his camel graze at will. *Nazarha*: he urged it to greater speed with the words *"Hejh! hejh!" Mu'anna* is equivalent to *ṭâreš, ṭurki*, a rider, a traveler. 3. Meḥda' al-Hebdâni, a Fed'ân poet. 4. The Fed'ân war cry is: *"Anaḫu ḳuṭne*, I am the brother, protector, of the Ḳuṭne!" as they call all their herds. *Eḫwât ḳuṭne* are the camels of the Fed'ân, who had attacked and captured many herds owned by the Rwala. 5. The news reached Prince Saṭṭâm, who was not in favor of making a raid in retaliation. This made the Rwala *neǧnâǧ*: shake their heads and criticize Saṭṭâm's love of peace. Public opinion proving too strong for him, Saṭṭâm had finally to declare a raid. 7. Ḥzejl ar-Ru'ûǧi and his brother Ḳâjem were Fed'ân heroes. 8. *Ḳešṭ* means the rattling of the falling rain and the rumbling of thunder. *Has-saḥâba leha ḳešṭ*: this cloud is bringing thunder and rain. 10. *Hebǧe* is a roiling country where it is possible to hide but also to be ambushed. In such a terrain the Rwala herds could easily be approached by the Fed'ân. After Turki's death the victorious Rwala threw themselves on the tents and looted at will. *'Ejlâtakom* are the Fed'ân women and children. 11. Haddâǧ is a famous well in Tejma, from which as many as eighty buckets of water are drawn at once. The Rwala sabers, in like manner, drew the blood of Turki's men. 12. *Al-kafr:* pastures which have not as yet been visited by anybody. The better the pasture the stronger becomes the sexual desire of both male and female camels in the second half of December and in January, and, as the retaliatory raid against Turki was made in February, the poet uses the words *šejjâǧ*, rutting, for both camels and she-camels. 13. Al-Ḥôr is a depression of some length in the center of the desert of al-Ḥamâd, overgrown for the most part with *rûṯe*. When they eat this the camels rapidly fatten. *Naḥar* is the part of the she-camel's breast directly under the throat. To say of a she-camel that she lays al-Ḥôr before her breast means that she goes directly there.

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Two years after Turki's death the Fed'ân tribe made a fresh raid against the Rwala. Allâh led them to a camp of the Šamlân kin, pitched, for lack of pasture, in a wholly isolated place at the beginning of the valley of as-Subîḥi in the district of ar-Rwêšdât. Far and wide there were no Arabs who could have come to their aid. The raiding troop of the

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Fed'ân numbered about 1200 men on horseback, while the warriors, *ṣanam*, of the Ša'lân kin had no more than 200 horses. Their herds were attacked and captured. As soon as the Fed'ân approached the Ša'lân camp, cries for help were heard, *w-ba'ad wağ' al-mufazze'*, and therefore the men of the Ša'lân kin mounted their horses and hurried after the Fed'ân. But the latter were much stronger numerically and, moreover, took up a position behind the herds captured from the Ša'lân, from where they shot one pursuer after another as they approached the herds; *w-hâhom ḫalken četir w-âḥedin aṭ-ṭarš w-'âzelin warâha w-jel'abûn ar-rafže ila-lli jelḥaḳhom min al-faz'a w-jarmûnhom.* Thus they avenged their great chief, Turki, rejoicing at the number of the Ša'lân kin they killed; *w-jestaddûn ṭâr turki w-ḳad istabšarû baḫd aṭ-ṭâr min âl ša'lân hâk al-jowm.* At last the Ša'lân warriors, reassembling, recognized that they were not strong enough to repel the enemy and that they were threatened with annihilation if they did not succeed in making their escape. Some cried:

"Let us return and defend our camp and ourselves. For we see that these men have captured our herds and are concealed among them, and that only a troop as numerous as they could free the herds! *Ḫallûna narğa' 'ala ḥemjâna lann ar-rağâl aḥadow al-ḥelâl w-'âzelin ḳafâh w-lâ jefukkah minhom illa ğmû' čiṭrhom.*"

Others again urged: "Let us attack them, happen what Allâh will; either these men will shoot us all and then take not only our herds but our horses too, or we shall free our herds; *ḫallûna nebî' 'alejhom w-alli 'end allâh 'endeh amma jarmûna ar-rağâl w-jâḫdûn ḫêjlna baṭar ṭaršana w-amma neffukk ḥelâlna min ar-rağâl.*"

This appeal was answered by all. Shouting with one voice: "The rider protecting 'Alja is a Rwejli, and I am 'Alja's brother!" they furiously attacked the enemy, poured bullets upon them in retaliation for the capture of their animals, and, killing many and chasing away the rest, freed their herds that very day. When finally the pursuers separated from the pursued, *infakk aṭ-ṭâred 'an al-maṭrûd*, the Ša'lân, returning with their recaptured herds, began to search for their missing comrades. Reaching the actual battle ground, *al-ma'âra*, they saw Ḳarrâf, the slave of Saṭṭâm, lying among the fallen. Ḳarrâf surpassed all the other slaves in generosity and bravery and was no less esteemed by the Rwala than if he

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539x 726x were a chief himself; *ṛarrâf w-čân jenûf ʿala čaffat al-ʿabîd bel-karam w-al-fursa w-hw ʿenda-r-rwala min ḥsâb aš-šujûḫ.* He had been one of the first to come to the assistance of the threatened herds. His horse, being hit by a bullet, stumbled and in falling pinned its rider under its body. The Fedʿân, to whom Ṛarrâf was known, stabbed at him as he lay under his horse unable to defend himself, slashed him with their sabers, and, as he remained motionless under their blows, thought him dead. But the Rwala found life in him yet, *beh rûḫ*, placed him on a camel, and brought him to his tent. Nearly all the fingers on his hands and the toes of his feet had been cut off, *w-hw muḳaṭṭaʿât aṣâbeʿ idejh w-aṣâbeʿ riğlejh*, and there was hardly a spot on his whole body where he had not been either stabbed or slashed. It took him three years to recover, but at last with the help of Allâh he could ride as before.

After Turki's death (1887) his brother, Ḥâčem, became the head chief of the Fedʿân. Once he assembled the warriors of the Fedʿân, ʿEbede, Ḥadedijjîn, and Mwâli tribes and decided to camp with them in the territory of the Ẓana Muslim. They pitched their tents in the neighborhood of the Weld ʿAli and al-Ešâğeʿa. Eben Smejr and Eben Meʿğel, the chiefs of the threatened camps, asked Eben Šaʿlân for help. Summoning the Arabs camping with him at that time, the latter sent troop after troop to the aid of his relatives, the Ẓana Muslim; *w-ğarrad ğurûd faẓʿaten liḳrâjebhom ẓana muslim.* These auxiliary troops, riding with the utmost speed to the tents of the Weld ʿAli, found the enemy encamped near by. The troop, consisting of Saṭṭâm's sons with their slaves and men, *surbat awlâd saṭṭâm w-ʿabîdhom w-zilmhom*, reached the camp of the Fedʿân tribe. Entering it, they thought at first they were in a camp of a Ẓana Muslim kin and were not a little surprised to see themselves assaulted on all sides by men on horseback, *al-ḫejl aṛârat ʿalejhom min kill ğâneb.* Recognizing them as their enemies, the Fedʿân, they considered their lives already forfeited, *ajesow min al-ḥajât*, knowing well that in the case of themselves and the Fedʿân no fighter would fall from his horse without being killed on the spot, *ʿâlemîn enn-aṭ-ṭariḥ mâ jeṭîḥ illa maḍbûḥ.* And, in fact, before they had got their weapons ready they were surrounded and summoned on all sides to yield. Then they were brought to the tent of the head chief, Ḥâčem eben Mhejd, where they ex-

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pected to be killed one after another. But Ḥâčem, recognizing them, fortunately remembered their mother, his own sister Turkijje, greeted them in a friendly manner, sent for a grown camel, and had it killed in their honor. Moreover he threatened to punish severely any of his men who should dare to insult them even by a single word. This generous behavior of their mother's brother did not fail deeply to impress Saṭṭâm's sons, apart from the joy which they felt at escaping with their lives. When this incident was reported to Eben Ša'lân, he ordered his auxiliary troops to turn back at once and threatened all who should do the least harm to any member of the Fed'ân. This again so pleased Ḥâčem eben Mhejd that he likewise asked both his men and his allies to return to their homes. But before they left he made Saṭṭâm's sons and their retinue mount their horses, restored all their arms, and escorted them part of the way so that they might return safely to their kinsfolk.

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War Between the Rwala and the Western Tribes (1902)

In 1902 the head chief Saṭṭâm eben Ša'lân was invited by the Turkish Government to visit Sultan Abdul-Hamid in Constantinople. When he had left home, the western tribes, seized by a desire for booty, began, although friends, *ṣâḥeb*, to attack Rwala camps. The worst offenders were the Ḥwêṭât, Šarârât, Beni Ṣaḫr, and their allied tribes, *w-min jetba'hom*. For instance, they captured herds belonging to the Rwala at al-Ḥaššâbijje and al-Ma'âṣer, the particular owners being the Nṣejr and Der'ân kinz of the Âl Mur'aẓ clan; *aḫaḏow ṭarš min ar-rwala min âl mur'aẓ min âl nṣejr w-min âl der'ân*. Finally the owners of the captured herds went in a body to the chief an-Nûri eben Ša'lân to ask his help. An-Nûri then had the following letters written to the chief Abu Tâjeh of the Ḥwêṭât and to Âl Ḥâwi of the Šarârât:

"Up to this day we and you have been friends. Attacks on each other are not allowed, because we are true friends and comrades. *Benn al-ân ḥenna wijjâkom ṣâḥeb w-lâ tğûz al-ṛâra bênna w-henna ṣiddiž w-rafiž*. We hope therefore that you will return, *te'addûn*, the herds you have taken from the Rwala. Should they attack you and take your herds let the despoiled parties come to us with a letter ând we will return their property to them at once; *w-enn lô lann-ar-rwala*

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râjerîn 'alejkom w-âḫḍîn lekom ḥelâl w-jeǧûna-l-manâḳiṣ w-ma'hom maktûb minkom ennana ne'addîha bawfa'. Do not believe that we would attack you treacherously! *naṣîr 'alejkom bebawḳ.* Brave men will not stoop to deceit, *w-al-bawḳ mâ hw šimat aǧâwîd.* Greetings!"

The letters were handed to the plundered Rwala to deliver. These poor wretches had to wait on the chiefs Abu Tâjeh and Eben Ǧâzi and on the prominent men of the Šarârât and Ṣḫûr tribes for more than sixty days, imploring that their animals might be returned to them, but they got nothing at all and came back to their kinsfolk much cast down. Not long afterwards these chiefs raided the Rwala again and in an attack on the Kwâčbe camp near Ḫabra Kraje in al-Ḥunfa took all their she-camels. Dlejmân aš-Šrejfi, one of the Kwâčbe chiefs, *min čbâr al-kwâčbe,* with an auxiliary troop composed of both Kwâčbe and Duṛmân warriors, pursued the attackers for some distance but was surrounded by them and killed with all his twenty-one comrades. When this became known to the Rwala camping in the district of al-Ḥunfa, they tied a piece of black tent canvas to the neck of a riding camel, *ḏelûl ḳalladûha šuḳḳa,* and sent her to an-Nûri eben Ša'lân who was at that time encamped in al-Ḥamâd.

As soon as the messengers arrived an-Nûri instantly ordered the tents to be loaded on camels and moved with all his people toward the territory occupied by the enemy, who were pasturing their herds near al-Brêṭijje in the valley of Feǧr, northwest of Tejma near the district of al-Ḥâlât. An-Nûri pitched his camp in the district of al-Ḥûl and sent word to the Kwâčbe and Duṛmân, who were then dwelling near the oasis of Tejma:

"Stay where you are! We have come to you and will secure your rights for you, *netaḳâẓi lekom min ḳowmkom,* if it be the will of God."

Following this message he approached them with his warriors only, at night found a concealed camping ground between them and the enemy, and issued this order:

"Drive your herds, *sarreḥow ṭaršKom,* in the morning to your right hand, in the direction of the enemy. They will assail them, will then be ambushed by us, and our rights will be secured, *netaḳâẓi minhom.*"

In obedience to this order the Kwâčbe drove their herds in the morning towards the place where the enemy was sta-

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oned. On sighting them the outposts of the latter reported 539x
their chiefs, who commanded their warriors at once to 726x
et out against the herds and to capture them. An-Nûri, who
as observing every move of the enemy, fell upon them sud-
enly from the rear as they passed his hiding place and with
is men began to slaughter them, *w-tewallûhom ḏabḥ*. Towards
oon about five hundred of the enemy had been killed. Only
small troop, *širḏimaten žalîla*, saved itself by flight but with
he Rwala in hot pursuit. The moment the fugitives reached
heir relatives, the tents were struck and loaded, but the Rwala
ushed in before they could remove anything and took many
f their tents, besides driving away a number of their herds.
t last night covered them all, *ḥâl al-lejl ʿala ǧamîʿ*, and the
ursuers became separated from the pursued. The Rwala
eturned home with a rich booty and the satisfaction of hav-
ng avenged their fallen warriors, *metaṭârîn bzilmhom alli-ḏabaḥow*.

As a result of this defeat the Ḥwêṭât, Šarârât, and the
mejḥ eben Fâjez clan of the Beni Ṣaḫr hurried their herds
s well as their camels carrying their tents to the Beni Ṣaḫr
erritory. There they explained what had happened to them
nd begged for assistance. The Beni Ṣaḫr, calling upon the
eighboring tribes to help them, *fazzaʿow kill ḥawâlîhom min l-ʿorbân*, collected a multitude, the number of which was known
o God alone, and erected a war camp between Umm al-ʿAmad
nd al-Libben, while in the meantime the territory vacated
y them had been occupied by the Rwala. The Rwala tribal
ymbol, Abu-d-Dhûr, was rocking on a camel ahead of their
irst column, the rest following in the customary order. The
wala also erected a war camp, but east of al-Libben. The
eni Ṣaḫr, who relied not a little on their great numbers,
houted so as to be heard by their adversaries that they
ould capture both an-Nûri and his Rwala.

It came to pass, however, that just at that time God
irected the steps of the head chief Saṭṭâm from the Sultan
n Constantinople to the camp at al-Libben, where the Rwala
elcomed him with boundless joy. Defiling before him one
fter another, *ḳâmat al-ʿarâžât ʿendahom*, they vowed to
ersevere and to revenge themselves. Both sides thus camped
or nine days in full view of each other, *w-dâmow ʿala hal-maâḫ metanâwaḫîn beni ṣaḫr w-ar-rwala tisʿat ajjâm menawwaḫîn al-kill minhom*, exchanging shots all that time. On the

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539K 726K tenth day they finally attacked each other and changed their position, and a day ensued for them on which even the hair of a boy just weaned might have turned gray, *ješîb al-aṭfâl*. The dust whirled up by the horses mingled with the smoke of the gunpowder, and a wild storm raged from early morning till almost the middle of the afternoon, *w-šubek ʿaǧâǧ al-ḫejl maʿ duḫân al-bârûd w-ṣârat ʿarṣaten ʿaẓîmaten min aṣ-ṣubḥ ila žerîb al-ʿaṣr*. God gave the victory to the Rwala. They overcame the multitude whose numbers none knew, threw themselves on their tents, and took them with all the furniture and supplies in them. In addition they captured several herds of camels and pursued the enemy till sunset. Then they returned to their tents, rejoicing over the victory. After a further stay of a few days near al-Libben they vacated the Beni Ṣaḫr territory and returned to their own lands.

After their defeat at al-Libben the Beni Ṣaḫr made continuous raids against the Rwala, oppressing their clans whose pastures were located on the border. Their commander, *ʿažîd*, was usually Ṭrâd eben Zeben. Fortune favored him, *mislaʿ w-ḥaẓîẓ*, and he was numbered among the brave men, *w-čân jinʿedd min ar-raǧâl*. And so it happened after a few years that he collected his fellow tribesmen and the strangers who used to take part in his raids, and surprised a small Rwala camp near a settlement in the vicinity of Eḏraʿât. The camp attacked belonged to the Swâlme clan, which was commanded by the chief Eben Ǧandal. Although he had received information of the impending raid, it was impossible for him to escape, and to get help was also out of the question, as there were no Arabs related to them in the whole wide neighborhood. Ṭrâd eben Zeben approached the Swâlme camp before sunrise, pitched his war tents, and harried the Swâlme till the afternoon. Yet whenever he attacked them, even penetrating into the camp, they ran out of their tents and beat the attackers back until they ejected them completely. Tiring at length of such attacks, *ṭâbat nafseh*, Ṭrâd retreated with shame, but afterwards, whenever he learned of some smaller Rwala camp, he surprised it and drove away all the herds found there. Finally God determined to humble him.

Ṭrâd eben Zeben attacked among others the camp of the al-Ḳaʿâʿa clan of the Rwala, situated near the head of the *šeʿîb* of Ṛarâjes. There were about sixty tents there. Capturing all their herds, Ṭrâd hastened with them to his kins-

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olk. But at that moment Allâh brought the Ša'lân kin, which 539x
vas migrating just then, across his tracks. The Ša'lân rec- 726x
gnized the tracks as made by a troop of raiders heading
ast against their fellow tribesmen and at once decided to
o in their pursuit, *aṭlabûh*. Following the tracks they kept
sharp lookout on all sides and were finally rewarded by
ighting at some distance the raiders, who were returning
vith a rich booty. Concealing themselves in a place favor-
ble for ambush, they waited for the raiders to come up with
hem and then attacked with such swiftness that, even be-
ore Ṭrâd and his men were aware of it, the Ša'lân both on
orseback and on camels were in their midst, *w-elja' mâ ja'-
am ṭrâd w-alli ma'eh illa w-al-ḫejl w-al-ğejš šâbakathom*, deal-
ng them blow after blow. Ṭrâd soon saw himself compelled
o abandon his booty and seek safety in a wild flight to the
vest. His losses amounted to eight hundred men, while the
a'lân, besides recovering the stolen herds, also captured many
he-camels and inflicted such a defeat on Ṭrâd as he had
ever met before.

Songs Composed on This Occasion

1. *Horren ṭaḳa' min râs 'âli-ṭ-ṭwîlât*
   leṣ-ṣejdet alli ḥaṭṭ ḫamseh warâha
2. *ṛaṭṭ al-maḥâleb beṭ-ṭenâd as-semînât*
   jim'al elja' mâ bajjen lwušwâha
3. *jâ ṭejr jâ ṭejr al-felaḥ w-as-sa'âdât*
   jâ-lli ṣujûden min ṛaḥâjel 'adâha
4. *ṣâd al-ḥwêṭi bes-sabab w-aš-šarârât*
   w-amma-hl ar-rî'ân ḫajjeb ṭanâha
5. *mar'ad abu tâjeh čeṭîr al-'ahâdât*
   w-alli mazz bel-bowḳ hâḍi ğezâha'
6. *jâ ḥarb mâ 'ajjent ḍowd an-nuṣejrât*
   sittîn lejle žâ'edîn ledâha
7. *w-akṭâ' der'ânen 'alejhen wasîmât*
   'ajjat 'alejhen lehîtak min reddâha
8. *al-bowḳ mâ hw lel-ağâwîd 'âdât*
   'ammâl râjâteh hedîmen lwâha
9. *low mahhalat leh lejâli ṭerijjât*
   'ešbet nefûden jowm jejbes ṭarâha
10. *ḥenna ntağawwad bel-ḥbâl al-žwijjât*
    be'zûz ğajjâb al-maṭar min semâha

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726ᴷ

11. *bes'ûd šejẖen mâ jidannež lidafsât*
w-lâ hw dnû' brarraten elja' leḳâha
12. *mâ hw ent jâ-l-bâjež želîl al-amânât*
aṛdatk nijjâten ba'îden hadâha
13. *w-eben ğrajjed min hal-mak'adijjât*
w-mâ ḥâsat aṣ-ṣafḥa le'ajnen ṭwâha
14. *w-amma sahağna ṭânijje w-awlijjât*
nadmaḥ w-mâr ehtejm jekaṭṭer 'ajjâha
15. *lâ w-allâh ḳowm mâ bha ṛabâwât*
allâh 'ala šihben tebâreḳ ḥaḏâha
16. *w-ğawkom ahl al-'alja medâlîh ṛârât*
miṭl as-saḥâb alli za'ûğen hawâha
17. *elja nšerow fowḳ al-mhâr al-ṛejârât*
teḳel šejâhînen aṭḥaṭṭaf ḳaṭâha
18. *al-ẖejl w-aṣ-ṣâbûr jimšen zâfât*
jitlen eben hazzâ' babjaz neḳâha
19. *šowḳ aṭ-ṭamûḥ alli tzahhat bḥaflât*
nešmijjeten bajjâm 'ağğat sabâha
20. *'âšat jemînak jâ ṣabijj al-ẖasârât*
ẖallat faḳḳâjedha 'ala min na'âha
21. *awda' lehom bemḥaraf al-ẖejl bâhât*
miṭl al-ṛanam jiṣderk lağğat ṭaṛâha
22. *wa' ḥelw dowğathom beṭârîf ḥâlât*
nâsen ta'îṭ w-nâs tûḥi ṛnâha
23. *w-twâzenat lalli ṛadow leh bdênât*
w-estadd bṣâ' al-'azîzi ḳaẓâha
24. *w-ṭâr aš-šrejfi ṣâr min fowḳ al-amjât*
lâtaw elja' mâ-n-nafs laḥazat hawâha
25. *jâ ḏîb jâ-lli bel-ẖala' tez'až swât*
allâh 'aṭa mâ trîd nafsak manâha
26. *bjowmen beh al-'arğa' teḏûḳ aṭ-ṭrâwât*
w-lâ teštahi al-ḳašra faẓâjel 'ašâha
27. *jâ šên ṣawwet les-sbâ' al-meğî'ât*
mâ zâl tabči kill 'ajnen šeḳâha
28. *bâlči tswi lak 'azâjem w-ḳâlât*
tğîb min hâḏi w-al-uẖra waṛâha
29. *markâz abu nawwâf zebn al-wenijjât*
mâkar ḥarâr w-'awwazat min ženâha
30. *jišda-n-nedâwi bel-ğenâḥên jâ fât*
ẖamm al-ḥabâri w-aš-šwijje ramâha
31. *aš-šejẖ ṭasseh bel-kfûf aṭ-ṭežîlât*
elja' mâ thajja-š-šowf 'ajneh 'amâha

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539x
726x

32. *w-jâ min jiwaddi lel-ḫreše ḫabârât*
w-illa-l-ḫafijje bajjenat min ẓaḥâha
33. *jâ ʿali mâ ǧannak ʿelûm aš-šemâlât*
nâsen teṛîr brejr raddat neḳâha
34. *ṣuḥbak ṣaḥîḥ w-ṣuḥob rabʿak ḥabârât*
w-ʿan an-neḳaʾ teḳmaḥ swâʿed alḥâha
35. *rmejḥ jesawwi leh maʿ aḏ-ḏîb ʿadwât*
jabṛi-ṣ-ṣalaʾ w-hw jinaǧǧes waṭâha
36. *w-al-fâjne bîʿât manîʿ al-ḥḳejšât*
ʿoḳob ṭalâṭ ajjâm jâ min sedâha
37. *bel-ḫaṣṣ abu ǧabha čebîr al-mṭejrât*
raǧlen labes min šuḳḳaten leh šarâha
38. *en selt* (sic) *ʿan waǧheh želîl al-mruwwât*
aṣḳaʿ min az-zeṛḳaʾ ʿala berd mâha
39. *alʿîn abu hâk al-wuǧîh al-mutînât*
miṭl al-harûm alli tbajjen ḫazâha
40. *bel-ʿawn labsaw min ṭijâb al-ḥabîbât*
killen šaraʾ leh bêrama w-ečtisâha
41. *w-abûk jâ jowmen ǧara lel-ḥwêṭât*
al-čabd beṣ-ṣâbûn ṛasel ṣadâha
42. *jabri swâhîč al-ʿaẓâm al-marîẓât*
low hw ʿalîlen jintaṣeḥḥ (sic!) *min balâha*
43. *w-en sowlefaw min jamm zowden w-naḳṣât*
ḳûr al-ǧerânijjât naššed ṣafâha
44. *aba-ṭ-ṭerâja jammakom kill mâ fât*
w-al-jowm mišší belḥa min ḫarâha
45. *ʿajjent rabʿan šarhabaw lel-ḥukûmât*
miṭl at-tjûs alli tḳarraṭ ḫaṣâha
46. *w-min baʿad ḏa jâ râčebîn ḫafîfât*
al-kill minhen mâ lahaǧha ẓanâha
47. *kizzû labu manṣûr minna salâmât*
beṭalḥijjeten jeṭreb laha min haǧâha
48. *čejf ent jâ šejḫen lena ʿoḳob ṛejbât*
ent aḏ-ḏeraʾ eljaʾ ṣâr ṣalfen hawâha
49. *jâkel bḫubzak wâḥeden jamm ḥowmât*
hâk an-nefûd alli četîren ṛazâha
50. *ent al-ǧelâba w-al-ǧelâjeb zaʿîfât*
jaʿîš râsak w-abu tâjeh fedâha.

1. A noble falcon flew down from the very summit of high mountains
After his prey at which he pointed his five claws;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x
726x

2. He dug his claws into fat shoulders
And pecked away till the entrails appeared.
3. O thou wild bird! O falcon, good luck and success to thee!
O thou who huntest the heroes of thine enemies!
4. He seized the Ḥwêṭi with good reason and the Šarârât, too,
And destroyed the desire for glory of those who live
5. Abu Tâjeh had torn up many treaties [in defiles.
And for his treachery received this reward.
6. O Ḥarb! hast thou not seen the herds plundered from the Nṣejr?
Why, for sixty nights they sat demanding compensation.
7. And the Der'ân herds, marked with their tribal brand,
Thou, bearded one, didst refuse to return.
8. Treason is not a custom among heroes,
He who makes treason his emblem has his flag torn down;
9. Even if he were granted moist nights,
He would perish like the Nefûd grass when its moisture
10. We are girt with stout ropes [dries up.
By the power of Him who brings rain from the heavens,
11. Led by a lucky commander who stoops not to baseness
Nor craves a thing by others lost which he has found.
12. But such thou art not, O faithless traitor!
Who didst conceive a plan hard to execute.
13. Eben Ğrajjed, too, was at those meetings
He and all aṣ-Ṣafḥa men, accursed be their dead!
14. For neither the second nor the first default did we regard,
Nor did we stir, but the Htejm continued their rascal deeds.
15. By Allâh! at last war began without further concealment;
May Allâh bless the gray riders under whose hoofs lightning flashes!
16. The owners of 'Alja came upon you, attacking swiftly as lightning,
Came as a dark cloud, the gale of which snatches up everything.
17. When they form a line attacking on young mares
Thou wilt say they are fierce falcons swooping on *ḳaṭa'* birds.
18. Riders on horses and camels fast are advancing,
Following to a fight Eben Hazzâ' whose honor is white,

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539x
726x

19. The darling of every woman desiring another husband,
whose beauty excels in the games,
And a heroine on the day when her goods are threatened by raiders.
20. Long may thy generous right hand live, O youth,
And may it leave thy slain foes to those who will lament them!
21. On the playground of horses he prepared for them beds
From which sounds as of sheep bleating come to thee.
22. Ah, how sweet was their confusion as they ran on the borders of the volcanic grounds!
Some mourned, some sang ditties.
23. What these borrowers had plundered was brought back,
And the debt — according to the verdict — repaid with a full measure.
24. By more than a hundred slain aš-Šrejfi was avenged;
Their throats they cut until all were tired.
25. O wolf! O thou who howlest with thy mates in the [desert!
Allâh gave thee thy soul's desire
26. On the day when a lame hyena might taste fresh meat,
And the shameless one cared not for the rest of its [supper.
27. O ugly one! call the hungry wild beasts,
As long as the eyes of the wounded weep for their torments.
28. Perhaps thou wilt send out invitations for feasts and good news
And thou with thy sister wilt offer them a choice.
29. At the head Nawwâf's father rode, protector of the weary,
Leader of a nest of noble falcons, of whom every one he raised is perfect.
30. He is like a falcon hunting in the time of the dew with open wings,
Catching the *habâri* and throwing their entrails away.
31. He struck the [enemy] chief with a heavy fist
Till his sight vanished and his eye became blind.
32. Oh, who is to tell the Ḫreše tribe what is said of them?
For what was secret is as clear now as when the dew has dried.
33. O ʿAli! hast thou not received tidings from the north
Of a people attacking without declaring war?

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539* 726* 34. Thy friendship is certain, but that of thy friends is to be scorned —
And, as they did not return the honor, they will not meet with success.
35. Rmejḥ like a wolf commits tricks befitting a foe.
It is said he is fond of praying, and yet he defiles the ground whereon he prays.
36. A shameful sin it is, truly, that the Ḥkejšât should sell the pardoned foe
After three days. Oh, who has done this?
37. As to Abu Ğabha, lord of the Mṭejrât,
He is a man dressed in black tent cloth, bought by himself.
38. If thou askest about his face, it has few noble qualities,
It is colder than az-Zerḳa' in the coolness of its water.
39. Cursed be the father of those unfeeling faces,
For they are like a pregnant girl whose shame is visible.
40. They deserve to wear their sweethearts' gowns;
Each to buy his own cloth and to sew a gown from it.
41. By thy father, the fate which the Ḥwêṭât met on that day
Washed away all filth from their stomachs with soap.
42. That day cured the pains of the sick bones, [disease.
And, no matter how ailing, every one was cured of his
43. When they gossip of the battle, one will claim some deed and another will deny it,
But we will ask witness of the rocky surroundings of Ḳûr al-Ğerânijjât.
44. We took vengeance on you for all that had happened;
Today you can besmear your beards with dung.
45. I sighted a company puffed up as if they would dictate,
And today they are like he-goats that have been gelded.
46. And finally, as to this poem, ye who ride on fleet-footed
To none of which a calf has yet clung, [she-camels
47. Hand it to Abu Manṣûr with our greetings
On a sheet of paper, to gladden him who will read it.
48. How farest thou, our chief, after thy long absence?
Thou art our shield against a strong cold wind.
49. With thy bread a man supports life near Ḥowmât
In that Nefûd where so much *raẓa'* grows.
50. Thou art the only source of gain, and poor are all the other trades.
May Allâh let thy head live and take that of Abu Tâjeh instead!

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During the absence of Prince Saṭṭâm in Constantinople the affairs of the tribe were administered by the present prince, an-Nûri eben Hazzâʿ eben Šaʿlân. It was at that time that the Beni Ṣaḫr, Ḥwêṭât, Beni ʿAṭijje, Šarârât, and Beli allied themselves against the Rwala and began to raid the camps of the various clans without a formal declaration of war. The *šujûḫ*, which means an-Nûri with the other members of the reigning kin, were camping in the interior of al-Ḥamâd. There they received almost daily messages from their despoiled, *manḳûṣin*, fellow tribesmen, who asked an-Nûri to have the stolen camels returned to them. An-Nûri, it is true, sent to all the chiefs of the allied tribes letter after letter, reminding them of the treaties and friendship existing between them, but all his efforts were in vain. The allies continued their raids and even killed in one of them Dlejmân aš-Šrejfi, commander of the Kwâčbe, with more than twenty of his comrades. Thus an-Nûri was forced to assemble all the tribes and clans subject to him for a defensive raid. In two months he attacked and looted, in revenge, several camps of the allies with a thoroughness intended to overawe the insolent enemy. The poet, Mešʿân an-Nṣejri of the Âl Murʿaẓ clan, describes this campaign in our poem, which he sent to Prince Saṭṭâm. To me it was recited by Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd and by ʿAwde al-Kwêčbi.

Verse 1. *Faḳaʿ* is a sudden quick movement of either a bird or a camel. *Ḥorr* is a noble falcon, the easiest to train for hunting. *Ḥaṭṭ ḫamseh warâha*: before the falcon overtakes his spoil he prepares or directs his five (claws) at it. 2. *Ṯenâd* are the fleshy parts of the breast, also shoulders. *Wuẖwaʿ*: entrails, intestines. 3. *Ṛalâjel* are the prominent fighters. A noble falcon will select for his game only the greatest heroes. 4. *Ahl-ar-riʿân* are the clans of the Beli whose territory is cut up by deep ravines and defiles, *riʿ*. 5. Muḥammad abu Tâjeh, the brother of the Ḥwêṭât chief, ʿAwde, made many treaties with the Rwala and their followers and yet broke them, tore them up, without declaring war. 6. Ḥarb who had a son, Muḥammad, was chief of the Beni ʿAṭijje. He captured herds belonging to the Nṣejr and Derʿân, members of the Rwala tribe, who negotiated with him for sixty days for their return but without success. 9. A traitor will never escape punishment, even if granted a respite of a few happy nights. 11. *Jeḍraʿ* is used of a dog carrying away something

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726* 539* from a tent other than his master's; also of a man who helps himself from a full platter set before others, without being invited. *Ṛarra* is a thing of value which some man finds and keeps. 13. Eben Ğrajjed is a chief of the Beni ʿAṭijje. *Ṣafḥa* is the general name of the territory where the Ḥwêṭât, Beni ʿAṭijje, and Šarârât like to camp, because it slopes both east and west. *Ṯwa*ʾ: the dead, buried. 14. Htejm is the term for the despised clans and tribes, thus also the Šarârât, of whom [714] the poet is thinking. 15. *Šihb* means attacking riders. Before the attack they divest themselves of their mantles and caftans, if they have any, entrust them to their returning comrades, *radd*, and are clothed only in their dirty gray, *šihb*, shirts. 16. Al-ʿAlja, the name given by the Rwala to their white camel herds. *Medâlih* or *marâḳiz*, swift, flashing, terms applied to the Rwala owing to their mode of delivering attacks in quick succession with the suddenness of lightning. Whenever the sky is enveloped in black clouds, a wind storm rises in the desert, carrying and driving dust, fine sand, and dry plants before it and overturning all tents the pegs and ropes [721 of which are not tight. 18. Eben Hazzâʿ — i. e. an-Nûri, the 577] commander of the Rwala — did not commit treason when he attacked the enemy. His face is without blemish, that is white. *Neḳa*ʾ signifies integrity, honesty, which both parties to a peace treaty have to maintain. The party declaring war, returns the integrity, *neḳa*ʾ, to the other party. He who attacks another without a declaration of war fails to return the *neḳa*ʾ to the attacked party, commits treason, and blackens his honesty, his face. 19. *Nišâma* are gay youths, young heroes; *neẖmijje*: a gay beauty, a heroine. *ʿAğğat* is used alike for a violent passion, for rising dust, and for an approaching throng of raiders. Ḥmâr maintained that *ṣabâha* meant "her youth," but ʿAwde pronounced it "*sabâha*." According to Ḥmâr the poet speaks of a gay beauty in whose veins was beating the blood of youth demanding its rights from another man, while ʿAwde maintained that the poet expresses his admiration for a beauty who seeks to save, either by hiding or by flight, the camels burdened with household goods, against which a raiding troop, *sabâha*, was advancing, *ʿağğat*. 22. *Ḥâlât* is an area covered with basalt and lava, where neither horse nor rider can move except by a few narrow paths. The Rwala drove the defeated enemy as far as the borders of such an area. The defeated mourned, the victors sang.

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28. The dry measure called *ṣâ' 'azizi* is larger than the common *ṣâ'* (nine liters). 27. *"Jâ šên*, O rascal!" an expression used in jest even with a person dear to one. By *sbâ'* are here meant all such beasts of prey in the desert as suffer most from hunger. 29. *Wenijjât* are mares, either exhausted or wounded and therefore in the greatest danger from the enemy. Abu Nawwâf is an-Nûri. Whoever puts himself under his command finds himself in a falcon's nest, as it were. 30. *Nedâwi* is the name of the largest species of hunting falcon, which discovers its prey even if it is concealed in the still dewy grass, while the other falcons begin to hunt only when the dew has evaporated and the game leaves its hiding places for the pasture. A *nedâwi* falcon feeds only on fat flesh, throwing away or rejecting the entrails. 31. *Ṭasseh*: it pecked at, struck, not with its beak like a true falcon, but with a heavy fist. *Thajja-š-šowf*: his sight left him. 32. Ḥreše is the name of a clan from the Ahl 'Îsa. 33. Eben 'Ali: the chief of the Ḥreše. Aš-Šemâlât, or Ahl aš-Šemâl, signifies the Beni Ṣaḫr. 34. *Ḥabârât* are jests or humorous stories which nobody takes seriously. 35. Rmejḥ abu Ğnejb eben Fâjez: the chief of the aṭ-Ṭûḳa division of the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe. 36. *Fâjne* means both infamy and sin. The Ḥḳejšât, a clan of the Beni Ṣaḫr, sold a *mani'*, pardoned one — i. e. an enemy captured in war who had asked for and received pardon — who had been their guest for three days. He had killed in a fair fight two brothers, members of the Beni Ṣaḫr, and the Ḥḳejšât sold him to the nearest relative of the dead men, Fanḫûr abu Ğabha, who avenged the brothers by cutting off his head. 37. *Bel-ḥaṣṣ* or *bel-ḥṣûṣ*: in regard to, concerning. If a man commits a dishonest act, a piece of black tent cloth is tied to a pole and the fact is proclaimed in these words: "This is the flag of So and So. May Allâh blacken his face!" Abu Ğabha deserves worse than a black flag; he should wear a whole suit of such black material. *Šuḳḳa* is a strip of goat's hair fabric of which the tents are sewn. 38. *Ṣaḳa'*: cold, cool, unfeeling, thus a man indifferent to praise or blame. 39. *Mutîn* means hardened, indifferent. *Harûm* is an unmarried pregnant girl, threatened by death if she has not been raped. 40. *Bérama* is a piece of blue fabric of which women's gowns are made. 41. The words *w-abûk*, by thy father, are used by the poet in addressing himself to his hearers. 44. *"Aba-ṭ-ṭerâja*, far be the revenge!" cries the avenger when he has fulfilled his

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539x 726x [765]

duty. *Miššú belḥa min ḫaráḥa*: besmear, befoul the beard with excrement in their sorrow for the loss of so many warriors. The mourning survivors throw dust and ashes into their hair and beard. 45. *Šarḥabaw*: they were puffing themselves up, posing. They wanted to dominate the Rwala, although they sent them presents every year as a proof of their dependence. 47. Abu Manṣûr is Prince Saṭṭâm, whose first-born, Manṣûr, fell in an earlier victorious fight. 48. *Ḏera'* is a tent wall hung up during a cold wind, *ṣalf*. 49. Ḥowmât is the name of sand hills in the Nefûd.

1. *Al-'elem ǧâna fowḳ maslûb al-kow'*
   'elmen jisažži leẓ-ẓamâjer neḳâwi
2. *eḫwât ref'a kill abûhom 'ala ṭow'*
   w-'ala-l-'ažid ji'âḳebûn al-aḥâwi
3. *bšilfen jiḳeṣṣ al-ǧeneb wijjet aẓ-ẓlow'*
   w-jiheff ṭalâṭ ek'ûb bḥadd ar-rešâwi
4. *alli baḫît bel-'aša' ǧib majḳow'*
   'azam 'ala-l-faẓla ṭamânin wâwi
5. *âl ǧenk ḳowṭar fowḳ ṭawîlet al-bow'*
   wa-šlâš čanneh min čemineh ḫalâwi
6. *rakaẓ 'alejh rîf al-ḫalâwi 'an al-ǧow'*
   w-ḫalla' ǧwâdeh tedhekeh bel-ḥaḏâwi
7. *hw w-al-faras behwâh ṭâḥaw 'ala kow'*
   w-ṭâḥ al-'aša' lel-'abd w-al-ʃedâwi
8. *wa' čam wâḥeden beḏwâbet ar-rumḥ mašlow'*
   'arašet râseh ẓaba'aten bel-ǧerâwi
9. *šlâš waṭaneh wa-rmejḥ mamnow'*
   min ḫarr ẓarben mu'aṭṭebîn al-aḥâwi
10. *ḫalaf alli 'ala-l-ḳowm ḳâṭow'*
    jizûd elja' čaṭrat 'alejh hal-balâwi
11. *rmejḥ ḫalla šlâš w-ar-râs maḳṭow'*
    'alejh rwejlâten jiriššûn al-ṭarâwi.

1. Tidings reached us by camels with muscular shoulders,
   War tidings piercing our entrails.
2. 'Sisters of Ref'a!' [they shouted], and all obeyed at once,
   To take vengeance on the leader for their wounded
3. With the spear blade that cuts through flanks and ribs
   And carries three parts of the shaft after it.
4. The wolf from Majḳû' gladdened with a supper
   Has invited eighty jackals to its remains.

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5. The Âl Ğenk fled on mares of paces a fathom long, 539k
And Šlâš alone of the whole reserve remained. 726k
6. He who protects a lone wolf from hunger rode at him
in a gallop
And with her hoofs made his steed stamp on him.
7. For the clash made both Šlâš and his mare fall to earth;
Thus a rich supper fell to the negro and servant.
8. Ah, how many men were thrown from the saddle by
the fringe-adorned spear blade,
Whose heads then the hyena left lying near al-Ğerâwi!
9. While Šlâš was trampled by mares, Rmejḥ yielded
himself
Because of the burning wounds [he received] from
those who dealt death all around.
10. Ḥalaf, he who splits the enemy's troops,
Fights all the more boldly the more numerous his
opponents.
11. When Šlâš by Rmejḥ was deserted, his head was cut off,
And a few Rwala sang over him with loud voice.

The poet was Faḥad eben Ṣbejḥ of the Rwala; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. Of the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe 280 warriors commanded by Šlâš eben Fâjez assailed the herds of the Zejd kin near the watering place of Majḳû' and, capturing them, fled in the direction of the al-Ğerâwi wells. When a herdsman brought the news of the robbery to the Zejd camp, its male occupants instantly mounted their horses and, uttering the war cry of their kin, "*Eḫuḍt ref'a*, Ref'a's sisters!" set off in pursuit, although greatly inferior in numbers to the Beni Ṣaḫr. Overtaking the latter at al-Ğerâwi, they recovered the booty, killed thirty riders, and also captured seventy mares and over one hundred camels.

Verse 1. *'Ešmen neḥâwi*, it was a war report, thus an honorable one, because the Rwala and the Beni Ṣaḫr had declared war on each other not long before. 2. *Al-eḥâwi* means the wounded or killed; also blows that cause death. 3. *Ku'ûb* (411) are the different joints of a bamboo spear shaft. *Reššwi* is the iron ring which grips the wood where the blade is inserted. To this ring a small wreath of either horsehair or ostrich feathers is tied. The spear was thrown with such force that the blade in piercing the side and ribs was followed by three joints of the bamboo shaft. 5. The Âl Ğenk is a clan of the

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539* 726* Druses; they were allied with the Beni Ṣaḫr. Šlâš eben Fâjez, the war leader of the Beni Ṣaḫr, with the Ǧenk had to protect the removal of the booty; but the Ǧenk soon deserted him, their example being followed by his own people. 6. *Rîf al-ḫalâwi 'an al-ǧow'* means here Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, the commander of the Zejd. *Ḫalâwi* is used in poetry for an old quarrelsome wolf which roams alone. *Rîf* is a territory with a good pasturage and abundant crops. *Aš-šera' rîf has-sene*: in aš-Šera' there is good pasture this year. In poetry *rîf* signifies a battle ground where a lone wolf finds plenty of food. 7. The loss of their commander disheartened even the last defenders of the herds and tents, so that both the slaves and the free servants, neither of whom are famous for their bravery, could throw themselves upon them without any fear for their lives and make their supper from the supplies abandoned by the Beni Ṣaḫr. 9. Rmejḥ eben Fâjez was a relative of Šlâš.

War Between the Rwala and the Muntifeż (1905)

One Sa'dûn al-Aškar, a member of the reigning kin of the Muntifeż tribe, was known both for his violent temper and stubbornness, *w-ċân meǧabber ṣâḥeb siṭwaten*. As he was the owner of a large settled territory in Irak, he was obeyed by a great number of warriors and had a flag of his own which he took with him on his raids, hoisting it over the camping grounds of the Arabs whom he had vanquished and robbed. To show that he was not afraid of revenge, he loved to remain sitting by the flag in such camps for two or three hours after getting possession of them.

Once he attacked, near Riǧm 'Alejje, the camp of the Duṛmân and Nṣejr, containing about ninety tents. After taking them he returned, victorious and without loss, to his kinsfolk. Next year Prince an-Nûri offered him his friendship, which was accepted. This gave the Arabs a feeling of security, *w-'âdat al-'arab je'minûn*. The chief Sa'dûn al-Aškar, however, understood little of good faith but much of treachery, *żelil al-emâne ċefîr al-ḫejâne*, and paid no regard to the treaty or the friendship, *w-lâ jeḳrobeh al-'aḥd w-aṣ-ṣuḥb*. His son Tâmer one day attacked the Ša'lân, who considered themselves friends of the Muntifeż, *mettaḥeḏîn ṣâḥeb*, near the head of the Fejḥân valley, about sunrise. Before the Ša'lân had shaken off their sleep the Muntifeż were looting the tents on the edge

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of the camp and beginning to drive the camels away. But the prince, *šujûḫ*, with his sons, the slaves of his household, and other men recovered the herds, pursued the attackers, and defeated them so crushingly that Ṯâmer barely saved himself with about a hundred riders on horses and camels, *w-lâ jeslam illa' ṯâmer ḥw w-ma'eh jeḏi mâje zelema mâ bên ḫajjâl w-rd'i ḏelûl*. This brave defense naturally pleased the Rwala greatly, filling them also with a sense of security, especially as some of the Ẓana Muslim tribes soon moved into that region and encamped close by.

But then they learned from some merchants that the chief Eben Meǧlâd had incited Sa'dûn against them. In order to subdue Eben Meǧlâd, an-Nûri eben Ša'lân assembled his Rwala and made a raid on him and his tribe, the Dahâmše, who at that time were encamped between Ṭe'es al-Ma'ejzîle and the *šeʿîb* of al-Ḥšejbi. But in the meantime something had happened of which the Rwala had not even dreamed. When Ṯâmer came back with his handful of men and told of his defeat, Sa'dûn al-Aškar became furious and forthwith began to prepare a war expedition against the Rwala on a large scale, summoning all the tribes which used to help him in his wars, *w-arsal 'ala' min jelumm 'alejh*, as well as the Ẓefîr tribe and marching out to punish the Rwala. On the way he also sent couriers to Eben Meǧlâd with the message:

"I am going to raid the Rwala. Get ready to join us, for Ṯâmer's fallen fighters must be avenged. Should any man of the Ẓana Muslim be amongst you, seize and fetter him to prevent him from warning Eben Ša'lân; *w-elja' mâ ôân 'endahom had min ǧwâref ẓana muslim okẓobûh w-orboṭûh en lâ ṭṭir ḫabr an-nadr 'end eben ša'lân.*"

By the will of God there happened to be a certain Rwejli in Eben Meǧlâd's reach. He was at once put in irons. The following day an-Nûri surprised Eben Meǧlâd's camp, capturing thirty-five tents and several herds of camels. In the confusion following the attack the imprisoned Rwejli succeeded in making his escape, still wearing his fetters, of which he was immediately freed by his fellow tribesmen who were plundering the camp. He wished to speak to Prince an-Nûri. When brought before him, he said:

"O an-Nûri, give up all desire for booty, return from this raid, and prepare with both thy kin and thy whole tribe for defense, so that al-Aškar may not laugh at our expense; for,

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726 behold, I listened to what Eben Meğlâd was told by messengers and was therefore put in irons. But today, during your 539 attack, my guards had regard only for themselves, *ballašoc bḥálhom*, and I escaped."

An-Nûri's fighters were very busy just then, *balšânin*. Some were still attacking, *jehâweš*, the defenders, others were securing their booty, *ječseb*. However, an-Nûri's mighty voice called them together and made them return to their kinsfolk without delay. Thus a still greater defeat was averted from Eben Meğlâd by the will of Allâh, for, if the prisoner had not informed an-Nûri of what threatened him, all the tents in the camp would have been taken and many more of his men killed.

But no sooner had an-Nûri withdrawn than a messenger came galloping to Eben Meğlâd with the order:

"By Allâh, mount, Eben Meğlâd, thou and thy warriors, your horses and camels, for Sa'dûn with his flag is approaching the Rwala!"

In obedience to the order, Eben Meğlâd and his troop instantly followed the messenger. When he told Sa'dûn about the attack which the Rwala had just delivered, Sa'dûn replied:

"Be comforted with what I shall now tell thee. Ye will get back the long-maned mares which the Rwala have taken from you, *'arâjef*, and yet more booty which we shall take from them. Only pray that they will not flee when they sight us. I have sworn an oath on my neck that I must catch an-Nûri even if I should have to pursue him as far as the Hawrân. My spear with my flag I shall stick into the ash heap of his fireplace where he makes his coffee, for the accursed an-Nûri thinks too much of himself and brags about the numbers of his warriors; *w-arkoz al-bajraḳ 'ala nṭîla delâleh bawn al-mal'ûm mesta'ezz wa-mtaḥažwi bḗiṭr eğmû'eh*."

Sa'dûn led more than three thousand warriors, the majority of them mounted on camels. His son Ṯâmer accompanied him but did not dare to come near his father, who could not forget his son's recent defeat. The warriors in an attempt to appease Sa'dûn sang the following ditty, *heğêni*:

Ma'na reṭêben ḥifâje
mangûbe min ḫijâr al-heğen
fowḳhen 'ejâlen finâbe
'an bejt an-nûri jenîeden

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jetlen sa'dûn abu ṭâmer
já ḫowḳ mulawlehat ar-reden
teḏina srajbet ḥa'âlen
bibwâz al-mawzer jel'eden.

With us are camels desired by all,
Chosen from among the best riding camels.
On them youths full of pride are sitting,
Who for an-Nûri's tent keep asking.
They follow Sa'dûn, the father of Ṭâmer,
The darling of her whose shirt-sleeves flutter.
Of Ša'lân's fighters a small troop will come to us,
And on hearing the Mausers' thunder our camels will stop.

Sa'dûn and his retinue took hunting falcons along with them, and as soon as they sighted a hare or a *ḥabâra* bird (bustard) they urged the falcon, *jeheddûn*, to pursue it and to bring back the game. Once Sa'dûn sent his falcon, *ṭajreh*, to get a hare. The falcon pecked the hare with its beak, and when the latter tried to hide, *teḥawmer 'anneh*, Sa'dûn said:

"Look, comrades, at that hare! It has crawled into the bush, as did Ṭâmer, my son, before the falcon which is an-Nûri."

Deeply ashamed, *ḫaǧel*, on hearing such words, *ǧawâb*, Ṭâmer said: "O God, bring us to the people we are seeking and let us not pass by them or allow them to hide from us! May my father then see them with his own eyes—either to overcome or to send me against them with an army still larger than this!"

When an-Nûri eben Ša'lân returned to his people he saw that the Rwala had built small camps scattered all over the country. He ordered them to gather together at once. Some days previous the Rwala had been joined by Eben Smejr and Eben Me'ǧel with their Arabs. An-Nûri and his allies moved to the valleys of aš-Swejf and al-Helâli, where owing to good rains there was abundance, *beha rubî'*, that year. Of the impending attack Eben Ša'lân did not say a word in order not to alarm them unnecessarily. The next night an-Nûri and his kin slept on the new camping ground, and with the appearance of the morning star they saw and heard group after group of Arabs fleeing with both tents and herds. On inquiring for the cause of their panic they were told that an unknown enemy was attacking the tents on the southern border

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726K 539K of the scattered camps, and as the neighboring Arabs were yet sleepy and ignorant of what was happening they sought safety, not in resistance but in flight. The rifles thundered, and shots were heard on all sides. The confusion grew. At that moment, before the sun had yet risen, Eben Ša'lân, Eben Smejr, and Eben Me'ğel with their slaves and warriors sprang to horse, dashing to the place where the sound of rifles and fighting could be heard. On coming near they saw a flag surrounded by a vast throng of men. It seemed as if the Rwala were about to perish, *ḫaribat žer'athom*. The enemy were pressing them back by degrees, had taken one camp after another, and had pulled down the tents. The women defended their property as best they could; many had been killed, but none would run away, and all heaped abuse on their retreating husbands and brothers. When the latter finally saw that even their women were resisting bravely, they declared: "We should rather be killed today than let our women be wronged by the enemy," and then a fight ensued compared to which all that happened before was mere play.

It was past noon and the fighting still continued. The victory had as yet inclined to neither side, for each opposed the other with obstinate fury. After noon all the Ẓana Muslim drew together, and at about mid-afternoon in a united body they attacked the enemy. Then it was that Allâh granted victory to the Rwala. Sa'dûn made frantic efforts to stop his fleeing warriors, but in vain. The Ẓana Muslim broke through the enemy's line, and whoever could not flee was killed. Finally the enraged Sa'dûn, who was beating the fleeing men with his camel stick to make them face about, had to flee himself. Besides he himself, his son Ṯâmer, and Eben Meğlâd only about thirty camel riders and twenty on horseback escaped, *ṯlâṯin ğelûl w-'ašrin ḫajjâl*. All the rest were slain, not one being made captive. The Ẓana Muslim captured all the riding camels, arms, white military tents, and everything of which the enemy had robbed them during his whole expedition. Sa'dûn returned, bowed down with humiliation, would listen to no one, would not speak, and behaved like one intoxicated. He had to recognize his defeat as a just punishment, for, having been a friend, he had turned traitor and was suffering the consequences.

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Songs Composed on This Occasion

1. *Ğatna ğmûʿ al-muntifež ḥina-l-aḏḏân*
   bebjâržen min kill bidden talâha
2. *ğawna ṣabâḥ wa-rčebow awlâd šaʿlân*
   ḥammâjet al-merkab ʿan alli bârâha
3. *aṣ-ṣubḥ ḥess al-mâṭeli čar-raʿad bân*
   w-rṣâṣaha ješda-l-barad min semâha
4. *kownen ğara mâ-zonn jeğra bel-akwân*
   w-aš-šejḫ nâf alli ḥazar milteḳâha
5. *jeḳṣer ğwâdeh let-tefâfiž nîšân*
   bjowmen behi (sic) -š-šerdân ḫallat nisâha
6. *edʿan beʿomr ḳawwâd al-aẓʿân*
   jâ sitr bîzen mâ jekaššef eḫbâha
7. *ḥall behom an-nûri čema-l-lejṭ zarmân*
   awwal ranam ḏib aẓ-ẓawâri raššâha
8. *čam sâbežen râḥat hafat mâ leha ṭmân*
   w-čam ṣabijjen râḥ bemilteḳâha
9. *ḏib al-ḫšejbi jağezẓ beh ḏib fejḥân*
   w-aẓ-ẓabʿat al-ʿarğa ṣaẓẓem ẓanâha
10. *jâ šejḫ jâ mečdi ʿaduwweh bel-akwân*
    aftar bkownênen w-bel-aškar ṭanâha
11. *waʾ nawwâf lel-ḫejl al-emtellât mizbân*
    zebn al-halib elja tğaḏḏat ḫṭâha
12. *jačseb w-jaḥḏi šowḳ majjâh al-ardân*
    šowḳ al-henûf alli-d-defij ḥašâha
13. *bint aš-šujûḫ w-ḏičrahom bed-dijar bân*
    wa-ṣḥûnahom mâ zalʾ jabṭel nedâha
14. *šeʿḫen walad šejḫen w-midbâs forsân*
    čam ʿazbeten ḥâlat ğmûʿak warâha
15. *w-ğaʿal as-saʿad bwuğûhakom kill mîḥân*
    bğâh al-mulûk w-ğâh bâni semâha
16. *jâ šejḫ jatlâk as-salaf hw w-al-aẓʿân*
    w-ṣubjân ještîn al-ʿeda min ṭanâha
17. *jâ šejḫ jâ meʿṭi ṭwâlât alʿ-arsân*
    w-taʿṭi-l-ḳoḥûm alli ṭṭûlen ḫaṭâha
18. *waʾ ṣejjûr mâ teʿraz ʿala kell diwân*
    waʾ ṣejjûr mâ nunšad ʿanneh waš ğezâha
19. *w-akûl ğatni min jemin eben šaʿlân*
    ḥamraʾ min ʿajrât nâbi ḳarâha
20. *mexuwwat ṛarib ad-dâr eljaʾ ṣâr šafḫân*
    tafziz rabda w-ṭâlaʿat min ramâha

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21. *low nimet nowm al-ʿajn jâ šejḫ mâ zân*
jâ šejḫ tabči kell ʿajnen šeḳâha.

1. A throng of the Muntifež came to us in the time of calling to prayers,
With flags which the members of each tribe followed.
2. In the morning they came, and Šaʿlân's youths mounted their horses
To protect the Markab from all who might desire it.
3. The rattling of Martinis rang out like thunder in the morning,
And their bullets were like hail falling from heaven.
4. A fight followed which, methinks, had never its like.
The chief did surpass all who came to the defense;
5. He held his steed up short as if a target for the shooters
On the day when the wives were deserted by the fugitives in cowardly wise.
6. Pray, O women, for long life to the protector of migrating clans.
Oh, that shield of the fair ones, who will not allow what they have concealed to be uncovered.
7. Like a raging lion an-Nûri dashed at the enemy,
As a wolf for blood thirsting he attacked the leading sheep.
8. Oh, how many unrivaled mares could go no farther and lost all value,
And how many youths died in that encounter!
9. The wolf of al-Ḥšejbi howls with the wolf of Fejḥân,
And the lame hyena feeds its offspring with blood.
10. O chief, thou who overthrowest thine opponent in battles!
Two fights thou hadst for breakfast, and a third thou hadst with al-Aškar.
11. Ah, Nawwâf, the protector of riders who are left behind,
Protector of long-tailed mares whose pace grew slow;
12. He brings booty and gives presents to the darling with fluttering sleeves,
The smiling sweetheart whose heart he warms;
13. She is a daughter of chiefs whose name is known widely
And whose large platters will never lack the dewdrops.
14. [An-Nûri is] a chief, a chief's son, and a destroyer of riders,
Oh, how many widows thy troop has left behind!

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15. Before your faces good fortune will bring success to all,
With help of the angels and of Him who built his heaven.
16. O chief, both warriors and clans migrating follow thee,
And the youths give the enemy that drink for which
he had much craved.
17. O chief, thou giver of she-camels with long reins,
Thou givest also long-paced fearless mares.
18. Ah, [this poem] should be sung at all gatherings!
Ah, they will have to ask us how it was rewarded.
19. Then I shall say: "From Eḅen Ša'lân came to me
A sorrel she-camel with bulging back and enduring of gait."
20. He who dwells far from his camp, seeks, when seized
by longing,
[To hasten home as fast] as an ostrich which has sighted
him who fired the shot.
21. Even if I slept, the eyes' sleep, O chief, will not bring rest,
For, O chief, every eye weeps for its own sorrow!

This poem was composed by Miz'el abu Za'êla from the despised Ṣlejb tribe and recited to me by the poet. He adapted his pronunciation to that of the Rwala, whose dialect he had perfectly mastered.

Verse 1. Among the Rwala there is no morning call to prayers, but the poet refers to it just as he used words which are not colloquial. The Muntifež carry a flag on all their raids, and the members of the tribes allied with them do the same. 2. Al-Markab is sacred to all the Rwala. Should they lose it once only, should it be captured by the enemy, they would not be allowed to procure a new one, the emblem of their unity would be lost, and they would think that Allâh had deserted them. 3. *Al-mâṭeli* is a rifle constructed after the Martini model. *Ješda*, or *ješbah*: he resembles. 4. By *aš-šejḫ nâf* is meant here Prince an-Nûri, who excelled all by his bravery and prudence. 5. *Tefâfiž* are sharpshooters, marksmen; *tefaka*, a rifle. 6. *Aẓ'ân* are the camels which carry the tents, clothing, household goods, women, and children of a migrating clan. One of the principal tasks of a chief is to ensure safety during migration, as it is then that the tribe is in greatest danger, for then the camels are most easily frightened. The main body of the warriors ride, as a rule, at the head of the clan, while smaller troops are interspersed among the herds of camels grazing along the way. When the

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484 221 539 726 enemy is sighted, the main troop advances to meet them. If the enemy is stronger, they are usually scattered, thus leaving the women and the laden camels without protection. The enemy then lead away the camels and search for what is most valuable, thus uncovering what the fair women have concealed. This was prevented by an-Nûri, who remained at the side of the deserted women. 7. *Lejṯ ẓarmân*, an angry, irritated lion, is another poetical expression. Like a bloodthirsty wolf, *ḏîb aẓ-ẓawâri*, did an-Nûri crush the attacking enemy, who were unable to resist him. 8. *Hafat* is said of a mare either utterly exhausted or with a dislocated foot which hinders her moving. 9. The fight took place between al-Ḥšejbi and Fejḥân, therefore the wolves there were howling with joy at the feast prepared for them. A hyena is called *'arǧa'*, lame, because it cannot run fast or for very long. 10. *Afṭar bkownênen* means that he breakfasted on two fights, because the Rwala with an-Nûri at their head first repulsed at Fejḥân the raid made on them by Ṯâmer, the son of Sa'dûn, then attacked Eben Meǧlâd, a protégé of Sa'dûn, near al-'Êweǧ northwest of Lîne, and finally defeated Sa'dûn himself in the encounters at al-Ḥšejbi and al-Mḥaṭa. 11. *Al-ḥejl emtellât* are mares, which, being too exhausted to run any farther, are left behind. *Al-ḥalîb elja ṯǧaḏḏat ḥṭûha*, long-tailed mares whose pace grew slow, are mares with long tail hair and with their legs hurt in the fight; they are too slow to avoid the blows. 12. *Jaḥḏi* or *ja'ṭi*: he distributes gifts. Nawwâf does not keep the booty himself but distributes it among those whom he likes. 13. *Ṣḥûn* are large trays on which meat is set before the guests. Both Prince an-Nûri and his son Nawwâf entertain guests continually; meat is always being cooked, and therefore their trays are full of fat drops resembling [643] drops of dew. 14. The chiefs an-Nûri and Nawwâf are descended from a house which has given to the Rwala from ancient times chiefs and conquerors of riders. 15. *Miḥân* signifies success, favorable result. *Mulûk*, for *malâjika*, angels. *Bǧâh*, or *b'awne*: with the help, under the protection of. 17. *Ḳoḥûm* is a horse afraid of nothing. 18. *Wa' ṣejjûr* is a poetical term for *lâ budd*, absolutely certain, necessary. 19. *Nâbi ḳarâha* is a fat camel whose hump resembles a bulging knoll, a cone. 20. The poet longs for a present so that he can return to his Slejb soon. *Tafziz rabda* is the fastest gait of an ostrich, during which it flaps its wings. The bird runs in this manner

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when it sights a marksman, while the shot itself does not alarm it much. 21. Sleep will not bring rest to the poet, for even then he cannot forget his troubles and yearnings.

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1. *Já ṭâmer wa' ḥazzak al-maḳrûn*
   aṭlob 'asa tesdad abwâbah
2. *ǧîtûna swât ad-deba' tes'ûn*
   wa-ǧmû'akom rabbi aḫṭa' bah
3. *bellejtûna 'asa teblûn*
   teblûn nâsen 'ala rḳâbah
4. *eḫwât ṣita dwa-l-maǧnûn*
   sawwaw 'ala-l-ḫejl ṣabṣâba
5. *alli-ndebah w-alli maṭ'ûn*
   haḳḳ aṣ-ṣba' ṛejr šijâba
6. *jâ-l-karm mâ-ṣomn jin'addûn*
   ḥasabt w-zajje'et ana ḥsâbà
7. *w-lâ ṣenneti min ba'ad jâtûn*
   min aṭ-ṭam'a nafeshom ṭâba.

1. O Tâmer, ah, may the fate bound up with thee not change!
   I pray that its gates may remain closed!
2. Ye came upon us like wingless locusts crawling over each
   But your troops were followed by my Lord. [other,
3. Ye desired to crush us, now yourselves are crushed.
   Ye are the people whose necks have been crushed.
4. With the battle cry "Sisters of Ṣita," which heals the crazed.
   They enveloped the cavalry in dust clouds.
5. How many there fell and how many were wounded
   Of youths alone, without counting the gray-haired!
6. O thou hero, I doubt that they could be counted;
   I counted, but I erred in the number.
7. And think not that they will come again;
   Thus of greed for booty their soul was cured.

The poet was Selîm, a slave of the sons of an-Nûri's brother Muḥammad; the reciter, Selîm himself.

Verse 1. *Ḥazz* is the fate, *maḳrûn*, bound up with Tâmer. As long as its gates remain closed, it will not change. Fate brought Ṭâmer great misfortune — and will bring more misfortune should he not mend his ways. 2. *Deba'* are young locusts, still wingless. They crawl rapidly on and over each other's backs, *tes'ûn*. *Rabbi aḫṭa' bah*: Allâh, the protector of an-Nûri, followed Ṭâmer's troop in order to humble it. 3. *Rḳâb*

539r 726r means men. 4. The battle cry of the Nâjef kin is: *"Eḫwât ṣîta ana-ben nâjef*, Sisters of Ṣîta, I am Eben Nâjef." The sisters of Ṣîta who should not be afraid are herds of camels. *Ẓabẓâba* are clouds of dust whirled up during a fierce cavalry fight.

1. *Sa'dûn jâ maḥraḳ aš-šejbe*
   ḫint al-'ahad w-al-makâtîbi
2. *w-eben meğlâd ẓahar 'ejbeh*
   aḫaḏ ar-rada' w-waḫḫar aṭ-ṭîbi
3. *ṣârat 'alejhom elja-l-ṛejbe*
   alfên ḏabḥen w-ṣâwîbi
4. *ma' wağeh rab'en lahom hejbe*
   merkâẓahom ješba' aḏ-ḏîbi
5. *min al-baṣra limaṣr li'atejbe*
   ṛannû beha jâ-hal aš-šîbi.

1. O Sa'dûn, may thy gray hair burn,
   Thou hast betrayed both treaty and letters.
2. Eben Meğlâd, whose shame is seen plainly,
   Has taken up with villainy and abandoned honesty.
3. They met with defeat at sunset.
   Two thousand of their slain and wounded
4. Remained lying before the face of a horror-stricken troop.
   Their galloping horses will satiate wolves.
5. From al-Baṣra to Egypt and the land of the 'Atejbe
   Sing of this defeat, ye, who drive old camels.

Prince an-Nûri was both the poet and reciter.

Verse 1. *Maḥraḳ aš-šejbe*: Sa'dûn, together with his gray hair, is committed to the fires of hell. 3. *Ṣârat 'alejhom ṣârat*, it befell them. "It befell," is said when a tribe has been defeated; the word *al-ċasra*, a defeat, is understood. 5. The 'Atejbe camp east of al-Medîna and Mecca. *Ahl aš-šîb* are the merchants and drovers who buy up old fat camels in inner Arabia, selling them afterwards in Egypt. As they travel but slowly and meet with various tribes and settlers on their way, they are expected to spread Sa'dûn's disgrace everywhere.

1. *Jâ bint šowḳeċ wara' mâ bân*
   jemza' beh an-nisr w-aḏ-ḏîbi
2. *al-ḫejl lammaw bah ša'lân*
   w-al-ğejš ṛâden ğenâdîbi

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3. *min al-ḳejṣûma ila' ſejḥân*
miṯl al-ḥaṧab bel-'arâżibi
4. *jâ bint al-mḥaṛṛab al-awğân*
'ala-l-ṛaṣi teſ'aṭ al-ğibi.

. O daughter of mine, thy lover is behind, not to be seen;
A wolf and vulture are tearing his flesh.
. Horses were gathered by the Ša'lân kin,
And the riding camels like locusts follow each other.
. From al-Ḳejṣûma as far as Fejḥân
[The fallen lie] on each other like the crosspieces in a leather bucket.
. O daughter, thou who paintest thy cheeks,
For thy beloved, thou wilt tear the dress on thy breast!

The poet and reciter was the slave Selîm. The victorious op led by Prince an-Nûri returns with the booty taken from 'dûn, the prince of the Muntifeḳ. The women and girls stand the tent corners, looking through the gaps for their sweet-arts.

Verse 2. All the horses captured by the slaves or servants to their master, not to them; therefore the members of e Ša'lân family collected and led them. The riding camels ong to those who capture them, even to the slaves and rvants; they, however, let their masters keep them in return payment. 3. Al-Ḳejṣûma is a well. 4. The daughter spoken was the wife of a fallen hero, because a wife alone is al-ved as a sign of her sorrow to blacken her face with ashes d dust or to tear open the clasp of her dress below the roat.

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1. *Ṯâr ad-daḫen w-ettaḳa-l-ḫawâf*
elja' mâ-ṣ-ṣa'ab ṣâr muṭwâ'i
2. *al-ḥorr al-ḳaṭâwi abu nawwâf*
jâ mu'aṧṧi aḏ-ḏib elja' ğâ'i.

1. Up floated the rifle smoke, and into hiding went the coward,
Until, at last, the rebellious became obedient.
2. The falcon hunting ḳaṭa' birds, he is the father of Nawwâf,
Oh, he who prepares supper for a wolf which hungers!

Of this poem Selîm also was both poet and reciter.

Sa'dûn ṛâżi 'ala' ṯâmer
'oḳb az-za'al ṧâf be'ajûnah

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min ḳabl w-hw bel-ʿaṣa jâmer
w-al-jowm ʿajjaw jaṭîʿûneh
nahaǧ ʿazîzen w-ǧâ dâmer
jâ ṛazwat aš-šejḫ malʿûne.

Saʿdûn is again on good terms with Ṯâmer,
For, his anger once passed, he looked into his eyes.
At first he commanded even the rebels,
And today they have ceased to obey him.
As one possessing power he set out on his journey,
but, humbled, he came back.
Oh, that accursed raid against the chief!

The poet and reciter: Selim. After Ṯâmer's defeat some tribes deserted Saʿdûn, but he intimidated them by force. Then, when he too was defeated, all rebelled against him. The raid against the chief an-Nûri was afterwards execrated by Saʿdûn.

War Between the Rwala and Eben Meǧlâd

Having defeated Saʿdûn, Eben Šaʿlân set out on a raid against Eben Meǧlâd, who at that time was camping at al-Mloṣi, and took sixty tents and many camel herds from him. Eben Meǧlâd then sued for peace, but to this Eben Šaʿlân was opposed, *lâ jabṛi-ṣ-ṣulḥ*, well knowing that it was mainly he who had incited Saʿdûn against him, because he had shown so much greed for the herds, tents, and supplies of the Rwala. It was then that Jûsef eben Mǧejd of the ʿAbdelle clan, who accompanied Eben Šaʿlân on his raid, composed the following poem:

1. *Jâ râčeben min fowḳ tisʿat alâf haḏḏâb*
maʿ rabʿen ʿenda-l-ḥasan w-al-mesâʿid
2. *meḳiẓahen ʿan ḥerwat al-roǧš w-aḏbâb*
beṣwêr miṣfâr al-abkâr as-serâhiǧ
3. *mâ fowḳahen ṛejr ašhab al-meleḥ bedbâb*
w-daḳḳ al-ʿaǧam w-mḏelʿaḳât al-bwâlîd
4. *jelfen al-malʿûn aṣ-ṣalâhîd čenhâb*
čenhâb malʿûn aṣ-ṣalaʿ w-aṣ-ṣalâhîd
5. *ḳil ḫejlen twallat ḫejlakom ǧabʿ al-aḏnâb*
šaṭṭ al-frât w-ʿâneḳek sejl ʿerbîd

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6. *ašûf ḥejl šujûḥekom teľeb aľâb*
'an surbet ar-ribšân hom w-al-ḥamâmîd
7. *abu-d-dhûr mu'awwed jilhab alhâb*
beš'ûf rammâj al-malâbis mar'id
8. *wa' saṭṭak žwij al-ḥejl saṭṭat ḥalablâb*
ḥallak teẓhar min zemâjelk ferrîd
9. *wa' min žâḳ less ḥarâbna šârebeh šâb*
jûžef ǧwâdeh min wara-z-zilm w-ja'id.

1. O thou who ridest a trotting [she-camel] with a troop of nine thousand!
Their camels near the Ḥasan and Mesâ'îd
2. In midsummer dwell, to be protected from disease of the bowels and from flies,
While at Ṣwêr in autumn thou wilt find camels young and well fed.
3. The camels [of that troop] bear no load but gunpowder in horns,
Sabers of Persian make, and spears with steel blades.
4. They will reach the accursed Čenhâb kin.
The Čenhâb, whose prayers and kin alike be cursed.
5. Say to them: "Your riders on young mares with clipped tails were driven back by the cavalry
From the river Euphrates as far as the creek of 'Erbîd."
6. I seem to see your chiefs' horses as they played
Before the Ribšân and Ḥamâmîd troop.
7. [The Rwala emblem] Abu-d-Dhûr is accustomed to throwing of flames
With the help of the thunderer, defeating men clad in armor.
8. Ah, that true man of strength did thoroughly cuff thy face
And left thee alone of all the pack camels.
9. Ah, of one who has tasted the tickling of our spears the moustache will grow gray,
He will stop his horse and will return home behind the back of other men.

The reciter was 'Awde al-Kwêčbi. 1. *Haddâb* is a she-camel which trots as fast as a mare. Ḥasan and Mesâ'îd are tribes living in the lowland west and northwest of the Ḥawrân, where, as a rule, the Rwala camp from the end of June to the middle of August.

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the middle of August. 2. Ṣwêr is an important watering place northeast of the oasis of Skâka. *Miṣfâr*, fall camping grounds from the beginning of October to the middle of December. *Serâḥîǧ*, well fed, was pronounced *serâḥîd*. 3. *Ašḥab al-meleḥ*, dark gray salt, means gunpowder, which in the muzzle-loader period was carried in a little fancy horn, *dbâb*. *Daḳḳ al-ʿaǧam*, beaten by the Persians, means a Persian saber. *Mdel-ʿaḳât* or *mashûbât al-bwâlîd* means spears, as the Rwala drag steel blades on long wooden shafts. 4. *Ṣalâḥîd*, a poetical expression for kinsfolk and parents. Čenhâb is an opprobrious nickname for the Ešâǧeʿa. 5. The tail hair of young mares is either clipped or cut off entirely. The spring and the short creek of ʿErbîd rise near as-Samâwa. 6. The Ešâǧeʿa chiefs merely pretended to urge their horses to atttack. In reality they tried to keep away from the kinsfolk of Ribšân and Ḥamâmîd. 7. Abu-d-Dhûr, the ancient tribal emblem of the Rwala, here represents Prince an-Nûri and his retinue. *Marʿîd*, thunderer, is formed from *marʿad*, *jemarʿad* being said for *jerʿad*, he thunders. 8. *Saṭṭ*: he cuffed, he struck. *Ḥalablâb* is an onomatopoetic word for cuffs, boxes on the ears. *Zemâjel* are male camels which carry the supplies and tents of the chief. The Ešâǧeʿa commander lost all his camels, or, as the poet puts it, of all the pack camels he alone was left, *ferrîd*.

POEMS OF WARS AND RAIDS

Scorn of Fallen Chief's Daughter for Kin Who Fail to Avenge Him

1. *Hall al-helâl w-kamelen al-ʿelûmi*
   wa-tmaẓẖalat ʿanna ǧamîʿ al-ḥačâja
2. *eḫsû ḫassejtu killekom jâ-r-reḫûmi*
   waš ʿaḏrakom má tebnaǧûn aẓ-ẓumâja
3. *ašûf ʿoḳbânen ʿalejkom teḥûmi*
   tʿbṛi-l-ʿaša minkom al-kbâr al-alâja
4. *eḏʿaw bšeḏrat má naḳaltom eṭlûmi*
   min ḳabl má teḏʿûn miṭl aẓ-ẓaḥâja
5. *jiščinnakom bîẓen taḏuḳḳ ar-ruḳûmi*
   entom siterḥen lâ juḥallen ʿarâja
6. *waʾ wajlakom en čân saffahtom ʿelûmi*
   w-allâh latrûḥûn killekom ẓaḥâja

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7. *teḥazzebû w-ṣirû erğâlen efhûmi*
   w-al-ʿadw mâ jisla miṯl al-ḥajâja
8. *waʾ ḫowfeti jinḳâl râḥaw lehûmi*
   ʿejâl šâlûhom biẓhûr as-sebâja.

1. The new moon has appeared, the tale is told,
   And clear to us now is all their talk.
2. Begone! Ill have ye acted, O avengers,
   What excuse have ye that ye comfort not those eagerly [waiting?
3. I see birds of prey circling above you,
   Longing to have the big and fat among you for supper.
4. Cut with the sharp edge of the blade before it becomes dull,
   Before your foes make of you sacrifices for their dead.
5. Mourning over you are the fair ones, adorned with tattooing,
   For ye are their veil; they must not remain naked.
6. Ah, woe to you, if ye reject my tidings,
   By Allâh! ye all will be sacrificed for the dead.
7. Take counsel together and become prudent;
   For an enemy cannot be struck like snakes.
8. Ah, how I fear that it will be said: Our foes killed them
   And loaded their children on the backs of the captured animals.

This poem was composed by a daughter of one Ḥeğlân of the Duṛmân clan. Two kins of the latter clan quarreled. One of them remained in the Rwala territory, the other under the chief Ḥeğlân emigrated to the Šammar. An attack made on them by their kinsfolk was repulsed, but the chief Ḥeğlân fell. The raiders were pursued but without success. Ḥeğlân had no sons. His daughter urged her kin to revenge the slain chief and was promised that they would make a raid in retaliation, but they put it off from one day to another. Finally they assured her that the raid would be carried out with the appearance of the new moon. Yet when it appeared the avengers stayed at home. The girl then composed this poem. The reciters were ʿAwde al-Kwêčbi and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi.

Verse 2. *Reḥûmi* are vultures which feed only on dead bodies. 4. The Bedouins dedicated even before Mohammed's time a certain day of the year to the memory of the dead, and on this day they sacrifice for every person who has died in the past year either a she-camel or a goat. This sacrifice is

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called *ẓaḥijje*. If Ḥeǧlân's avengers do not take heart soon they will all be slain by the enemy. 8. *Râḥaw lehûmi* has the same meaning as *endabaḥaw*, were killed.

Lament of Young Woman for Her Husband Killed in Battle

1. *Wannejt jâ daḥḥâm tis'în wenne*
   ma' miṭlehen jowm al-ḥa'âjež heǧû'i
2. *ma' miṭlehen jowm al-ḥalâjež mirenne*
   min aẓ-ẓejm ješčen al-haẓâjem ẓe'û'i
3. *wennet 'aǧûz teshar al-lejl killeh*
   ṛadi lha ḳarm al-'ejâl betû'i
4. *ramla w-lâ laha ma' hal al-bejt lenne*
   elja' ǧâ twâli-l-lejl ḳâmat tefû'i
5. *ḥalli waladha bel-ma'âra-kalenneh*
   saḥm aẓ-ẓwâri w-aṣbaḥen 'oḳob ǧû'i.

1. I mourn, O Daḥḥâm, with ninety laments
   And as many again, while all creatures rest without care,
2. And as many again, while all creatures listen,
   For even my oppressed ribs complain of their evil lot.
3. I mourn, waking all night with an old woman,
   Because she has lost a flower among sons, a resolute hero.
4. I mourn with a widow who has no relative left in her tent,
   Who at the close of the night pitifully moans.
5. My husband, her son, on the battle field was devoured
   By black and skinny beasts, their hunger stilling.

The poetess was a young woman of the Ḥarb tribe, the reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. The young woman had lost in the battle her beloved husband, the only son of an old widowed mother, and both are mourning him.

[827] Verse 2. In the opinion of the Bedouins any sorrow attacks the breast and contracts the ribs so that the person stricken cannot breathe freely. 3. *Betû'i* is a brave rider who does not shrink from the fight. 4. *Lenne* or *lelle*: surely not; these words emphasize the negative. *Hal* (or *ahl*) *al-bejt* here means

[168] the kin of the fallen man. The old widow had lived until then with her son; after his death she must move to her own kin. *Tefû'i* is said of the moaning and cries of an epileptic or a demented person.

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Cowardice Reproached

1. *Al-waǧd waǧdi laḥel lebde*
   alli 'ala-l-ǧam' dellâḳe
2. *al-herǧ má 'ád leh zebde*
   low čaṯṯerowh kill melláḳe
3. *eben ṣabbâḥ ḥabeḏ hebde*
   w-sa'dûn má ṯallaḳ eṣjâḳeh.

1. I pity, I pity the people of Lubde,
   Who with courage throw themselves on the enemy.
2. Butter cannot be had for mere talk;
   The more they spread the tidings, the more they all lie.
3. Eben Ṣabbâḥ ran till his head shook, [camels!
   And Sa'dûn! Oh, how he dismissed the captured she-

Eben Ṣabbâḥ, the lord of al-Kwejt, together with Sa'dûn al-Aḳar, the head chief of the Muntifeḳ, made a raid on Eben Rašîd, whose troops offered resistance. Each troop consisted of the inhabitants of the same district of Ḥâjel under a flag of their own. The troop of the Lubde district took to flight, thus endangering the others. But they took heart again and drove the enemy back. To excuse themselves the Lubde men then pretended to have retreated of set purpose.

Verse 2. *Al-herǧ má leh zebde*, chatter without butter, signifies empty talk, gossip. He works his mouth as if churning skimmed milk but will never make butter. [521]

Advice to a Chief

1. *Já-bu reǧa' já-l-ḳarm 'endi lakom ḫowr*
   w-eften tara-l-aḫwâr muḫṭi w-ṣâjeb
2. *ṣá má ḥala-l-ma'bâr min 'enda manǧûr*
   w-lá taḳṭa' an-nahwât kúd ap-palâjeb
3. *nanḥar eben ša'lân w-al-'ezz madjûr*
   já 'ezz min dâr al-ḥara' w-al-ḥardjeb
4. *naskof min aš-šáma elja-l-ǧerr abu ṣóḳr*
   marite' aš-šidḳ al-abkâr al-andjeb
5. *rwejdât w-en ḥaṭṭaw biken kill ḥábûr*
   ṭarîḥahom taǧbor 'alejh an-napdjeb
6. *awlâd 'abdallâh ma' awlâd maikûr*
   merwin ḥadd mupabbaḥât al-ḥéṣâjeb
7. *w-en ǧaw kal al-belha ḍa'âfîr w-da'ûr*
   bajmalnahom tamreǧ 'alê ṣéfr ṣâjeb.

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1. O Abu Reğa', I have advice for you,
But, remember, advice sometimes misses, sometimes reaches its aim.
2. How sweet to ford the Euphrates at Manğûr!
And yet a strong neck only will destroy firm plans.
3. We shall go to Eben Šaʿlân to find power there,
Oh, that power in a camp from which both friendship and wars arise!
4. Our tents we shall pitch from aš-Šâma to al-Ḥerr abu Zowr
On pastures for young camels with wide mouths and humps.
5. Such the Rwala are who, when they dig the whole spur into the flanks of their mares,
Throw everyone from his saddle and send him to his fate.
6. The sons of ʿAbdallâh with the sons of Mašhûr
Give the cheeks of their daggers with their shining blades [blood] to drink.
7. And if the Swâlme shall come, troop after troop,
In their right hands [weapons will flash] robbing a horse of its rider without quarter.

The poet was Sâğer ar-Rafadi; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. The chief Abu Reğa' and his clan, as-Selka, having quarreled with the head chief Eben Hadḍâl, prepared for war. Eben Hadḍâl camped at that time on the left bank of the Euphrates, Abu Reğa' on the right. When the latter tried to ford the river at Manğûr, he was warned against the unequal contest and advised to find allies first, as one of whom Eben Šaʿlân was recommended. Abu Reğa' took the advice and emigrated with his people to the Rwala, then camping in the inner desert.

Verse 1. *Muḫṭi w-ṣâjeb*, missing and reaching, are expressions used in hunting and shooting at a target. 3. *Al-ḫaru'* means charity, generosity, friendship. 5. Rwejlât is used instead of Rwala in both a flattering and a contemptuous sense. 6. Awlâd ʿAbdallâh and Awlâd Mašhûr are members of the reigning kin. *Muṣabbeḥât al-ḫeḍâjeb* are the blades and handles of daggers variously ornamented with silver, gold, and precious stones. 7. *Hal al-belka* means the Swâlme, whose war cry is: "*Ḥajjâl al-belka*, the rider protecting the Belha!" as they call their camel herds. *Duʿâfir w-daʿfar* are the different troops

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as they follow each other from the various camps to the battle ground. *Tamroǧ* is said of a riderless mare running about the battle field. *'Ala ṛejr ṭâjeb* is a fight in which no quarter is given, *lâ jamaa'*.

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ANECDOTES OF WARS AND RAIDS

Ṭrâd al-'Årefa with forty men mounted on riding camels undertook from al-Hazîm a raid against the Ṣkûr. After passing through ar-Rwêdât they met some Ṣlejb, from whom they learned that a Ṣkûr detachment was encamped with Bender eben Haḍḍâl at the foot of the al-Biâri mountains. On coming near the place they saw herds of camels in the distance and therefore sent scouts on camels, *sbûr*, ahead to ascertain if there were camps near the herds and, if so, their number. The *sbûr* returned with the report that they had found no camp in the whole neighborhood and the herds seemed to be spending the night all alone, *'azîb*. After sunset the raiders prepared to attack. Thirty warriors mounted on fifteen camels threw themselves on the resting herds, while the other riding camels remained with Ṭrâd and ten men in reserve, *ṣibûr*. On reaching the herds fifteen dismounted, began to untie fetters on the left forelegs of the kneeling camels, and in a little while had collected a group of about thirty animals. But at that moment the herdsmen, waking up, raised the alarm and, quickly blowing up the red hot coals of their fires which had been covered for the night, they ignited large handsfull of *âiâ* which they threw burning among the herds. The frightened animals shied, and those already unfettered began to run away, carrying the enemy's riding camels along with them. Moreover, the cries and the flaring up of the fires alarmed the camp hidden in a neighboring gully, from where a troop of rescuers arrived on the scene, surrounding the place of the attack in a large circle. The attackers tried to hide but were discovered after sunrise; those who resisted were slain, three were pardoned, and nine succeeded in making their escape, *twellakow*, to the Ṣkûr camp, where they asked the women and children for protection and thus saved their lives. These nine lost all their weapons, while the three who were pardoned received theirs back. The leader Ṭrâd took to flight with his whole reserve as soon as he heard the alarm cries and the shooting.

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far' al-ḥamâd, when it was learned that the Dahâmše were moving from the al-Wudijân territory to al-Ḳa'ara. As there was hostility between them at that time, the Rwala decided to attack. Providing themselves with barley for their mares and with flour, truffles, *ḍewa*, dry locusts, *ǧerâd*, and dry dates for themselves, they set out under the command of Nawwâf. Having traversed the upper part of aṣ-Ṣwâb, after the fifth night they sent out scouts, who succeeded in capturing three men traveling on donkeys, *ḫzebow zilm 'ala šhom ḥmâr*. Having obtained from them the welcome information of the location of the Dahâmše camp, they hastened towards it as soon as the moon rose; but the enemy had left, having resumed their march in the meanwhile. When the Rwala followed their tracks, *naḫzeb aṯarhom*, they found them in the afternoon building a new camp; but the raiders decided to rest till the morning star, *nifmet aṣ-ṣubeḥ*, made its appearance. Then they delivered their attack, *ṣubbaḥdhom*, and, having captured the enemy's camels, horses, tents, and various utensils, began their return march. In the afternoon clouds of dust suddenly rose behind them, whirled up by the troops sent from the other Dahâmše camps to help their attacked brothers; arriving too late to be of any use, they had gone in pursuit of the raiders. But the Rwala instantly threw themselves between their booty and the pursuers, killed two men and two mares, and compelled the Dahâmše to retreat. After three nights they brought their whole booty home.

The Ṣḳûr clan of the 'Amârât had a stud horse, so famous throughout the country that even the Rwala had their best mares covered by him. But when war broke out between them the Rwala dared not bring their mares there as formerly. One of the young chiefs of the latter regretted that he did not know where to take his mare. Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, who happened to be present in his tent, said that, as there was no better stallion in the world than the one owned by the Ṣḳûr, he should lead the mare to him, offering to do so himself for a consideration.

The chief laughed, claiming that it was quite impossible.

"Promise me the first filly the mare bears, and I will have her covered by that stallion in thy presence!"

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"Thou shalt get the first filly, if thou dost as thou sayest." 726*
"Who guarantees that thou wilt fulfill thy promise?" 539*
"So-and-So will guarantee."
"We guarantee."

Mindîl then rose, saddled his camel and rode away. Shortly afterwards he and a comrade of his set out in the direction of the Ṣkûr camp, bent on robbery. Coming near the camp where the stud horse was kept, they first hid in a gully. Leaving his comrade with the she-camels, Mindîl crawled to the camp alone. He had arranged with the comrade that he was to stay in the gully till the next evening and to start for home in case he, Mindîl, should not have returned by that time. He reached the camp when the dew had passed. At some distance from the camp he saw the tent where, as a rule, the stud horse was kept. The animal was tied up in the shade under the tent; three slaves charged with the care of him were lying not far off. As the camp was situated beside a large watering place, Mindîl thought it well to wait until they either led the horse to the water or watered him in the tent. Shortly before noon he saw one of the slaves saddle the animal, while another unlocked his fetters and laid them down in the tent. One slave then jumped in the saddle and rode to the water, the other two walking beside him. At the watering place hundreds of camels were crowding, all impatient to drink. This was Mindîl's opportunity. Pushing his way among the dense mass, he reached, unobserved, the place where the slaves were watering their charge, leaped at them, revolver in hand, shot the slave from the saddle, with another shot felled the one holding the bridle, jumped in the saddle himself, and dashed into the desert. The camels grazing near by protected him against shots that might have been fired after him, and as soon as he was out of range he turned into a deep gully, changed his course, reached before long a stony plain, and, crossing this to the opposite side of the Ṣkûr camp, hid between two crags. When it grew dark, he started for home, arriving there without any mishap. Having watered and fed the stud horse, he put on better clothes, mounted his camel, and brought the horse to the chief, from whom he received twenty she-camels in exchange. A half of them went to Mindîl's comrade in the venture, but he himself had also the filly two years later, as originally agreed.

726 539 Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i had as neighbor, ḳaṣîr, a Šammari, the father of a boy about sixteen years old. Once, when going on a private raid to the Ḥwêṭât territory, Mindîl took the boy with him. On reaching the Ḥwêṭât's herds, the youngster was sent ahead as a spy, but, being incautious, he was caught by the herdsmen and led into the camp. Some Šarârât, who happened to be there, recognized him at once, and the Ḥwêṭât thus learned that his father was camping with the Rwala, with whom they were then at war. When the boy refused to answer their questions, they bound his legs with a chain used in fettering horses and, tying his hands also, they laid him down in a tent of one of the chief's slaves. After waiting for the boy's return a long time, Mindîl guessed that he had met with some mishap and, hiding both the camels he came on, crawled cautiously towards the herdsmen and arrived just in time to see them lead their captive to the camp. As the camp was located in a rocky territory, he was able to hide in a crevice, from where he could observe the tent occupied by the chief. Next day Mindîl saw two slaves dragging the boy, still in chains, into a tent close to the hillside where he was hiding. A young bay mare with her legs fettered was standing in front of the tent. Towards noon a young female slave appeared, unlocked the mare's fetters and was about to lead her to the watering place; she entered the tent for a moment, evidently to get a bowl and the bucket. That very instant Mindîl leapt down from the hillside, picked up the boy, and, mounting the saddled mare, broke the rein which held her to the tent and disappeared among the crags. The women in the tent shrieked in alarm, but, as some of the men were having their midday sleep and others were busy at the watering place, it was some time before they could start in pursuit of the fugitive. Mindîl cunningly rode in the direction of the pastures, where the herds were guarded by men on horseback, and thus obliterated the tracks of his mare. On reaching a strip covered with rough gravel he changed his course, found the place where his she-camels and both his and the boy's rifles were hidden, and there he stopped. Breaking the boy's fetters he climbed with him to a crag where they hid behind a pile of stones and waited for the pursuers. But not a single one appeared, as they had failed to find their tracks; thus Mindîl was able to return home that evening, bringing a young mare as his booty.

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STORIES OF WARS AND RAIDS TOLD BY BLEJHÂN EBEN ŻERI

Blejhân eben Żeri of the Âl Meṣreb kin of the al-Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe related the following stories:

"The warriors of the Ḳmuṣa, commanded by Fejâż Âl Meṣreb, of the 'Ebede division, who were led by Turki eben Wâjel, of the Fed'ân tribe, at whose head was Ĝedû' al-Karah, of the Šammar tribe in Mesopotamia under the chief Šâmân al-Ḥajjâṭ, and of the 'Aššâre kin, who were led by Zejd eben Ḥrejmiṣ, went on a raid together. They numbered over four hundred and were mounted partly on the horses, partly on the camels, *mâ bên ḥejl w-al-ĝejš*. They intended to attack the tribes and clans called Ahl aš-Šemâl. I rode with them. We started our march, *ṣawwarna*, from the valley of al-Murabba'a and spent the night, *emraḥna*, near aṣ-Ṣafri in the valley of al-Mijâh. Another march brought us to the castle of Burḳu', and, although we examined, *ḥammejna*, its neighborhood thoroughly, we found nobody and therefore turned south keeping between the black and white country, *w-ṣâr darbna 'ala ḥadd swâd min bêjâż*, and entered, *wakett*, the valley of Nâ'em, which comes from Šâmat al-Wâdi. In the lowland of ar-Raśrâśijje we made our supper. The next morning we mounted our animals again and rode up, *ṣaʿadna*, the *ḥe'îb* of al-Ḥṣâjde. When the day declined, *jowmen ĝâ tâlût an-nahâr*, Ṭe'es al-Haḍani, Ĝedû' al-Karah, and Barĝas eben Wâjel advanced to spy out the country. They returned at night with four camels big with young, *ma'âšir*. As we learned sometime afterwards, these animals had run away from captured herds which raiders of the 'Amârât tribe were driving before them. The leaders of our raiding party, *al-'oḳada*, wanted to have the camels slaughtered for the use of the warriors, but the scouts declared:

'May Allâh seize you! Whoever brings anything, much or little, he brings it for himself, not for you. *Jâḫeḏkom allâh alli ĝâjeb šaj'en* (sic) *ḥeḏiren walla' ḳallen jâḫoḏek lek.*' The she-camels thus remained their property and were driven along with us in the morning. It was then that Ĝedû' al-Karah said:

'Look at these four pregnant she-camels, *hal-'âšâjer*! Think ye not that their owners will make search for them? Send out a few riders to seek their owners, *ḫajjâlaten jiṭalḥûjehaen ahalhen.*'

726* 539* "Then Čenwân al-Karah and Barǧas eben Wâjel rode up a high hill and from there sighted a rider on a whitish camel, *râ'i ǧelûlen zerḳa*, with a water bag, following the tracks of the camels. Dashing down and unsaddling him, they put his camel with the four already captured. On we marched looking for Arabs, *w-mašijna netaṭalle' lil-'arab*, but it was not until the following noon that we saw the first group of the migrating Ahl aš-Šemâl. Some were just pitching their tents and others were still on the march, *awwal al-meẓâhir nâzele w-tâlihom mâ nazal*, so that it was quite easy for us to take not only their tents but also their supplies and whole outfit, *bujût w-azwâd w-ḥelwât*. But we were soon overtaken by their protecting troop, numbering about thirty men on horseback. They were led by a warrior seated on a bay, who shouted at us:

'A rider trusting in the Merciful trembles with a longing for you; ye shall know him, ye infamous thieves! Where are your commanders? *Ḥajjâl ar-raḥmân sakrân ḥajjâlen ta'refûneh al-bowḳân sowdân al-waǧih wên 'oḳadakom.*'

"He was answered by Ǧedû': 'What is that, thou riff-raff? Are we not the sons of 'Obejd? We take from you because we have declared war on you, *'ala waẓaḥ an-neḳa' âḥḍinkom.*'

"Then we offered resistance and assailed, *neḳarmeṭ*, both the riders on the horses and on the camels, who also had come up with us in the meantime. Ǧedû' struck the warrior who was mounted on the bay mare such a blow with his spear that he threw him out of the saddle. The bay started to run away with Ǧedû' in hot pursuit. It seemed as if the enemy were on the point of rescuing the animal, but at that moment Eben Wâjel appeared on the scene and captured her himself. Ǧedû' later laid claim to her, and after some dispute the matter was put before a judge, *'árefa*, who decided that she belonged to Ǧedû' but that he must give her first filly to Eben Wâjel and a she-camel besides. We killed many of the enemy warriors on that expedition and captured not only the horses of the fallen, *ḫejl al-ḳurc'a*, but their grazing herds as well, *aḫaḍna al-ḥalâl min al-fela'*, and then started back home by the same route. Near Ḫabra-ṣ-Ṣlubijje we divided our booty, every one then going with his share to his kin, *w-killen aḫaḍ ḥaṣmeh w-naḥar aḥleh*. We arrived there without any mishap to our booty, *menâṣṣ*. Our kinsfolk were not camping at al-Murabba'a any longer, but at al-Bikri."

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"Once we camped with the Bṭejnât clan between aṣ-Ṣafrî and the Ṛadîr aṭ-Ṭejr. It was in winter time. One night it was snowing, *lejlet aṭ-ṭelǧ*, and in that very night we were attacked by Eben Ḥanǧar of the Flete kin, al-Freǧe clan, Rwala tribe, who, taking our camels, *w-aḫaḏ 'alejna debeš*, disappeared under the cover of darkness, *ṛada taḥt al-lejl*. In the morning I, that is Blejhân, followed their tracks, *w-ṭâni-l-jowm inni jâ blejhân ḳaṣṣejt aṭarhom*, finding such unmistakable traces of them that I could trail them like a guide who knows the desert as well as the *ḳaṭa'* birds, *delîl ḳaṭâwi*. When we asked help of the chief Eben Meršed in a neighboring camp, he joined us in the pursuit of the raiders, whom we found near as-Sîb, where they were just dividing their booty. Concealing our camels in a gully, I, that is Blejhân, went to them and asked:

'Who are ye, ye riders on camels?'

"They replied: 'We are the men commanded by Eben Ḥanǧar, and these she-camels we took from the Fed'ân.'

'And where did ye encounter them? *wên kuntom'alejhom*.'

'At ad-Defâjen, yesterday morning. And who are thy comrades?'

'They are the warriors commanded by Eben Me'ṭel.' In the meantime my comrades had surrounded the raiders, and Eben Meršed showed himself to them, crying:

'Oh, woe, what news is this that makes me tremble and grow angry? Ye, our friends, and ye attack our Arabs at night and take their camels? Such are not the ways of a trusted friend, *má taǧri 'ala-ṣ-ṣiddîḳ*.' We then took not only all our camels from them but their own, too, and, returned home with them."

"On another occasion we camped between al-Ṛurâb and aṭ-Tinf. Side by side with us were the camps of Ṣaḳr and Fejâẓ âl Meṣreb, of the Ab-as-Snûn kin of the Ḥraṣa clan of the Fed'ân tribe, and of Eben Hdejb of the 'Ebede division of the as-Sba'a tribe. The chiefs had much whispering among themselves for a few days, and, when they had finished, *te-sâḏow aš-šujûḫ bênhom w-jowmen ḫalaṣow min hal-manǧûri*, they announced to us:

'Behold a raid! He who has no comrade with a pack camel, let him seek one; *tarâkom ṛazw w-illi má 'andeh zammâl je-dawwer leh zammâl*.'

726 539 "A pack camel should be an animal of some strength to be able to carry water and food for both itself and two riders. A man owning a horse usually pays to a comrade with a camel of that kind ten *meǧidijjāt* [$9.00] or a grown goat, or the owner of the pack camel declares, *jefexx rā'i-z-zammāl fen*:

'I want an equal part of thy booty and do not care whether it be much or little, *inni šerīč billi tǧīb čeṭiren willa' ǯelīlen.*'

"The raid was directed against the kinsfolk of Eben Mezjed of the al-Ḥsene tribe and against the as-Sa'ad clan of the 'Umûr tribe, who we learned were encamped in al-Ǧwejf. When we were marching on the third day, we sighted a small fire at night, *ṭala'na-n-nire bil-lejl*, between the south and the west. This moved Ṣaḳr âl Meṣreb to say:

'Who will find out something about the Arabs of that fire? *jâ min jeǧberhom jâ min jenoṣṣhom.*'

"Everyone thought that somebody should go there so that we could know whether they were the Arabs we were seeking or not. But as a venture of this kind is very dangerous, every commander must fix the special reward the spy is to get. *Ḳâlow al-mwājje bhâḍa wâḥed jeǧîkhom bal ḥaṭṭû leh 'ala kill 'aïd meǧle ja'ni ṭalbe.* When this had been done by each commander, one of the warriors started on the dangerous trip. Putting on a cloak of gazelle skins such as is worn by the Ṣlejb, he rode in the direction of the fire. When near it, he made his she-camel kneel on a flat-topped height, *nawwaḥ ǧelûleh bhâk al-matne al-'âlja*, and approached them on foot, *naḥarhom zelema.* Walking slowly he passed from one tent to another, *w-lawwaḍ 'ala hâk al-bejt 'ala hâk al-bejt*, finally saluting a woman with the words:

'May God increase thy strength, O girl! *ḳawweč jâ bint.*'

'Welcome to thee, hungry one. May God preserve thee! *Jâ hala marḥabe bil-ǧwi jâ-llâh ḥajjeh.*'

"Because of the cloak he wore the woman took him for a hungry Ṣlubi. Then he said: 'God is oppressing me, *ana b'eḍâb allâh.* My little donkeys were tired, so I left them with my kin in that hollow yonder and came to see who these Arabs were; *ḥmejrâti tlajjelen ahli ḥallejthom bihal-ǧerr ǯebâlkom w-jîthom aṣûf minhom hal-'arab.* I shall return and bring my relatives to one of the chiefs here, *aǧîb ahli 'ala-ḥad haš-ḥujûḥ.*'

"The woman told him willingly: 'These are the 'Abîd of the Ḥsene, those are the Sa'ad of the 'Umûr, and those over there the Fwâ're.'

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"This satisfied the man, who said: 'Oh, may God prolong their lives! They are the very people I am looking for, *ôûjex udawwerhom*. Now I can go back at once and bring my people.'

"After a while he asked: 'Are ye going to migrate tomorrow or shall ye stay here? *bâčeʿ entom raḥûl willa mâimin*.'

'Yes, we shall migrate, *raḥil*.'

"Returning to his comrades, *rabʿeh*, he reported, *ʿallemhom*, what he had learned. But the woman also related to her neighbors, *ʿallamat eḫṣaruha*:

'A Ṣlubi came to me just now. He wanted to know all about the Arabs here and then left to bring his folk.' When the other women told their husbands about it, all tried to find the pretended Ṣlubi, *ʿ-ṭaḥammaûû aṣ-ṣlubi jedawwerân ʿalejâ*, but, when he could not be seen anywhere, they became suspicious:

'That man surely was a spy of a raiding troop, *hâḍa ʿadejse ġazw*.' Some then left the camp that very night, taking their tents and flocks with them; others again prepared both for flight and defense.

"When the morning star appeared we sighted their migrating pack camels, attacked them, and took everything they had. Nejtûl from whom thou, O Mûsa, hast bought the greyhound Ḳaṭṭâf, captured a yellowish she-camel, *raḥûlex ṣafra*, laden with linen trousers full of tobacco, a saddle bag filled with coffee, a wooden mortar, *mijr ḫaśeb*, and a large sack of dry cheese, *kilk*. On our side, that is to say of the warriors who took part in the raid, both brothers Âl Snûne who commanded the Fedʿân warriors were killed. After some obstinate fighting we secured the whole booty and I, Blejhân, got five sheep. Returning to our old camping ground, I found it deserted. Some traveler, *ʿâreḍ*, of the Dwâm kin of the ʿEbede, had told our relatives of a good pasturage by the as-Sulṭâni road, and thither they had gone."

"Fejâṣ Âl Meṣreb promised to care for my sheep, and I started on a new raid. There were twelve of us on six camels with Čâseb eben ʿOmejm of the Sbaʿa as commander. Our plan was to slip through towards the Rwala, *ʿajjarna leme-r-rwala*, who were then camping between Ḳirân al-Banât, al-Mṛejr, and Sâḳ al-Ḥerr. We drank and also watered our camels at a *mâfâ* in the hillocks, behind which the settlements of al-Krejjât [Dêmat al-Ġandalijje and the other oases in the al-Ġûba

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726* 539* basin] were hidden; next we stopped at Umm Ṭarfa, and then we went up through a valley unknown to me in a southwesterly direction. There we sighted some people with four riding camels, *ṭala'na ḥal arba' račâjeb*. Before they noticed us we made our she-camels kneel and waited for them. They were riding at a fast gait through the valley where we were hidden. When they came within shooting distance, we leapt at them, *fa'na 'alêhom ja'ni rkaṭnâ 'alejhom*, and threw them out of the saddles, *ṭaraḥnâhom*. But as it appeared, they were not our enemies, therefore we could take nothing from them, and, as they had nothing to eat, we gave them some dates. They turned east then, where they disappeared, *lemâ ḥaffow ja'ni ab'adow*. West of Sidd al-Ḥerr we found some Arabs. Lying down on the opposite side we sent out a spy to have a look at them, *naddasna 'alejhom*. He was a man from the Ṣḳûr clan. After a while he returned with the report that they belonged to the Ġmejsât kin of the Dahâmše whose chief was Eben Meǧlâd. As we lived in friendship with them we turned to the west, avoiding a raiding troop of the Šarârât who were driving, at some distance from them, flocks of sheep and goats as well as of camels which they had taken from some kin of the 'Amârât, who were on the way from the east to the inner desert, *jowm waǧhom mušarreḳ bawwal al-wakt*. We played with these little friends [Šarârât] of ours for a while and took a few small flocks away from them. Roasting a goat and a sheep, we hid the rest in a little gully south of al-Ġûba under the guard of four camel riders. Near Rǧûm Miǧwel we escaped, *naṣalna*, from the Rwala, who were just migrating in small groups to al-Mṛejr and aš-Šwejḥeṭ. There was abundance in the desert then and plenty of water everywhere. In such times brother does not long for brother, *w-addinja rabî' má waddak aḫûk jeṭoôb 'alejk*. At once we observed on our right a large herd of camels. We went as near to it as we dared and moved parallel with it, *naṣdaṛhen*. I said:

'By Allâh himself! This herd must have been bought by an 'Aḳejli.' But no sooner did its guards see us than they cried for help, *afza'ow 'alejna*; we gulped down the anxiety which took hold of us, *ǧara'na al-ḥamm alli ma'ana*, fled, *naḥaîna*, and kept on fleeing for a long time, *w-eḥadna weḳet w-ḥenna menḥâšin*. When we reached the head of the Ab-al-Ḳûr valley and saw nobody there, we thought we were at last safe but were sadly mistaken. Suddenly we were con-

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fronted by the sons of the Rāûm, who overtook us on their fast mares and bade us yield, with the words:

'O ye camel riders, by Eben Ṛašem!'

"Our answer was: 'Faith, we are of the 'Amārât, *zād ḥenna-l-'amārât.*'

"Then they said: 'May God grant long life to you! If that is true, ye will ride to us with full honors. *Ḥajjākom elja' čān elḥakow 'ala ḥime w-ḥašime.*'

"And we replied: 'O Eben Ṛašem, ye camp too far from here, and we do not want either to return or to turn aside from our course.'

"Then one shouted: 'Ye are enemies. Ye are no 'Amārât' and began to shoot at us. They had two rifles, we had three. I, that is Blejhān, attacked with my spear one of the enemy, who also had only a spear. He was about to stab at me, but missed; *naṭaḥ w-ṭarabni biš-šalfa w-aḫṭâni.* I knocked him from his mare and captured her. One of my comrades unsaddled another enemy, not forgetting to take his mare. In the beginning of the melée our pursuers took two riding camels from us, but as God gave us victory we recaptured them, and the enemy had to retire to their people. We reached by a roundabout way our comrades who were hiding south of Ğâwa, traversed all of al-Ḥamâd, and did not return to our camp at al-Ḥwêr until a month after our departure."

"Ṣaḳr âl Meṣreb once camped between aṣ-Ṣwâb and al-Wa'ar. I, that is Blejhān, camped with him. One day after the dew had passed, *aṣ-ṣaḥa min aḍ-ḍaḥâr*, Ṣaḳr went hunting and took his glasses with him. Ascending the high bank of the al-Wa'ar valley, *jowm taḥâjaḳ 'ala šeʿîb al-waʿar jaʿni aḍvaf 'alo-l-waʿar*, he saw in the valley below a troop of raiders. They were just dividing their camels, *jaʿzel al-ǧejš*, in two groups: one to carry their provisions and the other to form a reserve, *ṣâbûr*. Their cavalry was to attack our herds, *jarîdân jaṭirûn 'oḳb al-'azl*. Approaching nearer through dead ground, *w-darakkom ma' al-ṭaṭâr*, so as not to be noticed, Ṣaḳr cried out:

'Here standa, O ye camel riders, Ṣaḳr âl Meṣreb. What are your intentions? Now you must either bargain with me for your lives or I shall order my enraged kin to mount their horses and slay you all, *jaḥebb turedûn ma'i 'ala 'anizkom jeḥebb uḫalli 'abbâs jeračbeb dijâs.*'

726r 539r "Then he gave the alarm cry: 'O riders on horseback, help!'

"When the enemy's cavalry noticed that a rider on horseback was holding up their *ṣâbûr*, they gave up their attack on the herds and pursued Ṣaḳr instead. But before they could reach the camp they were met by galloping Arab riders, and the raiding troop was surrounded in a moment. The enemy horse riders saved themselves by flight, but the men on camels had to yield. Fejâẓ âl Meṣreb's share of the booty, *haṣṣeh*, was three riding camels, Ṣaḳr's twenty-eight; and the rest of the camels, with the waterbags and supplies, the Arabs divided among themselves."

"Under the commander Barakât eben Štêwi of the Eben Meršed of the Ḳmuṣa division, we once undertook a raid from aṣ-Se'en and aṣ-Su'ên, places lying southwest of Esrija. Second in command was Ǧebel aš-Šeḳâwi of the 'Awâǧi kin of the Weld Slejmân, that is of the Fed'ân. We rode on seventy she-camels against the Šammar in Neǧd, that is against the Singâra, who were reported to be camping somewhere between aš-Šubeče and al-Lifijje. Our road led past al-Ḳdejm, aṭ-Ṭajjibe, aṣ-Suḫne, and Wâdi al-Mijâh, where we drank from the Warka wells; then to al-Herijjân, where the grave of Turki eben Mhejd is located. We halted to drink at al-Ḳarri, proceeded farther past al-Lmât and aš-Šrejfijje, and rested south of Ḳârt al-Židr at the very beginning of 'Âmeḳ. Our next night's rest was at the outlet of al-Hazimi into al-Ḳadaf below the wells of Umm aṣ-Ṣerîm. But our fires were noticed by some raiders of the Singâra, as we discovered, against whom we had come out. They approached quite close and began to shoot as we lay down to sleep. Taken by surprise, the thought of everyone of us was to reach his camel and make an escape, because in the darkness we could not even see the position of the enemy nor how many there were of them. They killed six of our men, wounded many, and took thirty-seven of our she-camels.

"Loading the lightly wounded on the remaining camels, we scattered in all directions, but all aimed to reach al-Lmât. There we found the Ṣlejb chief Ḥlejs eben Mâleč, left our wounded with his people, refreshed ourselves with the Ṣlejb kin of Âl Fowzi by the al-Ḳarri well, and cut across aṣ-Ṣwejbât to Wâdi al-Mijâh, where we also found hospitality with

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the Šlejb. Then we rode to al-Hejl, slept there, left again shortly before sunrise, and next noon arrived in as-Suḫne. 726* 539*

"In that place we learned that the Sinǧâra had captured some herds from the 'Ebede and were sending them home under the protection of a few guards, while the rest of the raiders still remained at al-Kowm and aṭ-Ṭajjibe, planning fresh attacks from there against the Sba'a and the Fed'ân. Having eaten, we left as-Suḫne for aṭ-Ṭajjibe. A spy sent out by us came back with the information that the Sinǧâra were spending their night somewhere in al-Minâr. That gave us an idea. Agreeing among ourselves to divide our booty equally, we at once sped on our camels to this place. The Sinǧâra we soon found; first fettering our camels, we surrounded the enemy while still asleep, but, as most of us had lost our rifles, we had to provide ourselves with heavy clubs, *maḍârib*. The men thus armed were first to assail the enemy, while those with rifles stayed behind in order to prevent their escaping. I, that is Blejhân, swung a long club, *maḍrûb*, which put more than one of the sleepers to sleep for ever. But the Sinǧâra were superior in numbers. They began to shoot at us, but, the night being dark and moonless, they were unable to take aim, whereas their burning fires helped us to see them well. We took five mares and about fifty camels from them and freed all the herds they had captured from the 'Ebede. On the same night we fled with the whole booty, singing merrily all the way home, which was in a camp near Esrija."

"Once we camped for a considerable length of time, *ḫâṭsin*, at Ġibb together with the Fed'ân. Sammîṭ eben Mhejd of the Fed'ân and our Ṣaḳr âl Meṣreb arranged to make a raid together against the Rwala. There were about three hundred of us on both horses and camels. After two days out we drank from the 'Aḳlat Ṣwâb, wheeled about, *newḳez*, towards the grave of Turki eben Mhejd, rode up the valley of al-Heri abu-r-Ruṭuma, and spent the night above al-Mloṣi, *bfowḳi-l-mloṣi*. The following evening and the next day we rested by the water hole Berîm al-Bint. We did not water our horses at first, *nešfel al-ḫejl*, either in the evening or in the morning but only showed them water in order to increase their thirst the more. At last when they began to demand it, angrily neighing and rearing, *ostaíroben*, we gave them to drink — and them so thoroughly as to enable them to go without

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726K 539K water for two days. Leaving the next morning, we arrived in the evening at al-Maṣârf', fed the horses there, again rode all night, and finally reached, beyond 'Enâza, the head of ar-Rwêšed, which forms at that point a hollow, *sowḥ*, changing later into a valley, *šeʿîb*. There our guide, Ĝâzi abu Fanḥa of the 'Aššâre kin, subject to Eben Ḥrejmîs, told us to rest, as a chief of a smaller kin of the Ṣlejb, aṭ-Ṭarâfi by name, was encamped in the neighborhood. He set off to that camp and soon returned, driving a few goats before him, which we cooked for our supper. Finally, between al-Ḥwejmât and Burḳu' we sighted some herds, which we knew as we approached them at night, *ḥâṣejnâhom*, must be grazing far from their camp, *ʿazîb*. Attacking them in the morning, we drove away a considerable booty and did not stop before al-Maṣârf'. At this place the heavy black clouds which had been hanging above us for some time sent down a copious rain, by which all were greatly refreshed, we, the sons of Adam, and our mares and she-camels as well. Then full of joy we returned to our kinsfolk, whom we found near the stone heaps between Ĝibb and the *šeʿîb* of aṣ-Ṣlubi."

"Ĉâseb eben 'Omejm once invited us to join him on a plundering expedition, *ʿajjarna*. There were twelve of us on ten she-camels, *mrêdif*. Having mounted our camels in our camp between at-Tinf and al-Ḳurâb, we first drank from al-Mîâ and headed for Želîb Hdejb and Ṣwêr, passing the settlement of Skâka. Stopping for a chat with the inhabitants of this settlement, *saḥarna ʿala-hl hâk el-blejdât*, we learned that there were some Rwala camping between Ambaṭ and the Nefûd. On our way to them we attacked some haymakers, but returned everything to them, *ʿaddejnâhom*, when we found them to be inhabitants of al-Ĝowf. Soon afterwards we found tracks, evidently made by the 'Abdelle. Water we found in the shallow hollows, *ḥwêja*, of the rocky eminence at al-Ĝeba'. To the east of these we concealed ourselves in a small deep gully, where fires could be lit without being seen from the outside, *šeʿejjeb alli ndrek mâ tnâṣer*. But the notorious Ḥalaf abu Haṭlên of the Ṣḳûr, who with his band of robbers had a hiding place near by, soon discovered our presence and, creeping to the very bank of our gully, observed us from above and called his men. Suddenly we found ourselves surrounded on all sides. The menacing band cried as with one voice:

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'Where are ye from, ye crowd down there?'

"We were just then preparing for supper. Jumping away from the fire, we lay down on our bellies — for we feared they might shoot — and began to crawl out of the gully. A few of us answered: 'We are the sons of 'Obejd and ye — whence are ye? We entreat you by Him who strengthens, who speaks the truth and punishes with cowardice him that lies.'

'He need not punish us with cowardice. We are the Ṣḳûr. Your language told us that ye are really 'Obejd's sons. And which ones?'

'Of the Eben Meṣreb kin.'

"So they brought their camels and sat down with us to supper. There were twelve of them in all. Next morning we rode out together against the 'Abdelle, whose herds we soon sighted south of Kaṣr Ambaṭ. Then we concealed ourselves. As soon as it grew dark, we fettered our camels near the place and crept towards the camp. At midnight we were close to the tents, *nestaḳeṭ 'alejhom*. But they were not arranged in rows; some stood in the full light on the level land, others were hidden in the darkness of the dale. This fact prevented us from coming in between them without being noticed by some of the watchmen, *w-lâ ṣâr lenâ medla' 'alejhom*. On Ḫalaf's advice four camel riders were to make a feint attack, *ḫaṭṭâjât*, in order to draw attention to themselves; and so it was done, but the 'Abdelle would not be deceived. Only a few offered resistance, while the others, posting themselves in smaller groups at various points, counter-attacked with such vehemence that we could only run back quickly to our fettered she-camels. But the 'Abdelle pursued us even there, and one of them, Ṭbejrân by name, shot two of our good animals. Then we fled with the Nefûd on our left after our leader Ḫalaf, the 'Abdelle keeping close at our heels and sending their stones [bulleta] after us rapidly. To save ourselves we fettered the left foreleg of our best camel and left it with both the saddle and ribbons to the pursuers. A camel thus abandoned is called *ḫu'ajjed redde*, signifying that the pursued will not harm the pursuer any more. However, the 'Abdelle did not stop. O Allâh, what toil we had to escape with our bare lives! Behind us there was uninterrupted lightning, and the stones [bulleta] fell among us like so much hail. A terrible fright took hold of us, *jufeḫna-l-rajâ'*, and we were about to disperse, when at the last moment Eben Sa'îd with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726* 539* his troop came up with us before sunrise, threw himself upon the 'Abdelle, and thus rescued us from their hands. So we returned to our people camping in Wâdi al-Mijâh not far from the aṣ-Ṣaẓri wells, without having achieved anything."

"Four members of the Hwejšân kin went on a raid on foot, *ḥanšalow*. Ḥejrân eben Mesleṭ was their leader. They crossed aṣ-Ṣwâb, heading for Mesopotamia against the Šammar then encamped at ad-Demîm and as-Saba', east of al-Mijâḍin. As soon as the herds were sighted they separated, two stealing at night up to the place where the herds were resting, *al-marḥ*. One called *ża'ida* stayed with their clothing, the other crawled half-naked to the camels, intending to unfetter a few and drive them towards his comrade. Succeeding in unfettering them, he hurried the animals toward the spot where they had agreed to meet when a certain star had reached a certain height. He was pursued, however, but when the *ża'ida* man guarding the clothing began to shoot at the pursuers, they halted. After waiting a long time for the other two comrades they finally rode away with their booty, *messer*. The other two had no success owing to the vigilance of the dogs, who, on scenting the man approaching the herd, began to bark, causing both of them, the *ża'ida* as well as the plunderer, to flee. Then they hid in a gully and the following night went out to plunder again. Allâh having granted them booty, they hastened with it towards the Euphrates. Yet the Šammar pursued and overtook them by the ford. There the robbers abandoned their booty and fled. But they now tried a third time to take booty, *'śwadow ṭâleṭ nôba*. This time they got two camels and, after breaking her iron fetters, a mare. One man galloped away with the she-camels, the other rode the mare. But this animal balked, and he was left far behind his comrade. When he urged her by blows to run faster, she began to neigh and would not stir. Finally he had to abandon the mare and try to overtake his comrade on foot. Thirsty and hungry he at last sat down below a slope, fearing that he would perish miserably. In this distress he said with a sigh: 'O Allâh, if thou desirest my welfare, then either feed me or take my soul to thyself!' And it happened by Allâh's will that the unfortunate man's comrade was hiding a little higher up on the same slope and sighted him from there. Descending to him, he heard his words and rolled

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

down a stone which fell almost at his side. Alarmed by this the exhausted man cried out: 'O Allâh, thou dost not hasten to send food, but my soul thou wouldst have at once!' At this his comrade began to laugh and gave him enough to eat and drink from the supplies carried by the camels. They luckily reached the Euphrates, crossed it, and remained all day on its right bank hidden in the thicket resting. While there they saw a large troop of the Šammar, who were out on a raid against the 'Aneze, approaching the Euphrates. One half of them forded the river the same day, while the other remained on the left bank. Our *ḥemšel* drew near the Šammar, whose mares had been left to graze among the bushes, stole two docile ones, and, mounting them, drove the camels before them into the desert, finally reaching their kin without further mishap."

"When we were camping in al-Ḥeǧijje with Ṣaḳr eben Meǧreb, he once asked us, *nabbak 'alejna*, to go out on a raid with him. My brother, 'Aiwân, the father of the lad, *abu-l-'ejâl*, who was driving our camels to the pasture grounds near al-Mloǧi, was willing to go and so was our younger brother, Ǧi'ân. 'Aiwân already had a partner, but for Ǧi'ân we first had to find a camel rider who would carry both his food supply and the fodder for his mare. But, as Ǧi'ân was still young and imprudent, *ǧâhel*, nobody would go with him except for a full half of everything he might capture with his mare, *ǧiber*. We tried to persuade Ǧi'ân to stay at home, but he refused; and so we had to promise to satisfy the camel rider, *zemil*, ourselves. Altogether there set off with Ṣaḳr about a hundred camel riders, *ǧeǧâ*, and about thirty horseback riders, *ḥerwat ṣalâǧin ḫajjâl*. Ṣaḳr led them against the Rwala camping around Hdeǧb and Ṣwêr. On the way they drank from the wells of Ḥaêrân and Ḍebâǧeb, from those dug in the channel of al-Obejjeṣ, which are known by the name of Nḫeǧb, from the similar ones, Ǧdejjedet 'Ar'ar, and finally from al-Ḥṣej. Leaving this point they rode cautiously all night and all day till they saw herds in the vicinity of al-Wad'a, a great rock lying north of Hdeǧb and Ṣwêr. Here they made a halt to wait for the heat to pass and the coolness of the day to set in, *ǧawwen sallat el-ḥâ'ila we-bredat ed-dinja*. Then they watered their mares from the water bags, selected the reserve camels, *ṣibêr*, and loaded all the fodder and provisions on the

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726 539 fatigued camels, *afhaḳow al-ǧejl*. Ṣaḳr gave orders for the latter to wait for him at the beginning of the *šeʿib* of al-Helâl all night and the next day. But in case he was not able to join them before sunset of the next day, they were to proceed to al-Barrît. These camels laden with water and food supplies departed for al-Helâl, while the others with the horse riders attacked some herds approaching Ṣwêr. Surrounding them completely, *jelḥaṣûnaha*, every rider whether on horseback or camel drove before him what he had captured. Ǧîʿân and four youths imprudent as himself kept together, *ṣâr waǧhahom ǧamîʿ*, and captured a herd numbering over fifty head. Full of joy, they drove the animals before them, unmindful of either their comrades or the course they were to take. They ran all night and all the following forenoon without finding the beginning of al-Helâl, the place appointed for meeting the supplies sent there by Ṣaḳr. At noon they knew each other no more, such was the thirst torturing them. At that moment an older member of the raid, *ruzzâj*, happened to pass there on his camel and saw them. Finding them perishing with thirst he said:

'I will save both you and your mares, but only if you promise to give me a colt for each mare and two camels besides, *ǧazîre w-ʿâǧide*.'

"When they had promised, he let them drink from the remnants of water still in his pouch and then asked them to follow him. They rode until evening, they rode all night, and finally came across the tracks of their comrades leading from al-Helâl to al-Barrît. But the mares, tormented by thirst, could go no farther. Then Ǧîʿân's comrades mounted the best she-camels and, abandoning the booty as well as their own mares, sped after their guide in order to save their lives. Ǧîʿân, however, exclaimed:

'By Allâh, I will die first before I desert my mare!' And taking the reins of the abandoned mares in his right hand he rode slowly in the tracks of his comrades. The heat of the day passed, the sun had already gone down in the west, and he was still in the saddle. At night he stuck to the course he had followed in the daytime. Seeing himself thus isolated, he was seized with a terrible fear. The torments caused by thirst became well-nigh unbearable, and he heard a buzzing in his ears, *tanâlaḥ*. After resting a little he rode on farther. Then he let the reins of the mares drop, twisted his hand

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

into the mane of his own mare, laid his head on her neck, and rode on as if asleep. When the dew had passed, he slid down from the saddle, spread his mantle over the perennials, and lay down under it. He thought he must surely die. But his mare licked his face, and this refreshed him a little. Rising from the ground and mounting again, he wearily resumed his journey. The mare still carried him faithfully and finally brought him to the nearest water, the wells of al-Barrît, where she stopped. The wells were entirely deserted. Rolling down from the saddle, he crawled, rather than walked, to the nearest well. He saw water there but had neither rope nor bucket. He thought of throwing himself down the well, but this Allâh did not permit. He fell asleep or fainted — he was not sure afterwards which — and remained lying beside the well.

"In the meantime Ṣaḳr with all his booty was camping by the wells of al-Maḍmen, whither also the riders who had stopped at the beginning of al-Helâl were now turning, because the scouts sent by Ṣaḳr signaled to them not to touch al-Barrît. Neither did Ğî'ân's comrades, who followed in the tracks of these riders, stop at al-Barrît but joined the rest of the troop at al-Maḍmen. As soon as Ṣaḳr heard that Ğî'ân was missing, he at once hired some Ṣlejb then camping at al-Maḍmen to take water with them and go in search of him. Finding his tracks, they followed them and before long came at al-Barrît to the place where he was lying unconscious. They opened his mouth and dropped melted butter down his throat until he began to swallow and regained consciousness, but it was nearly two days before he could sit in the saddle unaided. When they returned with him and the mares to al-Maḍmen they found nobody there, the raiders having left in the meantime with their booty for their home at al-Ḥeğîje.

"I began at once to look for Ğî'ân, his mare, and spear but was told by 'Aẅwân what had happened. The youth's mother mourned bitterly, and we all thought that we should see him no more. A few days afterwards we migrated, our she-camels being in front. Suddenly a man who was examining the neighborhood came running to me shouting at the top of his voice: 'O Blejhân, bear glad news! Thy young brother is perfectly well!' After a while I sighted two Ṣlejb with my brother and the mares. The Ṣlejb received five she-camels."

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"We were camping near the wells of Ǧibb when someone came to us, *ǧâna min ǧâna*, with the news that he had sighted not far off a large troop of riders on camels. Jumping on our mares, we drove in the riding camels, saddled them, and went in the direction indicated. All we could see were five camel riders, but they were soon lost to our sight. We took them for scouts, *sbûr*, and judged that the hostile troop had five commanders. Some thought we should return, but others were for going ahead. When, however, we were overtaken by the auxiliary troops of Ḥamad eben 'Ejde and Zejdân âl 'Awâǧi, we resolved to attack the enemy before they were likely to throw themselves on our herds. At night we succeeded in surprising and surrounding them. They wounded two of our men, while we killed one of their leaders. We also held them surrounded till the dew had passed — they were in a basin and we on the height above them. Seeing that escape was impossible, they begged for mercy, *jeṭîr al-max'*. We took all their camels but allowed them to retain their arms, kept them as our guests for two days longer, and then lent them a few camels so that they could return home. They complained bitterly of their scouts, *sbûr*, for having fled after sighting us without warning them, as this had enabled us to surprise and surround them. Every member of our expedition received four or five camels as his share."

"Once we camped in Irak near Bradân and al-'Eṣêle. The world was full of pasture. Dry grass stood thickly around all the wells, and of the *ḫuzâz* there was abundance everywhere. After our herds had grazed in the neighborhood of the wells, we pitched our tents about a winter day's march from them, *mzada*. Then Maiḥûr eben Merîed proposed to us to go on a raid with him. Soon a troop of about three hundred riding camels and a hundred riders, *wuḳûm mâje ḫajjâl*, were accompanying him, first against aṣ-Ṣefîr. We drank at al-Loǫof, then from the 'Aḳlat Meiḥen, and soon reached the level country, where we were surprised by the *ṭrajjâwi* rain. The low-lying land resembled a swamp, *ḥawr*. Our camels could not make any headway there, and so we had to return without success, *mendâḥ*. But the Bdûr, who usually encamped on the Euphrates, somehow learned where we were and without delay sent *ṭalab*, pursuers, on camels after us. They overtook us, *laḥaḳûwna*, compelled us twice to make our camels kneel,

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naswaḥowna, and soon a fight began to rage—may Allâh never bring any true friend of thine into such a fight! *'aṣa ṣiddîk ḥulbak mâ jeḥdar hâk el-mandâḳ*. At first shots were exchanged, then we fought with spears, and finally bare fists were used. We took all their riding camels, attacked their herds, and brought our booty away safely, although they pursued us as far as the Wâdi al-Obejjeḳ. That year we still call the year of violence, *senet ṣuṣbe*, because we drove the captured herds to our camp by sheer force. The commander got thirty camels, the others five or six each."

"While camping by the river al-'Âṣi between Ḥoms and Ḥama', Ṣaḳr asked us to undertake a raid with him. We set out, took up fresh water in Ġhâr, and halted at the edge of the plain of ad-Daw to feed our horses. Riding all night, we reached in the morning the big dam below the watering place of al-Bârde. When day broke Ṣaḳr surveyed the country around the wells with his glasses, but, seeing nothing, he nodded to us, and we had our breakfast there. After a short stop we resumed our ride and did not rest until between aṣ-Ṣwêwine and the wells of al-'Elejjânijje. From here we rode again till we saw Ṣurâb al-Ḥadâli appearing in the distance. After resting again, we reached first the low ridge on the right bank of al-Miniḳâṭ and then Burḳu'. There we lingered in the shade all day and until the following noon. Having watered both our horses and riding camels, *ǧejâ*, we did not lie down to sleep before reaching a gully between Tell Ṣṣên and Tell Sa'âda. Next day towards noon we found a water hole near al-'Abd w-Awlâdeh.

"Taking a few riders with him, Ṣaḳr went up the western summit of al-'Abd, whence he sighted with his glasses herds of camels grazing on the eastern slope of the Ḥawrân. Returning he said: 'May this good news gladden your hearts! Our booty is near!' As soon as the morning star appeared, we began our march and did not stop till sunrise, when Ṣaḳr ascended a hill the better to observe the movements of the herds. The moment they left their camps, he gave the signal for attack. We surrounded and drove them before us without any effort, just as if we had been their herdsmen. They belonged to the Zeben kin of the Beni Ṣaḳr. We fled with the booty all day and all night, the rescuing troops of the Zeben not overtaking us until the day after, but we repulsed

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 539 them easily, even capturing ten mares in the encounter. We continued our flight. Suddenly we came across fresh tracks of horses and camels heading north towards the rain water reservoirs near the castle of Burḳu'. Not knowing whether it was a friend or an enemy who had passed before us, we should have preferred to steer clear of Burḳu', but at the same time we were in great need of water for ourselves and the horses. The scouts sent out to investigate returned with the report that a strange troop had watered at Burḳu' but had left again. Giving praise to Allâh for that, we hastened to the water, drank ourselves, let the mares also drink, filled our water bags, watered the camels, and lay down to rest. But Allâh willed otherwise.

"The strange troop returned and took us by surprise. They were the Ḥwêṭât, our enemies. They took all our captured and even our own camels from us, but the majority of our mares we saved by timely flight. That night we wandered about the volcanic area. The next day we found a tiny camp of the Ṣlejb, where we waited for our scattered comrades. On the third day we borrowed five she-camels and a number of asses of good breed, *ḥimâr*, of our Ṣlejb hosts and proceeded on our way but immediately met with an Ahl al-Ĝebel raiding troop, returning from an expedition against the inhabitants of Tudmor, Tedâmre. We scattered before them like chaff in all directions, *neshaḡkom sehje*; however, as soon as they lay down for their night's rest we crept to them silently, *nezûleb 'alejhom*, fell upon them while asleep, and drove away sixty of their riding camels and nearly two hundred of those they had captured from the Tedâmre. And although they pursued us as far as al-Ĝwejf we succeeded in making our escape, were able to rest at al-Ḥufejjer, and from there reached al-Ẑerjîtejn at the passing of the dew. There we divided our booty, and every one went home. We, that is to say the people, *howm*, of Âl Meṣrob, learned that our tents were then at al-Ṣumbul, east of Salamja."

"Our camp was in the little *ḥeîb* of al-Maḡna which winds from Lâha eastwards. It was known that Ṣaḳr was preparing for a new raid. Finally he sent us word:

'Let all who wish to go along come tomorrow at noon!'

"On the morning of the day fixed for the departure Ṣaḳr rode up the top of Lâha, whence there was a wide view on

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

all sides, *burrez beha*. Surveying the country with his glasses he saw a troop of raiders to the west. Dispatching at once two *sbûr* on camels to watch the strangers, he set out with his men to outflank them. In the evening his scouts returned with news that the raiders were Sirḥân with whom his people, *ḫoum ṣaḳr*, were then living in a state of enmity. Dividing his troop into two parts, Ṣaḳr ordered one to attack the enemy in front and the other, which he led in person, from the rear. The stratagem succeeded — the Sirḥân losing all their riding camels and half of their horses. Ṣaḳr himself captured a fine mare, which he sent home at once, as many of his men refused to continue the raid now when booty had been sent them by Allâh.

"With the rest Ṣaḳr rode to the borders of the volcanic territory, where, in a tiny valley, *ḫerwat al-ḫenw*, south of Abu Râsên, he found traces of a camp recently abandoned. And before long he also sighted with his glasses a few migrating kins of the Weld 'Ali and Rwala. Riding ahead of them with his troop, when it became dark, *adwas ad-ḍwâs*, he lay down for a good rest. In the morning he waited till the herdsmen should drive out their herds and the Bedouins load the tents on camels. When this was done and the pack camels began to march, the signal for attack was given. Ṣaḳr himself made for the herd belonging to Eben 'Anejzân, while his comrades surrounded the herds of Abu Nawâs and Ġabbâr. But Eben 'Anejzân's herdsman had a rifle. Catching sight of Ṣaḳr, he took aim, and Allâh willed that his bullet should not miss. It hit the muzzle of Ṣaḳr's rifle, which it shattered, and wounded our leader in the left hand, throwing him from the saddle. Praise be to Allâh that He would not let the herdsman assail Ṣaḳr while in this condition but suggested to him to flee with his herd! Ṣaḳr, when falling, grasped the mane of his mare and after a moment got into the saddle again but was without a weapon, and the enemy's riders were already beginning to close upon him. Then we cried out to Allâh: 'O Allâh, help Ṣaḳr and Thou shalt receive an old she-camel! *yâ-llâh beṣaḳr w-ʃâʃer lwaʃḫak.*' Allâh helped. Ṣaḳr got back among us, took a spear from a comrade, and encouraged us: 'If we show ourselves cowards, who will fight? *low ġallejna min jeḫâf.* I am the rider protecting al-Ḳawda. We shall be laughed at if we let fear conquer us; *barʃan uṣ-ṣaḫḫâk low ḫâfna.*' And his spear caught a rider on a bay mare, but she

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726a 539k escaped. He captured fourteen camels himself, we four or five each and then returned home with good luck, *nakefna lahalna*."

"We camped with Ṣaḳr eben Meṣreb in the *še'ibân* of aṣ-Ṣwejbât where they join and form the valley of aṣ-Ṣwâb, and undertook a raid with him against the Šammar in Mesopotamia. Crossing the Euphrates at al-Mijâḏîn, we attacked them and returned home with the booty. But here sad news awaited us. Eben Mâẓi, the chief of the Âl 'Îsa clan belonging to the Ahl al-Ǧebel, had surprised Ṣaḳr's people during our absence, had taken our herds, and even driven away all Ṣaḳr's white camels. Ṣaḳr beat his face with his hand and shouted his war cry, *entaḫa*: 'I am the rider protecting al-Ḳawda! By Allâh himself! May Allâh deprive me of my wits, *dmâṛi*, should I ever forget my white camels and not deliver them from thy hands!'

"As there was no water in aṣ-Ṣwejbât at that time, we started for the settled territory, *nuṛarreb*, migrating east and camping with our relatives on the banks of the Euphrates near Ḳal'at Ǧa'bar and Abu Hrêra, *zowr abu hrêra*. There Ṣaḳr cried out: 'We will go on a raid!' All knew at once whither and against whom. Our animals numbered sixty mares and sixty camels, with 110 men in all to mount them. We drank ourselves and watered our animals from the wells of al-Ǧidd and then moved towards the volcanic territory. The Ṣlejb told us that Eben Mâẓi was camping on its borders, near Manḳa' ar-Raḥba. Finally Ṣaḳr sighted some herds, *adbâš*, with his glasses and at once sent Šerâ'i abu Ḥsejjen and Ršejd eben Ẓeri, both on horseback, as *'ujûs* to ascertain where the Arabs were encamped. Before long they reached some herds and stopped at the one which Eben Mâẓi had taken entire from Eben Ḥâwi, the chief of the Šarârât, even with the leading she-camel, *al-ḥa'eda*. One herdsman came running up, then another, saluting the riders and looking them over. They did not recognize the riders as the Ḳmuṣa, because both had put on light-weight black mantles, *mezwi aswad* — or, as we call them, *al-ḥâčijje*, such as are worn by the Šemâlât, inhabitants of the country around the Ḥawrân. The herdsmen invited them:

'Dismount, riders! What tidings do ye carry in your saddles?'

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'We wish to buy camels, *ebna wuzzâke*. Tell us where to find those of 'Abṭân.' 726x 539x

"At that moment the herdsmen sighted Ṣaḳr's troop appearing on the eastern horizon and gave the alarm cry: 'Halt, halt! Ye are bloody enemies; tremble! *Ja' ja' entom al-ḳowm al-ḥamra'*,' and began to wave their kerchief as a signal for help from the camp, the tents of which looked in the distance like isolated knolls, *al-heẓâb*. Šerâ'i now threw himself on 'Abṭân's herd, Ršejd on 'Enâd's, while their comrades, the raiders who had just arrived, surrounded all the herds, assailed the enemy's riders, entered the camp, took the tents there, and started back with their booty. The troops which came to protect the herds were repulsed and the booty made safe. The captured white camels were divided between Miširef eben Ḥrejmiṣ and Ṣaḳr âl Meṣreb, and we retired to our people on the Euphrates in peace."

CHAPTER XXII

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

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No Bedouin may give away the property of his family either to strangers, or to his wife or even to his daughters. If he does so, his son or his nearest kinsman outside of his immediate family has the right to demand the return of the gifts. This right is called *menn*. As the saying has it: "Thou wilt give it to me, but thy son will take it away from me by the right of *menn*: *ent te'fini wa-bnak jemennak minni*." It is not necessary to demand the gifts back at once; that may be done later, even after some years have elapsed. The witnesses summoned will testify that the claimant's father gave away certain property, and the receiver must return everything plus any increase which the gift has brought in the meantime. If, for example, he received a she-camel ten years ago, he is bound to return not only the old animal, but all her offspring. If, again, he has given or sold the she-camel to somebody else, suitable compensation is fixed. Only in cases when the gift was made by some member of the Eben Ǧandal or Eben Ṛubejn kin, *ṣafa' ǧandalijje* or *ṛubejnijje* will the *menn* lose its validity. No Ṛwejli could explain to me the reason of this custom, but all maintained that it had been the practice since time immemorial. To give an instance: Fâjez eben Ǧandal once returned from a raid of which he was a commander, *'aẓîd*, with rich booty. One of his warriors, Ḫalaf al-Flejḥi, captured four camels, males, *zwâmel*, which were to go to Fâjez, as, according to the Bedouin law, every captured he-camel belongs to the leader. However, as this particular raid was not made on the basis of sharing the booty, *ṛejr ḫiler*, but everybody was to keep what he had captured, Ḫalaf would have received nothing at all. He therefore went to Fâjez's tent and entered the part reserved for the women, where the wife of Fâjez, Felǧa, was suckling her two-year-old baby son, Ǧed'ân. Ḫalaf stroked him caressingly and begged her help:

"O Felǧa," he said, "put in a kind word for me and make the baby, *'ajjel*, say: 'I give those *zwâmel* to Ḫalaf.'"

When Felǧa obligingly repeated his words, Ǧed'ân said: "I give Ḫalaf the *zwâmel*."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, brânded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *rucâmel* are mine. Eben Ġandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ġandal?"

"Ġed'ân eben Ġandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ġandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šeric ill-alláh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'ir*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *farǧiet al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince ʿm-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *farǧiet al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

767 428 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called *neżîle* (pl., *neżâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥaḳḳ baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥaḳḳ dajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥaḳḳ matnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥaḳḳ rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *neżâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *sijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 [562] The right of inheritance, *ḥaḳḳ al-werṯa*, is vested in sons alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mâmuse w-ḥarîse*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâder*, going for water and returning with it, or *ḥalûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḥâṣarow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥat al-ḥîṣer*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. [429] Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥat al-ḥîṣer*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

421 562 428 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings. All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of her husband or her *ahl*. After her death her son inherits all that came from her kin. the rest goes to her husband. 421 426 428

A father can leave his property to his daughters if he has no son, but he must appoint a guardian for them, who is also called father. This is done with the words: "Behold, I exclude the flesh and blood from which I descend. Thee I appoint to be the father of my daughter (or daughters). My whole estate I present to my daughter. My relatives of the flesh and blood from which I descend must take nothing from her. Thou wilt see to it. But on the commemoration day of all faithful departed, *ṣaḥijje*, my daughter should not forget me." In case this daughter marries, her property is inherited by her son, or, if there is no son, by her *ahl*: her husband can claim nothing. 429 428

The right of inheritance belongs to all relatives up to the ninth degree, *rā' tis'a ǧdūd jaret*. In the absence of lawful heirs, that is if the kin has entirely died out, *temši 'alejhom eḍ-ḍinja' mā jeẓall kūd al-ḥurme*, the woman most nearly related to it receives whatever estate is left and is bound to a sacrifice on the *ṣaḥijje* day.

Jā wanneti wennet jetīm
'okò al-ṣala' 'ammeh walāh
jaṣiḥ w-jowmi beš-šelīl
w-jaḳūl walli min ḥaja'

This is the lament of an orphan
Who, having lost his father, receives orders from an uncle.
He gives the alarm cry, waves the hem of his cloak,
And says to himself: 'Vanish from life.'

Al-ṣala' is a father who appointed a brother of his to be the guardian of his son. The orphan, dissatisfied with his guardian, sights the enemy. Giving the alarm cry, he waves his mantle in the direction of the approaching danger and encourages himself, *nesmeh* or *nafseh*, to resist the enemy even at the risk of losing his life. In the latter event, at least, his mourning for the loss of a dear father would cease. 429

CHAPTER XXIII

DEATH AND AFTER DEATH

DISEASES AND WOUNDS

185 Few Rwala reach a very old age. More than four-fifths of the men either fall in war or perish in consequence of wounds received,
184 while the women die mostly when suckling their babies. Such women as survive this period generally grow to be very old. From diseases the Rwala suffer chiefly in the months of July and August, when they camp in the neighborhood of Damascus, in al-Ruta, Gowlan, al-Mnerih, and Kerajat al-Meleh (the vicinity of Ezra and Caf). Kerajat al-Meleh are notorious for their ague, hemma, and malaria, shune; in al-Guba the flies are a real pest; likewise the strong winds which blow there all the time, whirling up the fine sand and dust, are very injurious to the eyes. All these districts are called bilad mabijje by the Rwala, who therefore prefer to camp in either the Nefud or al-Hamad, where the atmosphere is both clear and salubrious, bilad 'adijje.

The following are the diseases most universally known.

184 Hubta: pains in the spine and the head combined with a strong
757 fever. The patient wants to lie only on the flat of his back. For a cure he is burnt with a red-hot iron about the head and temples. This occurs most frequently in winter.

Gederi: smallpox. Treated with red clay diluted in water, which is then poured into the patient's eyes. This disease breaks out towards the end of the sferi season (October--December).

Sarba: pains in the stomach combined with fever and endless thirst. Its cure: the root of the nose is cut through so that it bleeds profusely, and the shoulders are burnt all over. Sometimes a thick thread is pulled through the skin of the shoulder and left there until the wound suppurates. The disease appears in winter, especially after one drinks cold water.

Mwallje: pains in the intestines, accompanied by swelling; also the abdomen hardens. It is treated by laxatives;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

appears mostly in summer, eating of meat being most frequently the cause. 164 757

Hemma: ague. The cure: burning about the neck. Appears in midsummer.

Sḫûne: a violent fever; lasts two or three days, ceases for a while, and reappears in the months of July, August, and September. The cure: drinking tamarind water.

Heben: ulcers. They are treated with poultices of the *ḥalfîta* and *mbérnka* drugs till the pus flows out.

Šoṭob: hemorrhoids. The cure: a piece of clay is kneaded, shaped like a large nail, allowed to dry, burned to a white heat, and then inserted into the rectum in order to burn out the hemorrhoids.

Rûḥ: rheumatic pains, especially in the *ṣferi* season (October—December). The afflicted limb is burnt for a cure.

Ramad: diseases of the eye. The cure: *ḳoṣt al-eḫt* or *ḳaṭra* and *tuejtiijân* drugs are bought, crushed, mixed with woman's milk, and applied to the eye.

Abu ẓhejr: pains in the small of the back compelling the afflicted person to walk with a stoop. It is treated with burning about the small of the back.

Sâbe': chronic fever combined with headache; otherwise the patient feels well but has no appetite, grows thin and weak, and finally dies. This is treated by burning from the nape of the neck across the top of the head down to the nose.

Ḥubejje: measles. The cure: dates mixed with pepper and butter warmed up and given the patient to eat. Occurs mostly in winter.

'Akunkuš: eruption on parts of the body, with itching of the skin. This is treated by drinking the *ḳebbâr* and *ṭûm* drugs in milk. It occurs in the months of January and February.

'Anḳûd: a severe cough accompanied by vomiting, *jaǧdef*. As a cure the sick man drinks asses' milk. Occurs mostly in winter.

Abu wajḥ: stiffness of some part of the face. As a cure they burn the corners of the mouth and stick three lead balls under the skin of the part of the face affected, which is then covered with a red cloth.

Luêṣef: venereal disease. Cured by inhaling the smoke of some drug strewn over hot coals. It is very rare among the Rwala.

On falling sick a Rwejli instantly ties into his hair or 000

757 On falling sick a Rwaḥli instantly ties into his hair or to his head rope some red or green thread as a preventive, *ḥeǧâb*, against pain. If he gets worse and the home remedies will no longer suffice, his relatives send for a seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, entreating him to come and help the patient. A she-camel is promised to Allâh as a sacrifice for restoring health to their sick relative in these words: "O thou face of Allâh, if thou curest this man and liberatest him from the captivity of his disease, I will give thee this she-camel in sacrifice; *jâ wagh allâh in fajjebt hal-walad w-fakkejtek min hal-maraz ilak hal-ǧezûr*."

752 Fractures are healed by a Bedouin versed in the art. He sets the broken bone, lays the limb between narrow boards, and then packs it round with dough made of barley flour, salt, and eggs, or lacking these of tragacanth, *ḥelbe*. This composition hardens like rock. After the expiration of twenty-five days the bandage is loosened but it is not removed until after forty days. During that time the patient must not eat anything sweet and is fed on meat only, or, if that cannot be had, on milk.

752 757 A small wound is called *ǧuḥ*, a large one *ǧurḥ*. The wounded man, *ǧarîb*, is assigned a separate corner in the tent always on the windward side, so that no bad odor can reach him. Any scent, *riḥa*, opens the wound anew, increasing the pain and swelling, *tirfer* or *tiserr*. Harmless are the odors of tar, *ḳufrân*, and the drugs of *ḥaṭṭîta*, *ǧawelijje*, *ebkhel*, *se'ed*, *ḥeššaǧawwa*, *'ûd al-ḥawa*, *damm al-eḫwên*, the smoke from the camel manure, *ǧelle*, tobacco smoke, and sulphur. The wounded person stops his nose with the *ḳejṭarân* or *ḥaṭṭîta* drug as a protection against injurious odors. Also he must deny himself sweet dishes, which according to the local belief would cause the wound to fester, *jiddi*, still more. At first soap is applied to the wound, later the *subl* drug. The urine of little children, *bowl al-wurdân*, is used in cleaning wounds.

[821] As the wound could not heal if reached by the light of stars, the couch of the wounded person is curtained on all sides by clothing and carpets, and he must not leave it even to satisfy his natural wants. If it is intended to camp in the same place for some length of time, a separate small tent is put up for the patient, closed on all sides, *ḥeǧra*, and at some distance

752 758 831 from the camp. Visitors sit round the tent and converse with him, but no one will go inside except his nearest relative. For there might be a visitor who, having just had sexual inter-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, *nejes*, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*. The visitor salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jijîk*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'ek nesem ṭâ'at allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednesday and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṯ-ṯakîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mḥarfal*. As such they consider the imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *ċalb mṛalṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḫarrâj*, is sent for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḫarrâj* learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḫarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankebût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what

783 Allah will write to me, therefore, behold, I put my children and
429 my estate like the ring of a turtle dove's neck from my neck on thy neck. In the high station /before Allah/ I shall inquire of thee about them. "Ja flan ana ma-dri was allah jaktob 'alejji mar tara 'ejali w-halali towk hamamaten min rukubti biriubtak anedk 'anhom bel-makez al-'azim."

The answer will be: "I shall take thy place. May Allah have mercy on thee. Ana lak bel-makan allah jarhamk."

In the absence of him whom he would like to appoint as guardian the sick man will declare before one or two men: "O ye, X and Y, I ask you to witness that I put my children on the neck of So-and-So."

/567/ In the majority of cases the sick man prefers to appoint a faithful slave to the guardianship. Sometimes he also names the camels which are to go to one or other of his children and what she-camel he wishes to be sacrificed for him. However, any of his stipulations may be annulled by his first-born son. Neither the father nor the mother give their children any last advice.

DEATH

784 Water is dropped into a dying person's mouth without my words. They do not close the eyes of the dead, nor stop his nostrils, dead bodies
/787/ being carefully avoided by the Rwala. If they camp near a settlement, or some fellahin happen to be with them at the time, they hire them to bury the dead. Rubbing the body over with a wet cloth, they wrap it in its shirt, or when that is torn they lay it on a piece of white linen, cover it with the same material, then sew both pieces in three places, load the body thus enshrouded on a mule and carry it to the grave. This must be deeper for a woman than for a man. Its depth for a woman must be such that even the breast could not be seen if the body were placed upright; for the man its depth is only to his knees when in a standing posture. A stone is put under the head and the body is laid invariably with its right side downwards and facing south. Covering it then with a few stones they shovel in the excavated earth. For a man two stones, nasajeb, are raised above the grave, one for a woman. One and a half megidijje ($ 1.35) is paid to the grave-digger for this work. In the inner desert a grave about twenty-five centimeters deep is dug

2: Mittl 3-4, 5 (no date) 1938 MD4 Rwala MD4

764 anywhere, the body wrapped in its cloak, 'abe, laid into it on its right side and facing south; then all is covered with stones or earth.

In the desert a man's body is never accompanied to the grave by a woman, and a woman's body is buried by women alone. The whole funeral procession consists of no more than two, at the most four people. The body is carried either on two staves or two ropes. Neither the staves, nor the ropes, nor even the handle of the mattock used in digging the grave may be brought into the tent, such is the fear of everything that has come into contact with the dead body. If there is water enough, it is poured over the grave so that the dead may not suffer from thirst.

765 No one mourns for the dead except his mother, wife, sister, or daughter. In the tent they may utter, quietly, only one cry, then they go outside the camp, lament twice more, tear their dress at the breast, scratch their faces, *jeṭarreṭen wuǧūh*, throw dust all over themselves, *jetkawwaḥen bet-trāb*, wind a white band, *'aṣāba bēḍa*, around their foreheads, weep, and then return to the camp. Only the sister and daughter may cut off their hair, *jeḳuṣṣen rūsheu*, which they either hang over or lay on the grave. There is no other mourning. The white band is worn by the women until the third night, or to the next *aṣ-ṣaḥijje* holiday. For three nights in succession no salutation is offered to the dead person's next of kin. It is said of them:

"So-and-So is not in a good temper, his father (brother or cousin) is dead; *ḥāfreh mā ḥu ṭajjeb maǧǧiten abūh walla' aḫūh walla' eben 'ammeh*."

They try to console him with the words: "O So-and-So, this has come from Allāh; it happens not to thee alone but to all people. May Allāh replace him who has passed away! *Já fīda ḥaš-ši min allāh mā ḥu 'alejk ente waḥed mār 'alē-nāṣ billeḥom allāh je'awwez mā rāḥ*."

His answer is: "What can I do? Allāh is omnipotent. *Wuḍu bīdi allāh aḫwa*'."

Towards the evening of the third day a *ḥbēṭa* sacrifice is prepared for the dead; either a camel or (if it can be bought) a sheep or goat is tied to the spot where he died, or simply bread is baked. The animal is killed with the accompanying words: "O Allāh, this is the *ḥbēṭa* of So-and-So." The flesh is cooked and the bread baked on the spot where he died, but outside the tent, which on this occasion is removed, its

765 rear wall taken off and the ropes loosened, so that it looks as if it would fall down. Not before the morning following the *ʾabāṭa* sacrifice will the rear wall be hung up again and the ropes tightened. Nobody is invited to the supper given after the sacrifice. Whoever wishes, comes and eats. The meat from the sacrificed animal, the bread baked, and everything prepared for the *ʾabāṭa*, must be eaten outside the tent. Nothing connected with this sacrificial meat must be carried inside, not even the utensils used. For those fallen in war or murdered the *ʾabāṭa* is held in the night from Wednesday to Thursday or from Thursday to Friday.

At the next *aṣ-ṣaḥijje* holiday the nearest relative of the dead man saddles a fat, healthy she-camel (never a he-camel), and puts on her a traveling bag, *mezhebe*, with flour, fire flint, a leather pouch full of milk, *semil*, a leather bag with water, and some other trifles. If a woman has died, he saddles the camel with a pack saddle, *ḥedāǧe*, puts on some kind of carpet, a female dress, and for the rest the same supplies as in the case of a man's death. In front of his tent, seizing the head of the camel, he announces to the dead person:

"O So-and-So, come here and behold thy *ṣaḥijje*; *jā flān dūnak ṣaḥijjetk* or *jā flāne dūneč ṣaḥijjetč*."

Repeating this three times, he kills the animal, sprinkles her blood toward all four quarters of the world, rubs the flesh with salt, and either gives it away or cooks it outside the tent. All that the camel wore, her hide and flesh, etc., belongs to the dead person. By right all these things should be given away, but it is also possible to borrow them from the deceased, just as the knife used in killing the camel, the kettle in which the flesh was boiled, and the *ṣaḥn* or platter on which the cooked meat was piled are borrowed.

On the third day after the *ṣaḥijje* they take a small piece of the fat or tallow from the sacrificed she-camel, melt it, and pour it over *ʿejš* meal. The next of kin then takes a bit of the dish in three fingers, carries it to the three stones on which the kettle used for boiling the flesh is still standing, and besmears them with *ʿejš*, saying: "With this I wish to cool the fire burning So-and-So. *ḥāḍa brūd an-nār ʿan flān*." The rest of the *ʿejš* he wipes off his fingers into the fire.

If the relatives happen to camp again near the grave of the dead person before the *ṣaḥijje* day, they prepare a supper for him. *ʿaša-l-majjet*, buying either a sheep or a goat, *ḏbiḥa*,

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

which they kill with the words: "O Allâh, this is the supper of our deceased." Or they take a small piece of bread and a bit of butter, throw and drop them into the fire, and say: "O Allâh, this belongs to our dead." 765

He who passes by the burial place of a person dear to him can do him much good if, taking a pebble from his grave, he says: "I take this in order to lighten the soul of So-and-So. May Allâh have mercy on him. *Aṯ-ṯḫef ḥâǧa maḫaffefen 'an rûḥ flân allâh jarḥamah.*"

That which keeps life in both man and beast is called *nefes*, *nesem*, or *rûḥ*. The *nefes* (or *nesem*) of both the man and the animal is alike, *wâḥed*. Whether the *nesem* of an animal ever dies is known to Allâh alone, yet, in all probability, not even an animal will die completely but will go with the man either to paradise or to hell, because animals live merely for man. The *nefes*, *nesem*, or *rûḥ* are put into the man as well as into the animal by Allâh. As long as the child lies in its mother's womb, it has no *nefes*, but the moment its head comes out at birth, Allâh opens its nostrils, *jeftaḥ allâh ḫûmah* or *manḫereh*, and puts the *nefes* into its body, *jedḫal an-nesem ḫeh*. This *nesem* had never before been in any other living being, for Allâh creates an entirely new *nesem* in every case. 774 761

Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i told me that every living man has a soul, *nesem*. If there were no soul, he would not live. The soul cannot be seen but can be heard, being identical with the breath, *ar-rûḥ hîw an-nesem*. The soul of the first man was breathed by Allâh into the nostrils, hence the human soul originates from Allâh's breath. This original soul exists in human beings to this day, because Allâh not only did not take it away from them but is still augmenting it. When a child is born, it receives the *nesem* from its mother, to whom Allâh adds from his own breath every time she conceives. The *nesem* dwells in the man's inside, *beṭnahdeh wa-bṣadreh*. On the man's death the soul leaves his body through the nostrils, returns to Allâh, and waits till another mother conceives a man, *ins*, when Allâh will add the waiting soul to that of the mother. 774 775

As long as there is a *nesem* in the man, he lives. *Illi nesemah beh ḥajj*, but when it leaves his body, he dies. The *nesem* departs through his nostrils, *jeṭla' min al-manḫar*. After his death the deceased is suspended in the air above his grave, head upwards. His *nesem* floats over his head. 775

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

775 Thus it remains till the *ʾabáṭa* sacrifice has been brought, after which the body takes its place in the grave and the *nesem* departs, no one knows where.

775 673 After the *ḍaḥíjje* sacrifice Alláh weighs both the good deeds, *ḥasanatéh*, and the sins of the deceased, *sajáteh radíjje*. Alláh punishes sins: *az-zena*, which means sexual intercourse with a girl betrothed to another or with another's wife, for that is a betrayal, *bowk*, of persons to whom the females belong; *al-ḥowwa*, the robbery of a guest or companion who has trusted one while on the road; *ḍabḥ az-zelema*, killing of a man not subject to the blood feud or of an enemy who did not attack one; *az-zelíme*, false testimony under oath before the court. These four sins alone are punished by Alláh both in this world and hereafter. In this world he punishes by disease, by sending robbers against the sinner's estate; by taking away his sons, or by having him murdered. In weighing these sins and good deeds, the weight of the *ʾabáṭa* and *ḍaḥíjje* sacrifices is added; also of the kettle in which the flesh was cooked; of the three stones, *ḥawádi*, supporting the kettle; of all the utensils used in preparing the supper; of the fuel, as well as of everything that was laden on the she-camel sacrificed on the holiday of the commemoration of all departed, *az-ḍaḥíjje*. The Rwejli is certain that, as far as he is concerned, the scales will always dip in his favor and that he will enter paradise intact with both his body and his soul, *nesem*. He that falls in war needs neither the *ʾabáṭa* nor the *ḍaḥíjje*, for all his sins were washed off with his blood. A murdered man, too, goes directly to paradise, because his sins fall on the head of the murderer, unless the latter was destined by Alláh to punish the murdered man for his sins.

HELL AND PARADISE

772 775 Paradise is somewhere below ground. There it rains regularly, there is always *rubʿ*, abundance, good pasture, *ḥejr*, and there also the moon shines all the time. In paradise all the Rwala live together, are young, and never grow older. They can marry there and have grown children at once. Every one has a big tent, big herds, and many children. They raid hostile tribes which have been condemned to hell, where all enemies of the Rwala are sent.

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Hell is situated either on the sun or in some other place above the earth. There the sun scorches by day and night, rains are very rare, the breeding of camels meets with no success, the soil has to be irrigated artificially — and the Bedouins there must work long and hard. They serve the *ʃallâḥîn*, have to obey the government, are conscripted, perform military duty, and Allâh himself knows all their torments. Some call hell *ġal/ât* and think that in that place neither the moon nor the stars ever shine.

Allâh dwells in both paradise and hell. He is omnipresent, hears and sees everything, but is himself invisible. With Allâh's permission even the dead may leave either paradise or hell and visit their kin, to whom they appear in dreams.

In the belief of the Bedouins and the Ṣlejb there is somewhere far beyond the horizon a tall moutain on each side of the earth. One half of each mountain rests on *terra firma*, the other half in the sea, into which it sinks abruptly, while towards the land it sends out a sharp spur called *ǰaʃm*. These four mountains carry the whole firmament. During the rainy season the spirits and even Allâh himself prefer to dwell near the southern mountain, which the Arabs call *aš-šerḳ*, as it is supposed to be situated in the inner desert. In summer, however, Allâh moves with all the spirits to the northern mountain, *ǰeṛṛebow*.

CHAPTER XXIV

TERMS APPLIED TO PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

101 131 The Rwala tribe camps in northern Arabia between latitude 28° and 34° north and longitude 36° and 42° east. For the various topographical features of this area the tribe has strictly defined terms, of which we noted the following:

133 *'Abd*: black cone

104 *Abrak*: dark rock partly covered with reddish sand

'Aḍa': both dead and live bushes, grasses, excrements, clay, coarse sand, and any débris brought down by a torrent

'Aḍra: pastures defiled by the excrements of countless herds

'Ajârât or *'ejârât*: huge, flat-topped elevations

'Akla: a well by a channel or in a valley, which caves in after heavy rains and has to be restored

'Aḳûla: a rather small, low depression in a plain, where the rain water gathers

'Alâme (pl., *'alâmât*): landmark

'Amijja: the pear-shaped hollow of a *mokv* rain well

'Anza (dimin., *'unejza*): a long flat-topped hillock rising from a plain

'Arejâ: a long arm of a sand desert

'Arja (pl., *'arjât*): a turn of a valley or gully

'Arḳûb: a slope; steep rocky hillside

'Âsâma: scorched tract of land without pasture or water

Aṣba'a (pl., *aṣâba'*): "fingers," a row of low isolated cones

Baḥra: soil from which the rain water runs off quickly

Barârît: desolate, waterless regions; camel paths across such regions

Barbak: a small artificial rain pond

Barḥûs: movable sharp ridge of sand dunes or drifts, bare of vegetation

Barrâde (pl., *barârid*): a path trodden out by camels between stones or gravel

Bâṭen: broad and deep valley without any channel

Baṭḥa (pl., *baṭḥât*): a shallow river bed

Baṭn (pl., *buṭnân*): a low hillside, slope, base

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Baṭn: long depression bordered on one side by a high slope 133
Bed': abundant or large spring 104
Bejâba: a plateau giving a wide vi-w
Berḳa' (pl., *burḳ*): a rocky hill partly covered by sand
Bilâd 'aḥijje: the salubrious districts of an-Nefûd and al-Ḥamâd
Bilâd mâbijje: the unhealthful districts of al-Ṣûṭa, Ġowlân, al-Mzêrîb, Ḳerajât al-Meleḥ, and al-Ġôba
Bir (pl., *bijâr*): a well in general; well with spring water
Bûra: a narrow, deep ditch
Burrêt: rock salt; also mica

Ċeṭṭân: a rock or stone which falls to pieces, crumbles

Dabbe: a rough ridge of flat-topped hillocks
Daḥl (pl., *duḥûl*): a long, subterranean cavern where water bubbles out, doline
Dawra: a vast, elongated, level plain enclosed by two mountain chains
Demlûr: an isolated, blunted butte in a wide plain
Derwa: a sharp summit
Dîra: the Bedouins' term for a settled territory where they get their supplies and the inhabitants of which pay them tribute

'Ebb (pl., *'obûb*): a shallow dale, gully, bay
'Edd: a perpetual spring well
'Edwa (pl., *'edwât*): low place in a *sowḥ* valley incapable of holding rain water and therefore suitable for pitching tents
Ekšûš: a mixture of large stones and gravel
'Eleb (pl., *'elebân*): an isolated table-topped hillock
'Elejm (pl., *'alâjem*): an isolated elongated hill rising from a plain
'Erf: isolated hill, visible from afar
'Erwân (pl., *'araa* or *'arânîn*): channel of a torrent; channel in a steep hillside
'Erš (pl., *'urûḳ*): long spur of sand

Fâǧ (pl., *fijân*): a wide rocky hollow
Far' (pl., *frû'*): the starting-point of a gully or valley; a branch gully of a side valley
Faraǧ: a spacious area where no danger threatens the Bedouin
Farše (pl., *frûš*): a funnel-like pit in the sand

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 *Fazr* (dimin., *fzêr*): a crevice in clay soil where the rain
134 water accumulates; a narrow, deep channel
Feǧǧ: a hollow of some width between two hills, with a road running through it
Fejṣa (pl., *fijêṣ*): a fertile depression
Fekâra: stony table-land
Felḳ (pl., *flûḳ*): an elongated sand dune

Ġâbija: a shallow pit in the earth into which water for camels is poured
Ġâdde (pl., *ġwâdd* or *ġwâd*): path trodden out by camels in the flat desert
Ġâl (pl., *ġlân*): the bank of a river channel; the slope of a gully or valley; a long, steep escarpment by which a plateau falls off to a lower level
Ġaṣ': rain water
Ġauṣa or *ġaṣ*: a basin or valley with spring wells having water enough to supply big camps
Ġeba': an open cistern
Ġebb (pl., *ġbebe* or *ġebâb*): a deep rain well or cistern, wider at the bottom than at the top
Ġebṣ: a natural hole in a rocky plain, as much as two meters deep, where rain water accumulates. Sometimes it can be covered with a big stone
Ġeind: a rocky desert
Ġelîbe: a low, flat-topped elevation
Ġemede (pl., *ġemed*): the stony foot of a *ġâl*
Ġer': a region covered with white or gray sand, where nothing will grow
Ġhara': a desolate plain
Ġilf: a steep, narrow, rough ridge
Ġûba (pl., *ġûbât*): a deep valley; a basin in a plain
Ġubb: an artificial well with spring water
Ġufra (pl., *ġfâr* or *ġafar*): low ground in a plain, where rain water gathers
Ġurf: a crevice; steep river bank

Ḥabâra': mouse holes
Ḥabb (pl., *ḥbûb*): long, narrow strip of rocky land bordered by sand dunes
Ḥabče: narrow, elongated depression as much as three meters wide and filled with rain water

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Habije: a rain water hole
Habir: stony hollow forming a passage between long sand dunes
Ḥabl (pl., *ḥbâl*): a narrow long sand drift
Ḥabra (pl., *ḥabâri*): a large or small depression in a plain in which the rain water gathers
Ḥabt: a basin covered with gravel and sand, where small ponds are sometimes formed by rain water which cannot run off
Ḥadak: a round hole in either clayey or stony, but soft, soil into which water runs
Ḥadlûl (pl., *ḥadâlîl*): shallow valley without a visible channel
Ḥala': volcano
Ḥala': a region where the camels will find no sustenance in any particular year; all that lies beyond the camp
Ḥâlât: an area covered with basalt or lava, through which neither horse nor man can move except by a few very narrow paths
Ḥaliže: an artificial, subterranean hollow; a cave
Ḥalk al-želîb: the opening of a well
Ḥâll: a path or trail through the sand
Ḥamâd: a barren, scorched-appearing plain covered with small gravel
Ḥarbaṣa: a region of rough hillocks
Ḥarime (pl., *ḥarâjem*): a narrow gully shut in by steep hillsides
Ḥariže (pl., *ḥarâjež*): a shallow well (from which water can be drawn by hand)
Ḥasa': rocky lowland covered with a layer of clay, sand, and gravel, under which the rain water gathers
Ḥaṣa': gravel
Ḥaṯm (pl., *ḥṯûm*): a "nose" or steep spur of a ridge
Ḥawâja: shallow, artificial, stone- and mud-walled reservoirs on a rocky surface, where rain water is caught
Ḥawṭa: a fenced-in date grove
Ḥaẓba or *ḥaẓb* (pl., *aḥẓâb*): an extensive but isolated rocky hill
Ḥazm: a rather narrow but long height sinking down into a plain steeply on the one side and gradually on the other
Ḥebge: undulating country where it is possible to hide out also to be attacked from ambush
Ḥefne: a round hole by the river bank or at the foot of a hillside, where rain water gathers; it resembles the *radir* hole, but the latter is usually found in the river bed itself

133 *Ḥejd*: the foot of a hill; a slope shutting in a plain
104 *Ḥemma* or *ḥamme*: lava
Ḥerr (pl., *ḥerara*): a river channel in clay soil, with steep banks
Ḥesw (pl., *ḥesjân*): a depression in a rocky river bed into which the rain water runs under sand and gravel
Ḥôr: a depression where the rain water forms numerous pools
Ḥšabe (pl., *ḥšabât*): a circular, natural rocky wall shutting in small level spaces called *krajje* (pl., *krajjât*)
Ḥubta: a depression in a flat rock, where rain water can accumulate

'Iṭa: undulating plain covered in places with sand

Ḳâ' (pl., *ži'ân*): a flat plain where the rain water forms no brooks
Ḳa'ara (pl., *ḳa'ar*): a large hollow shut in on three sides by steep slopes
Ḳara' or *aḳra'*: a ridge
Ḳâra (pl., *ḳûr*): an isolated table mountain; a mesa
Ḳaṣ'a (pl., *ḳṣâ'*): a shallow natural depression in a rocky surface, where the rain water remains
Ḳaṣîme (pl., *ḳaṣâjem*): isolated sand dunes in a rocky plain
Ḳasr: a large but shallow basin which becomes a pond after unusually heavy rains
Ḳaṭar (pl., *ḳṭâr*): the last spur of a mountain range
Ḳaṭṭâr: a spring the water of which does not flow actively but merely trickles drop by drop
Ḳejš: shallow holes in a channel
[202] *Ḳenna*: an isolated conical hill on top of which a beacon is lit whenever the enemy means to attack herds grazing far from the camp
Ḳîr or *ḥumimar*: bitumen
Krajje (pl., *krajjât*): roughly circular basin surrounded by walls of crumbling stone

Lâl: a level plain glistening in the sun
Laṣṣâfa: a hillock with mica
Luruf: the eroded border of a sand desert

Maḥâl: a great distance between two wells
Maḥâri: the last spurs of a range of hillocks
Maḥfûr (pl., *maḥâfir*): artificial rain pool

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Maḥira: a small flat area flooded and thus fertilized by rain water

Marabb: low-lying ground where the rain water of a channel is absorbed

Maṣmad (pl., *maṣâmed*): an extensive but shallow crevice at the foot of a hillside, where the rain water remains. It is of greater dimensions than the *žalta*

Maṣna' (pl., *maṣâne'*): a rocky flat area artificially changed into a large reservoir

Maṭabb: a junction of two channels

Matne: flat-topped elevation rising gradually from the surrounding plain

Ma'w: hollow on two sides bounded by sand dunes and on two merging into rocky plain

Mefâze: barren tract between two camping grounds

Meǧneb: a slope shutting in a valley through which a creek runs

Meḥir (pl., *maḥâjer*): a basin where much water is absorbed; small hole in clay soil where the rain water accumulates

Mehmehijje: waterless desert

Mela': a plain covered with a thin layer of alluvium

Mellâḥa: salina

Meẓî' (pl., *meẓ'ân*): a shallow branch channel in a valley through which the rain water runs off into the main channel

Miz'aže: the highest conical hill near a camp, whence warning signals can be given to herdsmen and watchers on similar hills near other camps

Mšâš: a shallow well in a clay basin into which rain water slowly percolates through the soil

Mukra or *mokr* (pl., *mkûr*): half natural, half artificial well, five to ten meters deep, dug in a rock, into which the rain water flows. The opening, which is usually narrow, can be covered with a stone of moderate size

Munṭâr: a conical hill

Mutribe: a path through a lava field

Nab': spring water

Nâzije (pl., *nawâzi*): a vast sand plain

Nâẓra: height conspicuous from afar

Neba' (pl., *nebjân*): isolated dome-shaped hillock

Nedra: spur of a rock

Nedwijje: a small spring disappearing in gravel

133 *Nî'*: a ditch around a tent for draining off the rain water
104 *Nijâṭ*: a boundless stony plain
Nuḳra: basin into which much rain water runs
Nuṛur (pl., *nuṛûr*): a hillock composed of white and dark strata

'Obṭa: a deep basin

Ra'as (pl., *ra'ûn*): a line of rocky hillocks
Rabḫ: the small stones which scatter under the hoofs of a galloping camel
Radha: a cavity in a stony slope, into which rain water runs
Radîfa (pl., *radâjef*): a low spot in a wide, shallow river bed where the rain water gathers
Ṛadîr (pl., *ṛudrân* or *ṛudr*): a hole in a channel with steep banks where rain water remains for a long time
Raḥârih: a wide plain glistening in the sun
Ṛakrûḳa: a plain covered with small, crumbled stones
Ṛâr: a precipice; crevice; canyon
Ṛarb (pl., *ṛurûb*): a reservoir from which water is distributed
Ṛarmûl (pl., *ṛarâmil*): an isolated, low, narrow hill
Rasm: an artificial well left unfinished
Raśrâś (or *raśrâśijje*): a plain with rock surfaces worn flat by wind and sand, with pebbles and gravel scattered around. When a camel treads on such pebbles, the friction against the rocky surface produces a sound not unlike the word *raśraś*, which gives such plains their name
Reǧde (pl., *riǧdât*): a stratum of solid rock in a steep slope
Rî': a narrow, short defile
Rîf: a region with good pasture, good crops
Riǧle (pl., *riǧl*): a shallow valley, particularly one tributary to a main valley
Rîšijje or *rîše*: a shallow valley in an undulating stony plain
Riss (pl., *rsûs*): a well without water
Rowṛ (pl., *riṛân*): lower ground in a level desert, into which silt is deposited by rain water, producing a growth of perennials, sometimes even of annuals; a meadow
Ruṛuma: a stone, boulder, rock

Ša'ara: a spring which merely trickles and does not flow
Sabḫa: salt marsh
Ša'fe: an elevation not necessarily high, but prominent
Ṣafḥa (pl., *ṣfâḥ*): the base of a mountain
Šâheḳ (pl., *šhûḳ* or *šehžân*): the highest summit of a range

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Saḥl (pl., *sḥûl*): a narrow channel dammed-in by rocks, where rain water accumulates under gravel 133 104

Ṣaḥṣaḥ: a plain shut in by low but steep bluffs

Ṣâma (pl., *ṣâmât*): hills of different colors; dark undulating country covered in some places with rose-tinged sand

Ṣa'nân: a deep well with no water

Ṣarâḥiǧ or *ṣaḥâriǧ*: deep rock crevices with a narrow opening where the rain water remains pure for a long time

Sarḥa: a plain covered with young annuals

Ṣaṭne: short branch valley; a shallow channel in a plain

Ṣawwâne: tract or hill covered with flints, *ṣawwân*

Ṣedawijje: a plain covered with dark-brown gravel

Še'en: creek

Šefa': a flat top of a long ridge

Šeffa (pl., *šfâf*): the brink of a plateau sinking steeply down to a valley

Še'îb (pl., *še'ibân* or *še'bân*): a main valley or watercourse of an intermittent stream

Selîl al-ma': a wild torrent, appearing and disappearing with equal suddenness

Semâḥ: a plain covered with coarse sand, with nothing to hinder rapid movement

Ṣen' (pl., *ṣnû'*): an artificial hollow in a rocky surface, where rain water remains

Senûd: the upper parts of a valley

Serje: narrow gully

Siḥl: a crevice in a stony plain, where rain water remains a long time

Sirdâb: subterranean passage

Sowḥ (pl., *siḥân* or *sijâḥ*): a valley without a channel or with one partly filled in; shallow depression

Šrejf: a narrow mountain spur

Šwâhiǧ: small paths

Šwâhit: high, steep, impassable mountains

Ṭabîât or *ṭbâl*: hollow knolls, domes, or "bubbles"

Ṭaffa (pl., *ṭfâf*): a plateau cleft by a deep valley

Ṭâǧ: the opening of a snake hole

Ṭanḥaǧ (pl., *tanâḥeǧ*): a hillock serving as a landmark

Ṭâr: a long, high, steep escarpment

Ṭarab (pl., *ṭurbân*): a crevice in a rock or a small hole in a rocky gully, where rain water gathers

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133 *Ṭarak* (pl., *ṭrûk* or *ṭrâk*): a long, low ridge
104 *Ṭel'* (pl., *tlâ'*): a small gully ending in a tributary of a main valley
Ṭell (pl., *tlûl*): an isolated hill standing high above the surrounding country; volcano
Ṭemîle (pl., *ṭemâjel*): a small depression in a rocky river bed, into which the rain water runs under the gravel
Ṭenijje (pl., *ṭenâja*): a mountain defile; passage between two rows of tents
Ṭomijje: hillocks, slopes, and depressions formed in sand by the wind

'Ôd: a narrow valley in rocks

Wâdi (pl., *wudijân*): a long and wide main valley
Waššâš: cascade
Wizij (pl., *wuzâje*): cavities in the solid stony strata of a steep hillside
Wuṭi: ditch around a tent for draining off the rain water

Żadme: a projection from a rocky hillside
Żalta (pl., *žlât*): a crevice in a rocky slope, at least one meter deep, where rain water accumulates
Żel': an isolated, rugged mountain, usually of granite
Żelîb (pl., *ḳulbân*): a well, whether walled and deep or unwalled and wide
Żemle (pl., *zeml*): a low elevation; a rise
Żerâže: vast arid plains
Żoboṭ (pl., *żubṭân*): the clay foot of a *ğâl*.

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300 *The positions of place names occurring on the author's map of Northern Arabia accompanying his* Arabia Deserta, The Middle Euphrates, Palmyrena, *and* Northern Neǧd, *New York, 1927—1928, are indicated in the index in parentheses by key letters and figures referring to the quadrangles on the map. The letters* SM *refer to the author's map of Southern Mesopotamia which accompanies his* The Middle Euphrates.

Brief, non-technical characterizations are given in parentheses for the majority of the Arabic botanical terms. The Latin names of such plants as have been identified by J. Velenovský[1] *are also given.*

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[1] J. Velenovský, *Plantae arabicae ex itinere itinere A. Musil a. 1915*: constituting *Vĕstník król. české společnosti nauk.* Třída II. *ve rok 1921—1922* (*Mémoires de la Société Royale des Sciences de Bohême, Classe des Sciences, 1921—1922*), No. 4, Prague, 1923; idem, *Plantae arabicae Musilianae*, constituting: *Vĕstník król. české společnosti nauk.* Třída mathematicko-přírodovědecká (*Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Math.-naturwiss. Classe*), 1911, No. 11, Prague, 1912.

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ERRATA

p. 58, lines 12–15, *should read*: Ḥazzâ"s wife was Ṭakla, the daughter of Chief Fâjez eben Ĝandal, who bore his sons Faḥad and an-Nûri. His son Muḥammad was born of another mother. After Ḥazzâ"s death Saṭṭâm married his widow, who later bore him Mif'al. — The author's *Arabia Deserta*, p. 230, line 8, should be correspondingly corrected.

p. 397, line 10, *instead* ar-Remṭe *read* ad-Dmejṭe.

2: Musil MD4 Rwala MD4
231, 232, 233, 492, 539

[General information about horses and camels will be found in category 231. Specific information about breeding, diseases and veterinary science will be found in category 232, about herding and pasturing in 233. Specific information pertaining to the use of camels and horses in transportation, associated practices and descriptions of gear will be found in category 492. For native texts applying to camels see category 116, pp. 340-346, 358-368; to horses, pp. 383-388.]

[For texts of native poems, songs, tales and myths in the original and in translation, see category 116 as follows:

Rainmaking	pp.	10-12
Animals		21-25, 29-31
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Poems of wars and raids		632-637
Anecdotes of wars and raids		637-640
Stories of wars and raids told by Blejhan Eben Zeri		641-661]

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

[For the history of tribal relations between the Rwala and other tribes, of various clans and chiefs from the beginning of the nineteenth century, see the narratives in category 116, pp. 574-661. For an account of traditions concerning the Rwala chiefs, see category 116, pp. 51-58.]

[For accounts of the rise and fall of various chiefs and their leadership of the tribe in war and peace-making, see the narratives in category 116, pp. 574-661. For traditions concerning the Rwala head chief see category 116, pp. 51-58.]

[For poems depicting qualities valued and admired by the Rwala and great deeds of men see category 116, pp. 473-488.]

[For songs, ditties, anecdotes and narratives of raids and warfare see category 116, pp. 512-522 and 532-661.]

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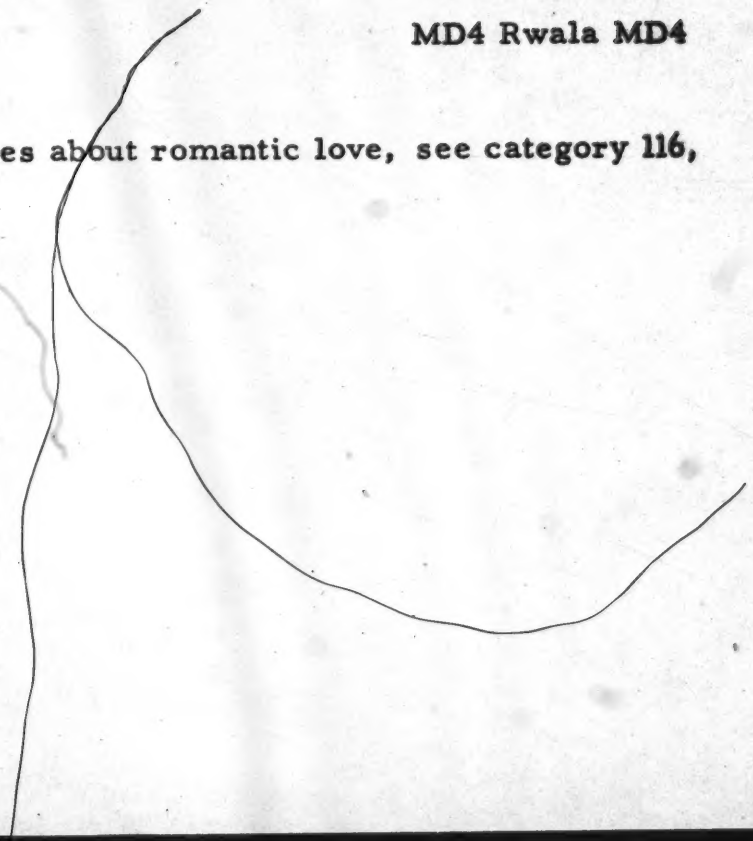
MD4 Rwala MD4

[For poems, songs and ditties about romantic love, see category 116, pp. 140-228.]



1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Introduction

"I took care of thee in the wilderness." HOSEA xiii, 5.

IT IS MY desire in this book to deal with things of human interest rather than with scientific questions, and where possible to allow my adventures and experiences with the men and animals of the wilderness to comprise my story.

My soul is bound up in this romantic "Arabia Deserta." The great peace and calm of the Arabian wilderness holds me in thrall—that tremendous quietude, which on the last day of the creation must have brooded over the whole world. In the desert I breathe freely and the accumulated ballast of civilized life falls away, like a great burden from my shoulders. Even now I am amazed to think how little man really needs to be happy, and how carefree one is with nothing but the merest necessities of life.

My expeditions into the desert and my life among the Arabs were not prompted by scientific aspirations; the Arab horse was the lodestone. The "white patches" on the map did not attract me so much, even though I lived for the most part in quite unknown regions never, or very rarely, visited by Europeans. It was not even the

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●121 call of adventure which led my footsteps into the wilder parts of the Near East, but just the love of horses and in particular of the splendid Arab horse. So intense was (and is) my passion for this noble animal, that I wished to meet him in his native pastures and there learn his history and the secrets of his breeding; and, if there was a secondary interest, it was to enquire into the wanderings of the Bedouin tribes. This grew more fascinating the further I proceeded, so that I came to study the geographical features of their pasture-areas and lines of migration, their historic past and ethnographical peculiarities—subjects on which I have published in various lands a series of special articles, maps, and tables.[1]

114 The Arabian peninsula is inconceivably vast; its area is half as great as that of the United States of America. My wanderings, naturally, stretched over only a part of Arabia, the highland plateau of the Bedouins that lies inland.

Although I touched the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf more than once, I have never yet visited such well-known places as Aden or Oman, not to mention Mecca and the Rub-el-Khali, which was crossed for the first time by two Englishmen (Bertram Thomas and St. John Philby) only a few years ago. I claim one thing, however: that during my sojourn in Arabia, I lived entirely as a Bedouin. I had never any need to deny my

123 114

[1] *American Geographical Society* (New York, 1930); *Asia* (New York, 1929); *Hippologische Sammlung*, Schickhardt and Ebner (Stuttgart, 1930); *Sportologue* (Los Angeles, 1931); *Sankt Georg* (Berlin, 1930–33); *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (Berlin, 1933); *Country Life* (London, 1934); *Sphere* (London, 1934); *Strand* London, 1935), etc., and Bulletins of the Agricultural Colleges and Animal Breeding Associations in Hungary, Poland, Russia, Japan, Argentina, Egypt, etc.

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race or my creed amongst the Arabs. I was never once the butt of their mockery or suffered at their hands any discourtesy.

The reason that I was allowed to live with them on the most intimate terms and was implicitly trusted by them may perhaps be explained by the simple fact that I refrained from mingling in their politics, except when invited to give my opinion in internal tribal affairs. Furthermore, I was careful to adhere to all their cherished customs and prejudices, particularly those relating to their women. These are strict, and no European can hope to gain the complete confidence of a Bedouin without studied observance of them.

Like the desert itself, the Bedouins, looked upon from the outside, have a forbidding appearance; but the closer one lives to them, the better one comes to know them and is the more astonished at their placid unconcern.

The most astounding thing, which will ever command my admiration, is the equanimity with which the Bedouin leads his family and his herds from the oases and cultivated lands into the wilderness and across desert areas, which appear to be absolutely barren. The first cloud proclaiming the advent of rain lures him irresistibly to the highlands of the Hamad and the flint desert or into the sand dunes of the Nufud. After the first rains the bold camel-plunderers also leave their tents. With their war-mares tied to their racing camels, they ride out into the blue, often covering a thousand miles, "and sit on the roads (as the holy script says) and lie in wait for booty like an Arab in the desert. . . ."

CHAPTER XXIV

TERMS APPLIED TO PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The Rwala tribe camps in northern Arabia between latitude 28° and 34° north and longitude 36° and 42° east. For the various topographical features of this area the tribe has strictly defined terms, of which we noted the following:

ʿAbd: black cone

Abraḳ: dark rock partly covered with reddish sand

ʿAḍaʾ: both dead and live bushes, grasses, excrements, clay, coarse sand, and any débris brought down by a torrent

ʿAḍra: pastures defiled by the excrements of countless herds

ʿAjârât or *ʿejârât*: huge, flat-topped elevations

ʿAḳla: a well by a channel or in a valley, which caves in after heavy rains and has to be restored

ʿAḳûla: a rather small, low depression in a plain, where the rain water gathers

ʿAlâme (pl., *ʿalâmât*): landmark

ʿAmijja: the pear-shaped hollow of a *moḳr* rain well

ʿAnza (dimin., *ʿunejza*): a long flat-topped hillock rising from a plain

ʿArejž: a long arm of a sand desert

ʿArǧa (pl., *ʿarǧât*): a turn of a valley or gully

ʿArḳûb: a slope; steep rocky hillside

ʿAsâma: scorched tract of land without pasture or water

Aṣbaʿa (pl., *aṣâbeʿ*): "fingers," a row of low isolated cones

Baḥṣa: soil from which the rain water runs off quickly

Barârît: desolate, waterless regions; camel paths across such regions

Barbak: a small artificial rain pond

Barḥûs: movable sharp ridge of sand dunes or drifts, bare of vegetation

Barrâde (pl., *barârîd*): a path trodden out by camels between stones or gravel

Bâṭen: broad and deep valley without any channel

Baṭḥa (pl., *baṭḥât*): a shallow river bed

Baṭîn (pl., *buṭnân*): a low hillside, slope, base

XX

Sandstorm

WE HAD HARDLY left the Nufud, bound for the Jabal Tawil, about a hundred and fifty miles distant, when we rode into a gentle drizzle. A segment of a rainbow curved over the sand-dunes like a gleaming scimitar. Thunder rumbled from afar. 132 ●

"O Thou, Almighty!" exclaimed Faris. "Blessed sound that promises us pasture!" The clouds came lower. Their grey tails swept the dune-tops. Forked lightning flashed and thunder rolled majestically, shaking the air. A fine hail rustled down. And then the clouds burst. The sand sang under the lash of the rain; the hair curled up on the drenched camels, and we riders dripped as though we had just been pulled out of water. But the deluge soon ended and a warm wind fanned us, drying man and beast. Soon the sun was out again—and by afternoon the deeper red of the dunes was the only sign that it had rained.

Two days afterwards we had descended into the stifling atmosphere of the lowlands, where the wind was driving dense dust-clouds before it.

We weathered the first day of it, though it blew with unremitting fierceness and perseverance. But on the next day it developed into a veritable sandstorm of such violence that one could barely keep one's seat in the saddle. I counselled beating back into the Nufud and there, in some low-lying depression, waiting for the storm to blow

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 [134] itself out. In the red sand one is quite safe. Its specific gravity is considerably greater than that of white or yellow sand, and after sufficient winter rain it is more or less covered with some vegetation.

My comrades, however, were of the opinion that the strength of the storm was already broken, that it could not possibly last longer than two days. We therefore continued our ride, hoping to see on the morrow the sun shining again on a tranquil land. But the third day was a repetition of the second, a howling gale, clouds, whirling sand, and no visibility beyond ten paces.

The heat would have been tolerable, but the air was so sultry that we dripped sweat from every pore. The perspiration could not evaporate in this muggy air, and to this discomfort was added the irritation from the driven dust. This was something new for me in Arabia. No matter how high the temperature, I had always found the air quite dry; even in winter, after rain or a thunderstorm, it will remain light and refreshing.

Half-suffocated by day, by night we were chilled to the bone by icy blasts that searched our moist bodies, and made them shake with ague.

Our hands and faces were chapped. Even our tongues ached, though we had plenty of water. The fine, white sand penetrated everywhere—under the clothes, into nose, ears, and eyes, and covering the hair. Our lips became parched; the eyes, the throat, the palate hot with inflammation and pain; the breath came in pants, the blood hammered heavily in the heart and in the temples.

Our camels dragged themselves along only with the utmost effort, groaning and complaining. In one of the

L: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

saddlebags we carried one of our slaves, who had collapsed from exhaustion on the second day. 132

Faris had his fill of trouble with his young ostriches and their feeding. But in spite of the storm, he contrived to forage for them and always produced something—caterpillars, beetles, fresh grass and shoots, a lizard, bustard eggs. Several times a day he would direct a few spurts of milk from his *dhalul* (which had calved, as I mentioned) into the gaping mouths of the chicks. But for all his pains, the storm cost him the life of one of them. [231]

On the third day of the storm, Faris fell ill. It was a sudden attack: first vomiting, followed by chills and fever. I kept constantly by his side, but he became alarmingly weak, until finally we had to arrange a saddlebag as a litter to carry him.

At night the storm abated somewhat, but there was no sign of a star. It was very dark and cold, and fine sand continued to blow.

On the fourth day the storm took on fresh fury. The wind howled more fiercely than ever. Our lungs were choked with dust. Worn out by the constant buffeting and sleepless nights, with aching joints, dead-tired, at the end of our strength, we groped our way forward. Two camels dropped and had to be abandoned. Their riders and loads had to be distributed among the other exhausted animals.

The worst of it was that Faris had become delirious. In the saddlebag of another camel, Dhadan, the slave who had fallen sick two days before, lay in a stupor, looking more dead than alive.

J: Rawan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

●132 At last a vague something loomed through the driving sulphur-coloured sand-clouds; its outline grew less blurred and assumed a comforting solid shape. It was a rocky ridge, a harbour of refuge. Camels and horses crowded close against one another, while above us screamed the storm, driving before it the sand, across the top of the sheltering wall. Exhausted, men and beasts sank to the ground.

Faris, lying on rugs, had fallen into a deep coma-like slumber. I tried to cool his burning forehead and forced a little water between his parched lips. After a couple of hours or so he awoke, looking better, and gave some signs of returning strength. All the others lay on their sheepskins like men struck down, sleeping the sleep of the dead. At length I, too, propped against Maha, was overcome by sleep.

In the night I awoke, and my first thought was that I must be dreaming. A serene, starry sky looked down on a solitude sunk in deep calm. I threw off the warm fur coat which had been my coverlet and got up to look after my patient. As I bent over Faris, he opened his eyes and spoke to me. Thank Heaven, he was better and his brain was quite clear again. Hunger and thirst were his worst complaints now, and I had everything at hand to satisfy his needs. When I had also ministered to Dhadan, who had likewise improved and was able to take some stimulant, I rolled myself up once more in my fur, and instantly dropped back into deep sleep.

Daybreak found me half-awake and vaguely aware of it, through eyes still closed; but to my annoyance, Maha began to nuzzle me persistently. As I had not the least

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

desire to get up, I pushed her head away; but she continued to prod me and to whimper softly but meaningly, until I had to open my eyes. They fell on a scene transformed. The camels were all ready and saddled; Faris—I could hardly believe my eyes—was feeding his ostrich chicks, Dhadan was watering the horses, and Mnahi was moving down the rows of camels, carrying his cloak formed into a sack and scattering from it fresh shoots he had gathered for the *dhaluls*. By the "coffee-fire" squatted Ralib, brewing the bitter essence, the enticing aroma of which scented the air.

And the sun, the wonderful sun, shone again on a world renewed; even the farthest distances were visible through the crystal-clear air, scoured by the four-days' storm.

XIV

The Hunger March

AMIR FUAZ, who had gone to Damascus some time before, was to rejoin his migrating tribe when it had reached the *Wudian* district of Rueyshdat. That would be before the end of the week. I took advantage of the brief interval to make an excursion into the Harra with Faris and a few of his followers. I liked it no better than did our camels, though they were fresh saddle-animals.

The Harra is a long stony desert running southeast from the Jabal Druz (or Hauran) and borders on the great Arabian desert-plateau. Volcanic mountains overlook it on the northwest. It is intersected with a network of ancient camel trails, for in the Harra the routes of both the western and eastern Bedouin tribes cross. The region, up to the Jabal Enaza, has the reputation of being the coldest in North Arabia. It has a mean elevation of about three thousand feet, and for months in the year is exposed to chill northeast gales and cold snaps, when the thermometer will drop to six degrees below zero, Celsius (10.8 below freezing-point, Fahrenheit).

This year, indeed, the spring was a mild one throughout the region. But the monotonous, undulating, stony surface showed a touch of meagre vegetation only near rain pools in low-lying places. Elsewhere it was all gleaming flat flints, polished pebbles and porous pumice. Rust-coloured, bluish-grey, blackish and speckled splinters covered the floor of the Harra as with a coat of scales,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

on gravel and sand, and then waits a whole year. At the expiration of that time he scrapes away the sand and gravel, takes out the star, and brings it to a good swordsmith, who melts and beats it into a saber which can be sold for one hundred Turkish pounds ($450). 821

If there is lightning and thunder, but the clouds begin to scatter and disappear, the Rwala pray: "O, that he, who sends (angels) to the cloud, may send (an angel) to it on eight riding camels and say to it: 'The gift (of God) shall come down.' *Jâ min jirsel las-saḥâb jirsel leh ṭamân erčâb w-jakûl leh 'aṭwa' jiği.*" If merciful Allâh spreads out the clouds on high and but few drops fall, the Bedouins lament: "After this (rain) we have lost what might have brought us gold, (we have lost it) like a vibrating mirage. Truly, we can do nothing without Allâh. *Min 'oḳbeh raddejna-d-ḏahâb miṯl ẓaḥẓâḥ as-sarâb 'oḳb allâh mâ ḥenna šien.*" Abundant rain would have given the camels good pasture and for well-fed old camels gold can be had from the 'Aḳejl.

The end of the rain in the daytime is announced by the rainbow, *sejf al-maṭar*. As soon it appears, the clouds grow calm; *ilja sajjefat kajjefat*.

SEASONS AND RAINY PERIODS

In summer the clouds are plentiful, but they bring no rain. Only in the autumn there becomes visible either on the right or on the left of the sun a sun dog, *middat aš-šams*, a sure sign that rain will soon come. In this season the seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, of the Nṣejr clan, Mbârek eben Ḥwêmel, takes a large handful of salt and, dividing it into six small heaps indicating the principal rains, arranges them in the form of a cross, *ṣallab*, thus: 821 791 787

o *shejlâwi*
o *šitwi* o *ṭrûwi* o *ṣejfi*
o *ǧôzâwi*,

and then lies down by them and waits for what Allâh's messenger will tell him during the coming night. On the next morning he and the others examine the heaps. The one where the most salt is melted is the one which will produce the most abundant rain.

The year of the Bedouins begins with the first heavy rain following the appearance of the star Canopus, *shejl*, in 805 132

805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at as-shejl nušarreż*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṯrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṯrûwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-šta'*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-wasm*, *aš-*
132 *šitwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *as-shejlâwi*, *aṭ-ṭrûwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which
[731] are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen as-sejl wa-tlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-herfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arż mawsûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the tiny pale-green leaflets of annuals, which the Rwala call "grasses," *'ešeb*, whereas the perennials are called by them "woody plants," *šaǧar*. If the *wasm aṭ-ṭrûwi*, the rain of the Pleiades, is likewise abundant, the grasses attain their full growth and the camels pasture on fresh *'ešeb* even before the winter, *aš-šta'*, sets in. 132 137

The most important rain of all is the *wasm aṭ-ṭrûwi*; it is the decisive factor for the future grazing. A copious rain of Gemini extending over wide areas assures the growth of both the grasses and the woody plants and banishes the dread of hunger. Sometimes at the end of the *ǧôzâwi* rain period comes a rain called *at-twejbe'* (of Aldebaran), which completes the fertility brought by the rains of Gemini, although not sufficient in itself to take their place altogether.

The *šitwi* rain, called also *an-nežžân*, will not assure a successful growth of the grasses if they have not already sprouted after the *wasm* rains. In the *smâk* and, especially, in the *ṣejf* seasons there are many very hot days, so that the grasses which came out from the ground after the *šitwi* rain grow yellow before reaching their full development. But the *šitwi* rain fills all the reservoirs with pure healthful water, which evaporates but slowly during the cold winter days and nights and in consequence remains pure for a long time. [312]

The rain of *as-smâk* is beneficial only when the soil has been thoroughly soaked by some autumnal rain, especially that of Gemini, for then both the grasses and woody plants are rapidly developed by *as-smâk* and the prosperity of the Bedouins in that particular season is well-nigh assured. Yet even the most abundant *smâk* rain is of but little account if it falls on ground already parched from lack of moisture from the preceding autumnal rains, for the hot sun of the following season, *aṣ-ṣejf*. will consume everything that the *smâk* has called to life.

An abundant *ṣejfi* rain leads to the destruction of the annuals, strengthens the perennials, and fills all the spring wells. The grasses refreshed by copious summer rain become luxuriant, quickly sending out new leaves and blossoms; but in a few days the scorching sun absorbs all their sap, withering them more prematurely than if *aṣ-ṣejfi* had not awakened them. The woody plants, on the other hand, having a longer period of vegetation, acquire from abundant summer rain so much moisture that they can attain their full development.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 137 A luxuriant growth of perennials in the autumn is a sure sign that the particular district has been visited by good *ṣejfi* rains, whence the saying: "O that lovely little gazelle! it will eat its fill of the autumn pasture after the summer rain; *jâ 'ajn al-ḫšejf tar'-al-ḫelfi 'oḳb aṣ-ṣejfi.*" Abundant summer [312] rain also fills both the natural and artificial reservoirs, but such water soon swarms with frogs, *daṛâ'iṣ*, and all kinds of worms, which render it foul-smelling and undrinkable in a short time.

PRAYERS FOR RAIN

539* 789 If the earth does not receive abundant autumnal rain, the danger of a failure of the pasture, *maḥal* (or *muḥṭi*), arises. In order to prevent it, the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of the rain (Fig. 1). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession, which wanders from tent to tent singing:

1. *Jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   belli bšejt râ'ina
2. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min al-maṭar eẓina
3. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min midd allâh meddina
4. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min al-wabel enṭina.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Wet the mantle of our herdsman.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
With pouring rain allay our thirst.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
From Allâh's measure measure out to us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
A real flood let our share be.

[291] Verse 1. *Ṛejṭ* signifies a rain of at least four days' duration extending over a vast region. *Bšejt* is a cheap gray cloak made of wool or cotton waste. 2. The girls gradually increase their prayers for rain. At first they want the rain only to wet the herdsman's mantle; then they pray for a downpour, *maṭar*,

539* 789 804 Verse 3. *Ḥafna* is as much as the hand with the palm turned upwards and with bent fingers can hold, or a large handful. 4. *Kamša* is as much as can be held between the palm and the fingers of the hand turned downwards, or a small handful.

Erčebûni-l-ḥâši
w-eb'adû bikmâši
dem' 'ajni nawwâši
'ala-lli fâraḳûni.

Seat me upon a weak young camel,
And take away him who would hold me;
The tears of my eyes are exhausted
Weeping for him from whom they have parted me.

539* 789 *Ḥâši* is a camel not yet three years old; an older she-camel is called *ǧill*. The young camel suffers from lack of pasture and water, the girl from sorrow for her lost sweetheart, and both will perish if no one cares for them.

Erčebûni-l-ḥamra'	Seat me upon a bay mare,
w-eṭ'emûni tamra	Feed me with one date.
allâh jeṭûl 'omraḥ	Oh may Allâh prolong his life,
jowm hom ḫallaṣûni.	For they have liberated me.

They (her relatives) saved her from death by bringing back her lover, who did not perish of thirst in the raid.

Jâ ḏîb jâ ṭâred al-hejf
oṭrod habûb aš-šemâli
'ajjant 'alja' w-abu zejd
ahl al-ḳṣûr al-'awâli.

O wolf! O thou who strugglest with the hot south wind!
Drive away the cold breeze of the north wind.
Thou hast surely seen 'Alja and Abu Zejd,
Who used to dwell in manors high.

789 ● 132 825 The wolf is not injured by the various winds and thus reaches an age so great that he could tell much concerning the occupants of the demolished manors which he has seen. *Al-hejf* is the hot dry wind blowing in summer from the south-east, causing much suffering, especially to children and women. *Aš-šemâli* is the icy north wind, which destroys plants as well as animals and human beings. If it blows for some time, the grass freezes and both animals and men fall sick. There are

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

no rains after the *hejf.* in summer nor after the *šemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṭâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-ṛejṭ*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-ṛejṭ* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṭ-ṭrûwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'eśeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rabî'*. In the inner desert

In the inner desert

132 the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is
805 therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the
821 spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads
132 his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

132 If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the
137 autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arẓ alli mâ tinwasem mâ terabbe' muḫṭije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater
611 and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels
231 nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they
511 can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good
[233] pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every
515 one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The chaff, *ḳišr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away, while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is called *semḥne* or *sebîb*.

The fertility, or abundance, *rabî'*, depends entirely on a luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even after a good *ṣejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *maṣjûfa*; but no *ṣejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may have no *rabî'* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have something to bite into), and men die of hunger; *hâḍi-s-sene w-laha snûn nâs ja'îšûn w-nâs jemûtûn.*" The Bedouin also refers to a *rabî' al-mâš*, meaning a season when the entire growth consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even the youngest camels; a *rabî' aṣ-ṣafâra*, when nothing grows except the *ṣafâra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rabî' ad-dimne*, when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *šitwi* rains, fail to receive the *smâk* rain and become yellow as early as the end of March; a *rabî' an-nafǧân*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rabî' aṭ-ṭafḥa*, when not only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant pasture.

Just as the Bedouins long for the *rabî'* years, so they fear the years of want, or *ḫawa'*. If for two or three years the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody plants alone. The winter rain, *aš-šitwi*, makes these perennials swell, but during the hot *smâk* days they dry up, become unpalatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ajjâm al-ḫawa'*, or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish. But if the rains of the *ṣejfi* also fail, then not a single perennial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a dead and death-dealing desert. This[1] is the work of the woman sun, whose sole aim is to burn and destroy.

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132 ●
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HOT AND COLD WEATHER; DEWS; WINDS; FOGS; MIRAGES; SAND STORMS

132

The greatest heats, called *ḥâmm al-ḳlejbên*, occur in the season of *al-ḳêẓ*; *ḥamm as-shejl*, the season immediately before the rise of Canopus, is the next hottest. When the Pleiades, *aṯ-ṯrajja*, disappear from the heavens, every stalk dries up, *ilja ṛâbat aṯ-ṯrajja kil ʿûden jibes.*

The season of *aš-šta'*, with a few days before and after it, is the coldest of all; from about December 11 to January 20 is the time of the real winter, *al-marba'anijje.* The *šta'* cold is followed by the seven poisonous nights, *saba' semm*; then come the seven bloody nights, *saba' demm*; and finally seven nights in which the fat (of the camels) is either increasing or decreasing, *jisîr ad-desem w-lâ jisîr.* In explanation it should be said that the nights of the first and second week following the *marba'anijje* are often so cold as to make the life of both human beings and animals miserable; the noses of the camels even bleed from the effects of the cold. Not until the third week, or about the middle of February, do the cold nights begin to alternate with warm ones. In the daytime the earth is warm but at night the air stratum more than one meter above the ground cools off; wherefore the two giants (i.e. the camel and the palm) suffer much from cold, *bard aṯ-ṯawîlên.* In winter, *al-marba'anijje*, all of Palmyrena, all the territories of al-Ḥamâd, al-Wudijân, al-Ḥeǧera, al-Ḥunfa, Ḥesma', and even the Nefûd are covered with white frost, *ḥalît.* In Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and al-Wudijân trees and bushes become white with hoarfrost, *ǧelîd*, at that time. Snow falls, *feleǧat ad-dinja*, in Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and Ḥesma in large flakes, *ṯwêrât*, regularly every year, but as a rule it remains on the ground no more than one day, excepting in Palmyrena, where it sometimes stays longer, causing great losses to the owners of sheep and goats.

[821]

The dew, *ṯall, neda'*, or *ṯofal*, is plentiful all the year round, especially during the summer months. It is sent by the moon to refresh both the annuals, or grasses, *ʿešeb*, and the perennials, or woody plants, *šaǧar*, which otherwise could not support the sun's heat.

[821]

1 [The drought--Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 not support the sun's heat. Hail falls sometimes instead of or with rain, and the hailstones are often of a size large enough to wound and even kill young camels.

[821] As every breeze comes from Allâh, nobody dares curse the winds. A light wind is called *hâwa*, also *habûb*; a strong one, *ṣalf*. The west wind is the most frequent. In summer it springs up regularly two hours after noon, cools the heat of the day, and is called *barrâd* or *ḏa'ḏâ'i*. The north wind, *aš-šemâli*, blows almost exclusively during the *šta'* season, dispersing the clouds and absorbing their water, and therefore called *as-salâjta*. In the winter time the Bedouin likes the south wind, *al-žibli*, best, as it is always accompanied by rain, *as-sḳajje*. The east wind, *aš-šerži* (or *aš-šeržijje*), generally blows for only three or four days, and the west wind always follows after it. Towards the end of the *smâḳ* and *ḳêẓ* seasons the east wind is especially strong, blowing then for as long as seven days and nights. It is called *semûm*, is exceedingly dry and hot, and causes much suffering especially among women and children. They would all perish if it blew for more than seven days. Sometimes the northwest wind, *an-načbe*, blows in winter, usually on nights when there is no moon and the stars alone are shining. A night of this kind is called *ǧird*; it is very bright, but icy cold. If a stiff but cold west wind blows at night, the night is called *šalta*. A warm, cloudless night is known under the name of *ḳamra zerîž*; a warm but clouded night is called *ẓalma' delḳes*, and a dark rainy night, *ṛadra'*.

If on a bright sunny day the view is not clear and the horizon is slightly hazy, the day is spoken of as the *ṛaṭâṭ mâ ja'ṭi-š-šowf*. During the hot summer days the noon atmosphere is almost opaque and the sun resembles a yellowish disk; this is the *čatme* (or *čitâm*). In autumn and winter a dense moist [821] fog, *ḳubejs* (or *kubejs*), hangs over the country. The Bedouins think that the fog can hear like human beings and is afraid of the fox, and therefore they shout at it: "O father of the fogs, run away! The fox! *Jâ-ba ḳbâs 'ank aṭ-ṭa'leb.*" They take fog to be the creation of the earth spirits, *ǧinn*, as it usually appears to come out of gullies and jagged rocks, where it also remains longest. Besides the *ḳbejs* in the cool season, the *'aǧâǧ* and *sarâb*, which occur in the hot season, are likewise the work of the *ǧinn*. On hot and bright days, especially about noon, there appear on the scorched plains of al-Ḥamâd many ponds hedged in with bushes and tall grasses.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The stranger, deceived by the apparition, urges on his tired animal to the water near at hand and wonders why the animal does not itself hurry. But here the beast is wiser than the inexperienced stranger. Those ponds, bushes, and grasses do not rest on terra firma, but merely vibrate in the air and are nothing but a mirage, *sarâb*. At other times again the *ğinn* raise a strong wind with clouds of dust and sand, which they drive against the Bedouins, trying to blind them, to overthrow their tents, and to entomb every living thing. Such a storm is called *'ağâğe*. Dreadful are the days and even more so the nights during the sand storms. In the south a tiny dark cloud appears on the horizon. The wind dies down, the sun is enveloped with quivering veils, and a peculiarly depressing feeling takes hold of the people. The camels become excited, and, collecting in groups, stop grazing. The tiny veils grow to a cloud, which covers the edge of the horizon to a considerable height and, steadily rising, sends forth a rumbling noise. Before long there appears a dark wall in front of it, which advances along the whole line. The rumbling increases, changes into a wild roar, the wall comes rolling on, covers everything with dust and sand, carries away whatever resists, and buries what it cannot carry away.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in a great number of raids, bringing back much booty from them. In his last raid he was shot down from this she-camel. The animal saved herself by flight and was inherited by the dead chief's brother, who, however, did not go out on a raid for a whole year. Owing to this the she-camel became so fat that her humps began to hang over to one side. Want soon made itself felt in the tent. The woman was obliged to cook, and there was neither wheat nor *ḏera'*, millet; she had to sew shirts for both herself and her husband, and there was no linen nor any camels to exchange for these necessities. Naturally the woman pined for her fallen hero, and so it came about one evening that, as she was grinding the wheat begged from some neighbors, she happened to observe with more attention than usual both the fat she-camel and her own dilapidated dress; in fear of still greater misery she composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Zowl* is the outside appearance, contour, or shape. *Ḥalâja'* is the manner of acting, behavior, speech, and movements. 2. *Lâ* stands in place of *lâ tab'ad*, meaning "Oh, mayest thou not go away! Oh, hadst thou not left me!" 4. and 5. *Heǧen* is a poetical expression for *rečâjeb*, meaning riding camels. The husband did not remain at home. Between one and three o'clock in the afternoon the heat is at its highest. The rider who wishes to keep his she-camel in good condition should let her rest during that time, *ḳâjile*, otherwise the animal degenerates and becomes incapable of bearing young. 6. *Ḳaṭa'hom ḳaṭ'* signifies "looted them completely, took everything from them, leaving neither camels nor tents." 8. *Mubramât al-fatâjel*, twisted or woven fuses: this phrase indicates that the poem dates from the time when rifles with flint locks were still in use in battle.

1. *Jâ râčeben min fowḳ ḥorren šemâli*
   mâ jilḥaḳ al-miš'âb 'âli mtûneh
2. *ḥorren za'zâ' muẓarrjen lil-eǧǧâli*
   jeṭîr low hw bar-ṛasan jinča'ûneh
3. *naṭṭejt ana riǧmen ṭawîl w-'âli*
   wa-dmû' 'ajni čal-ṛadar sajjalûneh
4. *badejt awaṣṣef ṣâḥb illi zaha' li*
   w-nâšed aš-ša"âr mâ jiḏakrûneh
5. *abu ḳrûnen miṭl ṭajj al-ḥebâli*
   w-al-žiḏle riš al-hîž low ṛalabûneh

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539 K

Oh, woe is me! sweetheart of mine!
Alas, she was angry with me, that is why they refused her to me.

A maiden in her anger persuaded her relatives to refuse her to her lover and moved away with them beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl ridge. The expression *ʿazzâk* is used when lightning flashes. [132] In the desert people are often killed by lightning; therefore Allâh is asked to comfort the survivors. The parting with the girl of his heart has struck the youth like lightning.

Niğmet aṣ-ṣubḥ dannat fanâğîlaha
ʿokdeten biẓmîri w-ana-dîraha
jâ ḥwâlen ʿalla-llâh tadâbîraha.

The morning star has shot her rays
Like a knot into my bosom, where I feel it constantly.
Alas, these changes! No one but Allâh can restore my fortunes.

It is to Allâh alone that the disappointed lover looks for help. *Fanâğîl* mean not only glittering coffee cups but the pale rays of the morning star and the reflection of a beauty's white cheeks. The lover has sought his girl in marriage, but without success because her kin object, although at first they were not opposed to him.

Elja ʿâd ani min šammar
waš walaʿani bruwejli
en šarraḳaw ṭâb al-kejf
w-en ṛarrabaw jâ wejli
šiḳren ḏwâjeb zahra
miṯl al-barḳ blejli.

Why did I, a descendant of the Šammar,
Become attached to a Rwala girl?
If they come to the inner desert, I am cheerful of mind,
But should they go to the settled country, then, Oh woe [is me!
Zahra with her blond tresses
Shines for me like lightning at night.

[101 221] The Šammar camp in the Nefûd and to the south of it, and seldom leave their territory. Only a few Siǧâra clans sometimes go to the settled country, *ṛarrabow*, generally to the Euphrates between al-Kûfa and as-Samâwa, to provide themselves with grain.

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would deserve, he would need"; *bel-'own* (for *beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*), there is no objection, with the consent of all. 2. *Tawâfîž* or *bel-wafaḳ*, *beṣ-ṣadfe*; *tawâfaḳû* or *taṣâdafû*: they happened to settle it among themselves, they punished each other. 3. *Rṣâṣ* are balls, usually leaden ones. *'Ademlijje* is an old rifle with which the marksman is so well acquainted that he never misses his aim. *Saḥar* may mean the lungs, liver, or stomach, while *ma'âlîž* signifies the heart and the arteries leading to it. 4. "My hands have mixed, *anžeḥan*, this powder." The Bedouins frequently prepare their own gunpowder, trusting it more than that sold by the wandering merchants, who mix it with crushed charcoal, while the Bedouin knows that his powder is pure, *naẓîf*. *Anḳaḥt hal-binduḳ*, however, may mean "I loaded this rifle." The sound of a shot is compared to the sound of a meteor falling on a high hill. According to the Rwala this is a frequent occurrence, and they preserve the pieces of broken meteors as keepsakes. 5. Thus 'Awde threatens to shootRšejd, if he does not give up Ṛuṣna.Ršejd would like to marry the girl secretly, but that is no longer possible, as everybody is talking about her and she is looked upon in the same manner as the moon or the dome dedicated to some Mohammedan saint, which can be observed from afar. Both 'Awde and Ṛuṣna were encamped at that time in an-Nuḳra, a region south of Damascus, where along the old Pilgrim Road to Mecca many white domes were built in honor of various saints. Ṛuṣna is then likened to a dome trodden by no man as yet, hence a virgin. 6. She has very thick hair and her tresses end in ostrich feathers entwined in the hair, *zerânîž*. 7. All that Ṛuṣna handles succeeds, grows, takes life, just as the *ṭrajjâwi* rain gives new life to the grass seed. The constellation of the Pleiades catches water in a large bailing bucket and then pours it over the scorched lowland. *Rijâẓ* are depressions in the bare plains into which most of the water runs, fertilizing them also with the mud it carries along. The seeds of the annuals, which sometimes lie dormant for two to four years in these depressions, begin to sprout after an abundant *ṭrajjâwi* rain, and with more rain the lowland becomes a blooming meadow. 8. The thought of Ṛuṣna quickens the beating of 'Awde's heart. The camels do not like the pasture in the settled territory; they yearn for the inner desert, to which they proceed either to the east of Damascus or to the south of Der'ât. Near the latter town rises the hillock of

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[302] top of the head. As a rule only a tuft of it is left standing,
539x the rest being shaven. *Mušarred* (or *jifekk*) *bowšeh*, liberates
852 his loot. Fighting with the Turks (i. e. with the regular army)
[721] was difficult for the Bedouins and therefore greatly desired by them.

Jâ mnîfe jâ miznet aṣ-ṣejf
jâ brûḳaha jil'aženni
tel'ab 'ala-l-biẓ bel-kejf
waš 'âd low jiz'alenni.

O Mnîfe, O thou rain cloud of the early summer!
How dazzling its lightning is to me!
Thou canst play with the fair ones at thy will,
For I [in thy place] should not care if they grow angry with me.

[132] At the close of April, when summer begins, each rain is accompanied by a violent storm by which the atmosphere is greatly refreshed. Mnîfe, the wife of the head chief, needs not envy her female companions, as she excels them in both beauty and power.

Jâ bejt abu nawwâf
jâ minwet al-bâdi
w-rwijhom bel-kêẓ
ḫabra lel-warâdi
wa-ṣḥûnahom bel-lêl
tawḥi lha menâdi
tehûfehen mnîfe
jâ bint al-aǧwâdi.

O thou tent of the father of Nawwâf!
O thou goal desired of the night pilgrim!
In summer their large water bags are
As a great rain pond from which water is brought.
To their dishes at night
The criers noisily invite;
They are prepared by Mnîfe,
A daughter of noble ancestors.

Abu Nawwâf is Prince an-Nûri; his wife Mnîfe is a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm. *Bâdi*, like *sâjer*, means a traveler by night, or a visitor. By both the men's and the

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12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.

13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).

14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.

15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Dṛejjem az-Ẓulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Ḳna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Ḥâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Ḳuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Ḳna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Glebba* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Ṭakk 'aṣijekom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *suḥâba* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

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132 516 the while. The *saḥâbe* is always followed by rain. 8. *Nisrijje* is a dry, icy wind of high velocity, a gale. When caught in it, the rider places his right hand in his left and his left hand in his right sleeve, pressing them to his breast to keep his cloak from being opened by the wind and urging his animal on with heels only. 9. He sits in the same posture when a heavy rain, accompanied by a piercing wind, beats against his face. *Nisnâs* is a light, moist wind which cuts the face and penetrates the clothes to the bones. 10. *Mutin al-'alâbi* is one who, disliking to bend his neck or to salute, is full of conceit. *Aṭ-ṭine* or *bejt aṭ-ṭine* is a hut built of large unbaked bricks. 11. *Śaḥâlîl* are the single date-covered twigs of the date bunch, called *genw*. The settlement of Ǧubba lies north-northwest of Ḳna' in the Nefûd. 12. The host paints on both sides of the necks of the she-camels belonging to his guests a thick line with the blood of the animal which he has killed for them. Men seeing these marks ask the host's name, and thus his praise extends to all parts. The head of an animal is never set before the guests but given to the poor.

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The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

Within sight of Jauf opens out the great, red-sand desert of the Nufud, which extends more than three hundred miles from east to west and nearly two hundred miles from north to south. Its northern half, called El-Labbe, forms the proper grazing ground of the Ruala. Their real home is there. The southern part is held by the Shammar Bedouins, who have made Hayil, on the southern edge of the Nufud, their trading centre.

Until after the Great War, the Shammar were ruled by Ibn Rashid, a renegade governor of the Ibn Sa'ûd family, who, with his Negro bodyguard, had rebelled against his masters and had taken Hayil. Ibn Sa'ûd, however, succeeded in recovering that dominant position, which secured him undisputed power in Central Arabia (Nejd, Kasim, and Hejaz).

The efforts Ibn Sa'ûd made to weld all the tribes into one national unit, his subjugation, in campaign after campaign, of all *Sbiyukhs* (*Sheykhs*) who resisted him, are well known. Now, at the time of my first sojourn in the land of the Bedouins, this Ibn Rashid, the traitor governor, had still the greater part of Inner Arabia under his power. He became so completely sovereign that his former masters, the Ibn Sa'ûd family, had to live for decades in exile, while the "Black Princes" held sway over the towns and oases as well as the many Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. In the history of Arabia there are few bolder achievements than Ibn Sa'ûd's recovery, with a mere handful of men, of his capital, Riyadh, his subjugation of Hayil and the Shammar, until he, adding success to success, became at length the

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487 the brilliant blue of the skies. Bumpy, dried mud-paths ran through the bare fields and thin, grey meadows. Then came rolling plains, across which ran a puzzling confusion of paths. On the edge of the steppe stood a [456] Syrian Custom's station, where our passports were examined. At last we could leave the overland route; and now, without paths or signposts to guide us, we were in the uncharted desert. Our automobile raced over the hard, dry, pebble-strewn soil, ever eastward, along a never-ending, narrow tongue of land that seemed to dip deeper and deeper into a boundless, shimmering sea. A cloudless sky rose above us and on either side were misty gleams of water over which the air quivered. Suddenly, like apparitions out of the haze, appeared some Arab [492] sheep-breeders. They had but few camels and horses with them, but they rode on asses—a sign of their decadence. They were Fua're. We noticed them as we bore away towards a sheet of water glistening in an elongated depression of the desert.

● 133 Mirages were frequent and often incredibly deceptive. Only with difficulty was it possible to distinguish the real rain pools, which were only a foot or so deep with their surfaces ruffled by the wind, from the phantom pools, whose surfaces would be smooth and glassy. Suddenly we noticed ahead of us numerous flocks of sheep. Almost breast-deep they were crossing the flooded land. Automatically I reduced speed, for I suddenly saw, not a hundred yards ahead, a gleam of water—a shallow lake—and we were driving straight into it. I twisted the steering-wheel round, and then only did I realize that what we saw was a dry trough filled with

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hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the 133
rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared; not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shep- 609
herds rode over to us with their women and children, 221
scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home- [578]
pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian up- 133
lands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, 136
with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

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133 136 We also came across a huge owl, which sat blinking and bewildered by the daylight, and we brought our car to a standstill close beside it.

Unexpectedly, just before sunset, we had a shower of rain which greatly refreshed the dusty desert. The greater part of the night we passed stretched out on the bare sands in the shelter of a dry river-bed.

221 On the evening of the following day, after driving like mad, with a sand-storm on our heels, we came up with the Ruala. The great tribe was migrating northward in a body, its encampment sprawling beyond the range of vision, its vast herds spread out in all directions. A shallow depression held one cluster of some eighty tents of all sizes, their open fronts facing to leeward; and among them stood out the most spacious pavilion in Arabia, the famous tent of Nuri Sha'lan.

We drew up there, and my first question was for Amir Fuaz; but the young leader of the Ruala was not at home; he was on a visit to a clan, camping some distance from the main body.

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VII

Death in the Desert

FARIS AND HIS band marched along in high spirits. The sky was blue, the earth a verdant green, the scented air full of sunshine; and from horizon to horizon stretched the wilderness in one unbroken expanse.

At times one lost the sense of progress. Were we standing still? Riding in a circle?—so unchanging was the landscape. Yet one never tired of it, nor could one have enough of this exhilarating motion.

Steppe, desert, rising and falling imperceptibly; ridge hardly distinguishable from valley; except, perhaps, that the valley still glistened a little from the last shower and showed a more vigorous touch of fresh green.

Three days we thus journeyed. For three days no tents, no herds; nothing but the empty wilderness under the serene sky; now gay with herbage, now grim with gravel, stones, and lava.

On the fourth day, from the edge of a steep escarpment, as from a sea-cliff, we suddenly saw spread before our eyes the Wadi Sirhan, here immensely wide. A medley of chalk-coloured banks rising from lime rock, stony plains, salt marshes, sand dunes, grey shrubs, tablelands, deep-furrowed, loamy beds of rain torrents, called *wudian*, covered with black rubble.

Towards the evening of the next day we reached Mayku', an old watering-place of the Ruala. Some hundreds of them were still under tents there in the shadow

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312 of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All through the night they kept watering their herds at the [H06] deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bearings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

●133 A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which extends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste without water, without pasture, on which it seems to have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards [137] avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended [262] on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta —the *samh*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed granules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark, bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

726 After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well, we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

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VIII

Panther and Ostrich

SEVERAL DAYS WERE spent by us among the volcanic table-mountains of the Jabal Tubayk. Precipitous cliffs, riven and pinnacled rocks rise some six hundred feet from flower-sprinkled level pastures and valleys strewn with black lava boulders. It is a country of savage beauty, in which gazelles and game birds are numerous.

There Faris and I, out after game, chanced to come on three tents tucked away in a hollow. They belonged to members of that curious folk, the Sulkan (singular: Sleyb)—nomadic hunters and handicraftsmen. In the popular sense they resemble the gypsies. Like them they doctor man and beast, love music, are fortune-tellers, and have a weakness for things occult and superstitious.

As hunters, trackers and scouts the Sulkan surpass the other Bedouins, and they know the desert better than any other nomads. Many a secluded water-hole is known only to them. Their origin is a mystery. They are few in number, but are held together by some sort of tribal organization, under a chief; and they pay tribute—"protection money"—to the Ruala and other Bedouin tribes. In return, each of these appoints from among its own tribesmen a "Brother" to the Sulkan, charged with looking after their interests.

The Chief of the Sulkan was then one Ralib welde Tulihan, and it was to this young man that the little camp we had discovered belonged. Ralib, accompanied

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IX

The Nufud

I HAD MY FIRST sight of the Nufud from the neighbourhood of the Shedad Umm-Kur. 133 ●

And what a sight! The waves of the red desert, rising and falling evenly, seemed to extend to infinity. Crescent-shaped crests and twisted cones; a contrast of light and shade; dark red levels which rose to banks against flanks aflame with the sun. In gorges between the red walls, sixty to a hundred and sixty feet deep, a shimmer of silver and green; scattered low bushes and small trees with straight milk-white trunks and supple drooping branches bearing feathery twigs and greyish-green needles.

I held my breath, overwhelmed with amazement and admiration.

With soundless steps Maha made for the first tree, [137] stretched her slim shapely neck and nibbled with obvious delight the yellowish young shoots and the new green needles of the *ghada*—a species of tamarisk. As far as the sand dunes of the Nufud roll, the *ghada* also is found—a boon and a blessing to camel and to man. Its roots are anchored deep in the red waste of pure quartz-sand, and it disdains other desert soil.

Maha knew the Nufud. She followed the tortuous slopes which, as in a storm-tossed ocean, led from trough to crest and, past deep chasms, to the next slope. Impossible to steer a straight course, as in the Hamad or Harra.

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133 In endless spirals and twists we wound our way, uphill and down dale. Now and then our way led across a small level plain, but this would invariably end in a swelling dune, on the other side of which was always a bowl or a steep crater—a curious configuration, quite different from the sand dunes of the Northern Sahara with which I was familiar.

At times one would be tempted by a stretch of smooth firm ground to take a low sandy bank at a run; but Maha knew better! She knew these treacherous dunes and would not be hurried. They were really dangerous, these undulations of sand with the yielding edge that looked so harmless; and commonly there would be a steep drop into an abyss on the farther side. Sometimes we took more than half an hour to get from one dune to the next. Our small band of camel-riders had hard work to keep from being separated, but perhaps it was the herd-instinct of the camels that kept us from losing sight of each other. Faris entrusted me entirely to Maha's lead. She had spent several months each year in the Nufud and knew, it seemed to me, how to tell danger spots in advance.

This ride in the Nufud remains with me as an imperishable memory—unforgettable, that afternoon when I first beheld its brow lifted menacingly from the plain.

The fascination of the first few days made me eager to traverse the whole breadth of the red desert, though I had to own that a crossing would be exceedingly trying. From our position on the Nufud's western margin it was some three hundred miles to its eastern edge; and if in these dunes our camels made three miles or so in an

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hour—but not half of that, as the crow flies—they were doing well. When I expressed my wish to cross it, Faris sensibly protested that we were in no way prepared for such an undertaking and I had to content myself with Faris's extension of our ride southeast on the Nufud's margin. The desert spreads out here, sending broad tongues into the West Arabian plain; and it was over these outcrops that we first travelled, now among high dunes, then, a whole day long, across an upland flat. We rode round weathered sandstone ridges and across low depressions with dried-out rain pools, until we struck the Nufud proper again. There we reached the southernmost point of our journey. According to Faris, another day would take us to Teyma; we were thus within fifty miles of that famous oasis. 133

Up and down, up and down, went our way, as if over the humps of a myriad crouching, giant camels. At times our beasts became nervous and had to be led; and we even had to slip off our sandals or shoes to make headway, and on oversteep slopes stamp down footholds or shovel out steps with our hands and feet. It was fortunate that we rode *dhaluls*, accustomed from early days to the Nufud. Camels from the flint desert or the lava regions will, indeed, steadfastly refuse to set foot on these unfamiliar sands. [492]

The cheeks of the dunes were saturated with sunshine, glowing a deeper red as the day declined. They gleamed as if they were covered with smooth crimson silk. Were these virgin dunes, never yet trodden by a human being, knowing only the innocent little feet of the dainty gazelles?

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XI

Days of Ease

●133 OUR NEXT OBJECTIVE lay before us—the dark sandstone walls of the Jabal Tawil—"the long-drawn-out Mountain." From its foot it is only an eight-hours' ride by camel to the oasis of Jauf at the southern end of the Wadi Sirhan. We shaped our course towards the middle of the slope, passing over steep spurs hemmed in by black rocks. Among the deep clefts of the ancient range Faris knew how to pick out the one that gives access to the Mustanda Pass, over which we could descend into the plain beyond. There we found a small Ruala camp, where we were received with open arms, and where we decided to linger for a whole week, to rest and pasture our *dhaluls*.

[437] It was in this week that Faris secured the silver ankle-rings that he had promised to his betrothed. He rode to Jauf and there bartered one of his young ostriches for the trinkets.

For me it was a memorable week of meditation and reflection, with no lack of new impressions. With Mnahi I roamed the fastnesses of the Tawil; I, just for the mere enjoyment of being there; he, on the lookout for game. He shot a number of ibex, among them some magnificent specimens. But despite the presence of these wild goats, the range is oppressively desolate, its predominant tint dark, even blackish, and the outcrop of red and

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XIV

The Hunger March

AMIR FUAZ, who had gone to Damascus some time before, was to rejoin his migrating tribe when it had reached the *Wudian* district of Rueyshdat. That would be before the end of the week. I took advantage of the brief interval to make an excursion into the Harra with Faris and a few of his followers. I liked it no better than did our camels, though they were fresh saddle-animals.

The Harra is a long stony desert running southeast from the Jabal Druz (or Hauran) and borders on the great Arabian desert-plateau. Volcanic mountains overlook it on the northwest. It is intersected with a network of ancient camel trails, for in the Harra the routes of both the western and eastern Bedouin tribes cross. The region, up to the Jabal Enaza, has the reputation of being the coldest in North Arabia. It has a mean elevation of about three thousand feet, and for months in the year is exposed to chill northeast gales and cold snaps, when the thermometer will drop to six degrees below zero, Celsius (10.8 below freezing-point, Fahrenheit).

This year, indeed, the spring was a mild one throughout the region. But the monotonous, undulating, stony surface showed a touch of meagre vegetation only near rain pools in low-lying places. Elsewhere it was all gleaming flat flints, polished pebbles and porous pumice. Rust-coloured, bluish-grey, blackish and speckled splinters covered the floor of the Harra as with a coat of scales,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

one or two layers deep. If you raked them away, you found underneath yellowish and reddish sand intermingled with flints. Under the glare of the sun, the ground glittered unbearably, so that one could not look at it long without causing the eyes to smart. There was a steady crunching and clattering as we rode over the stony field, which made very difficult going for our camels. The leathery hoof-pads slipped on the polished stones and they often lost their footing. This unfriendly desert did not please me at all. I must admit, however, that the air was pure and bracing.

When we reached Rueyshdat on the day agreed, Fuaz was already there, back from Damascus; and there also was gathered most of his tribe, for the region of Rueyshdat seemed to be the only one in Northern Arabia where enough rain-water could be found this spring.

Here the Ruala were watering their camels, probably for the last time before they reached the wells of Abu Rijmeyn, two hundred and sixty miles away. A forced march—a gamble with life and death as the stakes—confronted the whole of the Ruala tribe. They could not go back, neither into the Wadi Sirhan nor into the Jauf Basin. They must go forward, right through enemy territory, under the threat of skirmishes, perhaps real war, with hostile Bedouin tribes. But far more dangerous appeared to the Ruala the contest with Nature. Scanty pasture still clothed the stony uplands and hills; the stems of the tiny plants still held a sprinkling of sap, so that the camels could still find a little nourishment and moisture. Perhaps also God the Merciful would show indulgence to the Ruala and on their march into the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siž*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ḫfûḳ*. *Enḫafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḏf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *raṣa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831* 539* The pure-blooded bird knows how to trot both in defense and attack before he is able to use his reason.

10. I said, 'Ah! What a word has reached my heart, which has rebelled,
For my soul's mate has given me to drink snake poison.'
11. But since the day when she beckoned twice to me with her fingers
The full moon [of my bliss] has reached its zenith.

The poet was an unknown Šarâri; the narrator, Mas'ûd aṣ-Ṣbejḥi, who accompanied me on my journey toward the oasis of Tejma'. The poet wakes up towards the end of the night between the twelfth and the eighteenth days of the lunar month; noticing lightning above the high hills shutting in the horizon, he asks his comrade to saddle the she-camels, and both then ride as fast as possible over the plain. The fast gait of his animal he compares to the mad gallop of a terrified ostrich and thinks of his sweetheart, who caused him much grief at first but later much gladness.

Verse 3. *Zôr* is the spot in the middle of the lower part of the breast, on which the kneeling camel leans against the ground. When kneeling, the shins of the forelegs touch the *zôr*. To "remove the *zôr* from the shins of the forelegs" means to induce the camel to rise and start. 4. *Reḳârîž ḳâ'i* are plains [133] covered with coarse sand, where mirages may often be observed, mostly at noon. *Raḳrûḳa* is a plain covered with weather-worn débris; *ḥamâd*, a plain covered with hard gravel and much [825] flint. 5. *Šeḍa'* means any kind of a spook; it is frequently seen by the animal alone and is supposed to be especially fond [231] of the taste of brains. 9. *Ṭard* are the movements of attack and defense of a horse in a fight. It takes some time to train a horse to the *ṭard*, while a pure-blooded male ostrich knows it long before he can use his reason, *ḳabl jâ'i*. 10. *Šerîḥ arrûḥ* is a sweetheart. 11. The poet's soul was comforted when his beloved gave him the longed-for sign.

In Praise of a Sweetheart's Kinsmen

Hala hala jâ 'arab farḥân
jâ marḥaba bḍâbel ar-rîži
w-ahl az-zêne mâ hom šerdân
ḥamâjeten lil-mesâwîži

Verse 1. ʿAwde climbs high hills to see the route taken by his sweetheart, who prowls or creeps cautiously, *taḏebb*, to the channels in order to meet him without being observed. 2. *Ḳarm* is a poetical form of address, referring here to Ṛusna's father. 4. *Neṭâjel* is the earth with which a stone-covered grave is filled. The hill of Žijâl is 46 kilometers northeast of al-Ǧowf. 5. Ṭawîl al-Felǧ (the High One With Snow) is the name given by the Rwala to the Hermon mountains, which are covered with snow most of the year. Ḥâjel lies about six hundred kilometers southeast of Hermon. Bird and Rwâf are mountains about four hundred kilometers south of the Ḥawrân. 6. Ḥâmi Raṛîf rises beyond Tiberias. *Dannû ar-raḥâjel*, bring hither the female pack camels, is the order of the tent owner when he intends to move. *Meẓâhîr* are the camels when laden with tents, utensils, and litters for the women. *Salaf* are warriors riding one or two kilometers in front of the laden camels. 7. *Enkâf* is the return from a raid without success and without booty. ʿAwde will not desist until Ṛusna becomes his wife. 8. He who tries to drink from a wooden cup, but continues talking all the time, cannot pay attention to what he is doing, so that the cup often inclines to one side and the water is spilt. Then his comrades correct him with the words: "O So and So, the cup is tilted, *al-žedaḥ mutaṣâweṛen*." Likewise one who does wrong also bends, partly because he is ashamed, partly with intent to deceive. Abu Ṯamad makes straight or rebukes such a crooked fellow, *ṣeṛaʿ kill ʿâjel*, and thus prevents injury.

THE WEDDING

The wedding, as a rule, takes place immediately after the wooing. In the morning some one—even a slave—kills before the bridegroom's tent a she-camel, as a *ḏbîḥt al-ʿars*, wedding sacrifice. Neither of the betrothed needs to be present. Towards evening a small round tent, *ḥeǧra*, is pitched by the women near by and the bridal bed made there. Among the poorer people a corner of their inhabited tent is partitioned off for the young couple. Two or three of the bridegroom's female relatives go to the bride to bring her towards sunset to the prepared tent. A little later the bridegroom also enters, after which the tent is closed altogether, *jeḥaǧǧeren ʿalejh ḥeǧraten*.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

85a
539x

rakkâbaha mamdûḥ
jaḳloṭ w-lâ jaḫâf
tesell selîl al-ma'
taḥṭom 'ala-l-aslâf
jarmi w-lâ jeḫṭi
jaḳ'od w-lâ jenšâf.

Oh, that noble young she-camel,
How swift her gait!
She is ridden by Mamdûḥ,
Who strikes down all in front of him and knows no fear.
The she-camel as quickly as running water vanishes.
Running ahead of the first troop,
While he shoots, never missing,
And bends down so that he cannot be seen.

Mamdûḥ was the youngest and most daring son of Prince Saṭṭâm. In a fight no enemy could stand against him. The enemy flees, and Mamdûḥ strikes him a blow from behind, so that he falls on the neck of his animal. *Jaḳloṭ* means either to bend or to knock forward a saddle or rider. *Selîl al-ma'* is a wild flood which dashes down suddenly and disappears as quickly. Many a valley — or rather channel — is as much as two hundred kilometers long and dry for years. If copious rain of long duration falls, the waters rush with lightning speed through the channel, surprise the Bedouins who happen to be camping at its lower end, and as quickly vanish again. Such a flood is not a *sejl*, brook or stream, but a *selîl*, a temporary torrent. Mamdûḥ's she-camel appears as unexpectedly, but just as speedily is gone owing to her great endurance in running. *Salaf* is a troop of warriors riding at the head of a migrating tribe. Mamdûḥ's she-camel constantly runs ahead of the *salaf*. *Jaḳ'od* signifies that Mamdûḥ, a youngster still, bends down at every shot in order to take better aim; he thus cannot be seen behind the neck of his animal. In 1909 he was only eighteen years of age.

[133]

RAISING OF CHILDREN

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Until their seventh year both boys and girls remain with their mother, going to their father only for an occasional talk. If their mother is not divorced by their father, they live in the women's compartment and help with the lighter

CHAPTER XXIV

TERMS APPLIED TO PHYSIOGRAPHIC FEATURES

101 131 The Rwala tribe camps in northern Arabia between latitude 28° and 34° north and longitude 36° and 42° east. For the various topographical features of this area the tribe has strictly defined terms, of which we noted the following:

133 *ʿAbd*: black cone

104 *Abraḳ*: dark rock partly covered with reddish sand

*ʿAḍa*ʾ: both dead and live bushes, grasses, excrements, clay, coarse sand, and any débris brought down by a torrent

ʿAḍra: pastures defiled by the excrements of countless herds

ʿAjârât or *ʿejârât*: huge, flat-topped elevations

ʿAḳla: a well by a channel or in a valley, which caves in after heavy rains and has to be restored

ʿAḳûla: a rather small, low depression in a plain, where the rain water gathers

ʿAlâme (pl., *ʿalâmât*): landmark

ʿAmijja: the pear-shaped hollow of a *moḳr* rain well

ʿAnza (dimin., *ʿunejza*): a long flat-topped hillock rising from a plain

ʿArejt: a long arm of a sand desert

ʿArḡa (pl., *ʿarḡât*): a turn of a valley or gully

ʿArḳûb: a slope; steep rocky hillside

ʿAṣûma: scorched tract of land without pasture or water

*Aṣba*ʿ*a* (pl., *aṣâbeʿ*): "fingers," a row of low isolated cones

Baḥṣa: soil from which the rain water runs off quickly

Barârît: desolate, waterless regions; camel paths across such regions

Barbak: a small artificial rain pond

Barḫûs: movable sharp ridge of sand dunes or drifts, bare of vegetation

Barrâde (pl., *barârîd*): a path trodden out by camels between stones or gravel

Bâṭen: broad and deep valley without any channel

Baṭḥa (pl., *baṭḥât*): a shallow river bed

Baṭn (pl., *buṭnân*): a low hillside, slope, base

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Baṭn: long depression bordered on one side by a high slope
Bed': abundant or large spring
Bejâḥa: a plateau giving a wide view
Berḳa' (pl., *burḳ*): a rocky hill partly covered by sand
Bilâd 'aḏijje: the salubrious districts of an-Nefûd and al-Ḥamâd
Bilâd mâbijje: the unhealthful districts of al-Ṣûṭa, Ǧowlân, al-Mzêrîb, Ḳerajât al-Meleḥ, and al-Ǧûba
Bîr (pl., *bijâr*): a well in general; well with spring water
Bûra: a narrow, deep ditch
Burrêš: rock salt; also mica

Čeṭṭân: a rock or stone which falls to pieces, crumbles

Dabbe: a rough ridge of flat-topped hillocks
Daḥl (pl., *duḥûl*): a long, subterranean cavern where water bubbles out, doline
Daww: a vast, elongated, level plain enclosed by two mountain chains
Demlûṣ: an isolated, blunted butte in a wide plain
Derwa: a sharp summit
Dîra: the Bedouins' term for a settled territory where they get their supplies and the inhabitants of which pay them tribute

'Ebb (pl., *'ebûb*): a shallow dale, gully, bay
'Edd: a perpetual spring well
'Edwe (pl., *'edwât*): low place in a *sowḥ* valley incapable of holding rain water and therefore suitable for pitching tents
Ekâkâ: a mixture of large stones and gravel
'Eleb (pl., *'elebân*): an isolated table-topped hillock
'Elejm (pl., *'alâjem*): an isolated elongated hill rising from a plain
'Erf: isolated hill, visible from afar
'Ernân (pl., *'arân* or *'arânîn*): channel of a torrent; channel in a steep hillside
'Erî (pl., *'urûḳ*): long spur of sand

Fâǧ (pl., *fiǧân*): a wide rocky hollow
Far' (pl., *frû'*): the starting-point of a gully or valley; a branch gully of a side valley
Faraǧ: a spacious area where no danger threatens the Bedouin
Farîa (pl., *frâ*): a funnel-like pit in the sand

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Fazr (dimin., *fzêr*): a crevice in clay soil where the rain water accumulates; a narrow, deep channel
Feǧǧ: a hollow of some width between two hills, with a road running through it
Fejṣa (pl., *fijâṣ*): a fertile depression
Fekâra: stony table-land
Felḳ (pl., *flûḳ*): an elongated sand dune

Ġâbija: a shallow pit in the earth into which water for camels is poured
Ġâdde (pl., *ǧwâdd* or *ǧwâd*): path trodden out by camels in the flat desert
Ġâl (pl., *ǧilân*): the bank of a river channel; the slope of a gully or valley; a long, steep escarpment by which a plateau falls off to a lower level
Ġam': rain water
Ġawr or *ǧaw*: a basin or valley with spring wells having water enough to supply big camps
Ġeba': an open cistern
Ġebb (pl., *ǧbebe* or *ǧebâb*): a deep rain well or cistern, wider at the bottom than at the top
Ġebw: a natural hole in a rocky plain, as much as two meters deep, where rain water accumulates. Sometimes it can be covered with a big stone
Ġelad: a rocky desert
Ġelîbe: a low, flat-topped elevation
Ġemede (pl., *ǧemed*): the stony foot of a *ǧâl*
Ġer': a region covered with white or gray sand, where nothing will grow
Ġhara': a desolate plain
Ġilf: a steep, narrow, rough ridge
Ġûba (pl., *ǧûbât*): a deep valley; a basin in a plain
Ġubb: an artificial well with spring water
Ġufra (pl., *ǧfâr* or *ǧafar*): low ground in a plain, where rain water gathers
Ġurf: a crevice; steep river bank

Ḥabâra': mouse holes
Ḥabb (pl., *ḥbûb*): long, narrow strip of rocky land bordered by sand dunes
Ḥabče: narrow, elongated depression as much as three meters wide and filled with rain water

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Habije: a rain water hole
Habir: stony hollow forming a passage between long sand dunes
Ḥabl (pl., *ḥbâl*): a narrow long sand drift
Ḥabra (pl., *ḥabâri*): a large or small depression in a plain in which the rain water gathers
Ḥabt: a basin covered with gravel and sand, where small ponds are sometimes formed by rain water which cannot run off
Ḥadaḳ: a round hole in either clayey or stony, but soft, soil into which water runs
Ḥaḏlûl (pl., *ḥaḏâlîl*): shallow valley without a visible channel
Ḥala': volcano
Ḥala': a region where the camels will find no sustenance in any particular year; all that lies beyond the camp
Ḥâlât: an area covered with basalt or lava, through which neither horse nor man can move except by a few very narrow paths
Ḥaliže: an artificial, subterranean hollow; a cave
Ḥalḳ al-želîb: the opening of a well
Ḥall: a path or trail through the sand
Ḥamâd: a barren, scorched-appearing plain covered with small gravel
Ḥarbaṭa: a region of rough hillocks
Ḥarîme (pl., *ḥarâjem*): a narrow gully shut in by steep hillsides
Ḥariže (pl., *ḥarâjež*): a shallow well (from which water can be drawn by hand)
Ḥasa': rocky lowland covered with a layer of clay, sand, and gravel, under which the rain water gathers
Ḥaṣa': gravel
Ḥašm (pl., *ḥšûm*): a "nose" or steep spur of a ridge
Ḥawâja: shallow, artificial, stone- and mud-walled reservoirs on a rocky surface, where rain water is caught
Ḥawṭa: a fenced-in date grove
Ḥazba or *ḥazb* (pl., *aḥzâb*): an extensive but isolated rocky hill
Ḥazm: a rather narrow but long height sinking down into a plain steeply on the one side and gradually on the other
Hebže: undulating country where it is possible to hide but also to be attacked from ambush
Ḥefne: a round hole by the river bank or at the foot of a hillside, where rain water gathers; it resembles the *radir* hole, but the latter is usually found in the river bed itself

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 *Ḥejd*: the foot of a hill; a slope shutting in a plain
104 *Ḥemma* or *ḥamme*: lava
Ḥerr (pl., *ḥerura*): a river channel in clay soil, with steep banks
Ḥesw (pl., *ḥesján*): a depression in a rocky river bed into which the rain water runs under sand and gravel
Ḥôr: a depression where the rain water forms numerous pools
Ḥšabe (pl., *ḥšabât*): a circular, natural rocky wall shutting in small level spaces called *krajje* (pl., *krajjât*)
Ḥubta: a depression in a flat rock, where rain water can accumulate

ʿIṭa: undulating plain covered in places with sand

Ḳâʿ (pl., *ʾiḳʿán*): a flat plain where the rain water forms no brooks
Ḳaʿara (pl., *ḳaʿar*): a large hollow shut in on three sides by steep slopes
Ḳaraʿ or *aḳraʿ*: a ridge
Ḳâra (pl., *ḳûr*): an isolated table mountain; a mesa
Ḳaṣʿa (pl., *ḳṣâʿ*): a shallow natural depression in a rocky surface, where the rain water remains
Ḳaṣime (pl., *ḳaṣâjem*): isolated sand dunes in a rocky plain
Ḳasr: a large but shallow basin which becomes a pond after unusually heavy rains
Ḳaṭar (pl., *ḳṭâr*): the last spur of a mountain range
Ḳaṭṭâr: a spring the water of which does not flow actively but merely trickles drop by drop
Ḳejš: shallow holes in a channel
[202] *Ḳeana*: an isolated conical hill on top of which a beacon is lit whenever the enemy means to attack herds grazing far from the camp
Ḳîr or *ḳummar*: bitumen
Krajje (pl., *krajjât*): roughly circular basin surrounded by walls of crumbling stone

Lâl: a level plain glistening in the sun
Laṣṣâṣa: a hillock with mica
Luruf: the eroded border of a sand desert

Maḥâl: a great distance between two wells
Maḥâri: the last spurs of a range of hillocks
Maḥfûr (pl., *maḥâfir*): artificial rain pool

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Maḥîra: a small flat area flooded and thus fertilized by rain water

Marabb: low-lying ground where the rain water of a channel is absorbed

Maṣmad (pl., *maṣâmed*): an extensive but shallow crevice at the foot of a hillside, where the rain water remains. It is of greater dimensions than the *ǧulta*

Maṣna' (pl., *maṣâne'*): a rocky flat area artificially changed into a large reservoir

Maṭabb: a junction of two channels

Matne: flat-topped elevation rising gradually from the surrounding plain

Ma'wo: hollow on two sides bounded by sand dunes and on two merging into rocky plain

Mefâze: barren tract between two camping grounds

Meǧneb: a slope shutting in a valley through which a creek runs

Meḥîr (pl., *maḥâǧer*): a basin where much water is absorbed; small hole in clay soil where the rain water accumulates

Mehmehijje: waterless desert

Mela': a plain covered with a thin layer of alluvium

Mellâḥa: salina

Meẓî' (pl., *meẓ'ân*): a shallow branch channel in a valley through which the rain water runs off into the main channel

Mir'aže: the highest conical hill near a camp, whence warning signals can be given to herdsmen and watchers on similar hills near other camps

Mšâš: a shallow well in a clay basin into which rain water slowly percolates through the soil

Mukra or *mokr* (pl., *mkûr*): half natural, half artificial well, five to ten meters deep, dug in a rock, into which the rain water flows. The opening, which is usually narrow, can be covered with a stone of moderate size [312]

Munṭâr: a conical hill

Mutribe: a path through a lava field

Nab': spring water

Nâsije (pl., *nawâsi*): a vast sand plain

Nâṣra: height conspicuous from afar

Nebe' (pl., *nebjân*): isolated dome-shaped hillock

Nedra: spur of a rock

Nedwijje: a small spring disappearing in gravel

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Nî': a ditch around a tent for draining off the rain water
Nijâṭ: a boundless stony plain
Nuḳra: basin into which much rain water runs
Nuṛur (pl., *nuṛûr*): a hillock composed of white and dark strata

'Obṭa: a deep basin

Ra'an (pl., *ra'ûn*): a line of rocky hillocks
Rabḫ: the small stones which scatter under the hoofs of a galloping camel
Radha: a cavity in a stony slope, into which rain water runs
Radîfa (pl., *radâjef*): a low spot in a wide, shallow river bed where the rain water gathers
Ṛadîr (pl., *ṛudrân* or *ṛudr*): a hole in a channel with steep banks where rain water remains for a long time
Rahârih: a wide plain glistening in the sun
Raḳrûḳa: a plain covered with small, crumbled stones
Ṛâr: a precipice; crevice; canyon
Ṛarb (pl., *ṛurûb*): a reservoir from which water is distributed
Ṛarmûl (pl., *ṛarâmîl*): an isolated, low, narrow hill
Rasm: an artificial well left unfinished
Rašrâš (or *rašrâšijje*): a plain with rock surfaces worn flat by wind and sand, with pebbles and gravel scattered around. When a camel treads on such pebbles, the friction against the rocky surface produces a sound not unlike the word *rašraš*, which gives such plains their name
Reǧde (pl., *riǧdât*): a stratum of solid rock in a steep slope
Rî': a narrow, short defile
Rîf: a region with good pasture, good crops
Riǧle (pl., *riǧl*): a shallow valley, particularly one tributary to a main valley
Rîšijje or *rîše*: a shallow valley in an undulating stony plain
Riss (pl., *rsûs*): a well without water
Rowẓ (pl., *riẓân*): lower ground in a level desert, into which silt is deposited by rain water, producing a growth of perenniala, sometimes even of annuals; a meadow
Ruṣuma: a stone, boulder, rock

Ša'ara: a spring which merely trickles and does not flow
Sabḫa: salt marsh
Ša'fe: an elevation not necessarily high, but prominent
Ṣafḥa (pl., *ṣfâḥ*): the base of a mountain
Šâheḳ (pl., *šhûḳ* or *šeḫâḫa*): the highest summit of a range

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Saḥl (pl., *sḥûl*): a narrow channel dammed-in by rocks, where rain water accumulates under gravel
Ṣaḥṣaḥ: a plain shut in by low but steep bluffs
Ṣâma (pl., *ṣâmât*): hills of different colors; dark undulating country covered in some places with rose-tinged sand
Ṣa'nûn: a deep well with no water
Ṣarâḥiǧ or *ṣaḥâriǧ*: deep rock crevices with a narrow opening where the rain water remains pure for a long time
Sarḥa: a plain covered with young annuals
Ṣaṭne: short branch valley; a shallow channel in a plain
Ṣawwâne: tract or hill covered with flints, *ṣawwân*
Ṣedawijje: a plain covered with dark-brown gravel
Še'en: creek
Šefa': a flat top of a long ridge
Šeffa (pl., *šfâf*): the brink of a plateau sinking steeply down to a valley
Še'ib (pl., *še'ibân* or *še'bân*): a main valley or watercourse of an intermittent stream
Selîl al-ma': a wild torrent, appearing and disappearing with equal suddenness
Semâḥ: a plain covered with coarse sand, with nothing to hinder rapid movement
Ṣen' (pl., *ṣnû'*): an artificial hollow in a rocky surface, where rain water remains
Senûd: the upper parts of a valley
Šerje: narrow gully
Siḥl: a crevice in a stony plain, where rain water remains a long time
Sirdâb: subterranean passage
Sowḥ (pl., *siḥân* or *sijâḥ*): a valley without a channel or with one partly filled in; shallow depression
Šreff: a narrow mountain spur
Swâḥiǧ: small paths
Šwâḥiṭ: high, steep, impassable mountains

Ṭablât or *ṭbûl*: hollow knolls, domes, or "bubbles"
Ṭaffa (pl., *ṭfâf*): a plateau cleft by a deep valley
Ṭâǧ: the opening of a snake hole
Ṭanḥaǧ (pl., *tanâḥeǧ*): a hillock serving as a landmark
Ṭâr: a long, high, steep escarpment
Ṭarab (pl., *ṭurbân*): a crevice in a rock or a small hole in a rocky gully, where rain water gathers

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 *Ṭaraḳ* (pl., *ṭrûḳ* or *ṭrâḳ*): a long, low ridge
104 *Teʿ* (pl., *tlâʿ*): a small gully ending in a tributary of a main valley
Tell (pl., *tlûl*): an isolated hill standing high above the surrounding country; volcano
Ṭemîle (pl., *ṭemâjel*): a small depression in a rocky river bed, into which the rain water runs under the gravel
Ṭenijje (pl., *ṭenâja*): a mountain defile; passage between two rows of tents
Ṭomijje: hillocks, slopes, and depressions formed in sand by the wind

ʿÛd: a narrow valley in rocks

Wâdi (pl., *wudijân*): a long and wide main valley
Waššâš: cascade
Wizij (pl., *wuzâje*): cavities in the solid stony strata of a steep hillside
Wuṭi: ditch around a tent for draining off the rain water

Żadme: a projection from a rocky hillside
Żalta (pl., *žlât*): a crevice in a rocky slope, at least one meter deep, where rain water accumulates
Żelʿ: an isolated, rugged mountain, usually of granite
Żelîb (pl., *ḳulbân*): a well, whether walled and deep or unwalled and wide
Zemle (pl., *zeml*): a low elevation; a rise
Zerâže: vast arid plains
Żoboṭ (pl., *ṣubṭân*): the clay foot of a *ǧâl*.

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 itself out. In the red sand one is quite safe. Its specific
●[134] gravity is considerably greater than that of white or yellow sand, and after sufficient winter rain it is more or less covered with some vegetation.

My comrades, however, were of the opinion that the strength of the storm was already broken, that it could not possibly last longer than two days. We therefore continued our ride, hoping to see on the morrow the sun shining again on a tranquil land. But the third day was a repetition of the second, a howling gale, clouds, whirling sand, and no visibility beyond ten paces.

The heat would have been tolerable, but the air was so sultry that we dripped sweat from every pore. The perspiration could not evaporate in this muggy air, and to this discomfort was added the irritation from the driven dust. This was something new for me in Arabia. No matter how high the temperature, I had always found the air quite dry; even in winter, after rain or a thunderstorm, it will remain light and refreshing.

Half-suffocated by day, by night we were chilled to the bone by icy blasts that searched our moist bodies, and made them shake with ague.

Our hands and faces were chapped. Even our tongues ached, though we had plenty of water. The fine, white sand penetrated everywhere—under the clothes, into nose, ears, and eyes, and covering the hair. Our lips became parched; the eyes, the throat, the palate hot with inflammation and pain; the breath came in pants, the blood hammered heavily in the heart and in the temples.

Our camels dragged themselves along only with the utmost effort, groaning and complaining. In one of the

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared; not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shepherds rode over to us with their women and children, scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home-pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian uplands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

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133 We also came across a huge owl, which sat blinking and
136 bewildered by the daylight, and we brought our car to a standstill close beside it.

Unexpectedly, just before sunset, we had a shower of rain which greatly refreshed the dusty desert. The greater part of the night we passed stretched out on the bare sands in the shelter of a dry river-bed.

221 On the evening of the following day, after driving like mad, with a sand-storm on our heels, we came up with the Ruala. The great tribe was migrating northward in a body, its encampment sprawling beyond the range of vision, its vast herds spread out in all directions. A shallow depression held one cluster of some eighty tents of all sizes, their open fronts facing to leeward; and among them stood out the most spacious pavilion in Arabia, the famous tent of Nuri Sha'lan.

We drew up there, and my first question was for Amir Fuaz; but the young leader of the Ruala was not at home; he was on a visit to a clan, camping some distance from the main body.

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IV

I Meet My Blood Brother Again

PEACE AND HAPPINESS smiled on the world. Here and there a rain pool still shone in a hollow; wind and sun had already dried the hill-crests. A whirlwind rose ahead of us: it swept the ground like a broom; uprooted, snapped, and scattered small plants and flowers, and left behind it a narrow zigzag track, like that of a monstrous snake. We were coated with a dust of fine sand and pollen. Crickets chirped in the herbage. Bustards and pintail grouse were busily hunting for woolly red caterpillars. Suddenly and quite unexpectedly, on topping a rise, we caught sight of black tents at the foot of the opposite slope. Very soon now I should see Amir Fuaz again.

The tent of ceremony in which, long exciting years before, I had enjoyed Nauaf's hospitality and had come to know his small son, was pitched far from the place on which it stood then. Yet everything seemed the same. I felt myself spirited back to that time and place. There were the same far-scattered lines of low black tents, open in front; the same camel-herds stringing out into the endless desert under the brilliant sun. The cushioned camel-saddle in the guest-tent against which I reclined, the very fire on the hearth where the coffee-water was

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 In spring the northwestern Nufud seems to abound in game. In its fastnesses breed ostriches, which later migrate with their young to the wide plains of the North, as well as gazelles and antelopes, the prey of the cruel panther. The ibex too and the eagle from the near-by Jabal Tawil, where these animals are still found, will extend their spring excursions into the red waste.

To return to our crawl over the dunes that afternoon. Something moving under some *ghadas*, far away, attracted my attention. I halted my camel and focussed my binoculars. A ravishing picture was revealed to me. A troop of snow-white Rim gazelles, with their dainty feet deep in the scarlet sand, were browsing the drooping branches in an atmosphere of silver and green. Looking more closely, I discovered other groups of gazelles near by. Some of the animals were dozing, others snuffling one another or butting each other with heads and horns. Mnahi, who had followed my example, pulled his rifle from the saddlebag; but I begged him to forbear this once and spare these beautiful animals for my sake. Mnahi saw reason. He motioned to Faris and the others, and they turned off between two dunes into a hollow, while I lingered to enjoy the sight of the charming creatures. They quench their thirst only with the dew that gathers in the morning on the leaves and flowers, say the Bedouins.

I was to have a still richer reward in that hour of silent watching. Some movements or suspicious noise must have roused the gazelles; for there they were all up on their feet, in several groups, very white on the red sand, with ears alert and all gazing toward the West. Suddenly

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

there came over a slope, with slow, long strides, a troop of eleven ostriches—three cocks and eight hens—magnificent birds. An inquisitive gazelle-buck stole after them, but the ostriches dropped into a long trot and disappeared in the labyrinth of sand dunes.

As I rode in the wake of my comrades, a fox crossed my path, and from some acacia bushes rose many ravens. The sun was already setting and the dry air was rapidly cooling. Ahead of me the sand-waves, their crests glowing golden red, cast deep shadows towards the East. The face of the wilderness was wrapped in a violet veil. A wondrous silence rose from the Nufud. Brief dusk—then night, and a voice faintly borne to me by the wind. It was Faris looking for me. I called back; and side by side we rode into a sheltered gully surrounded by high dunes, which made an excellent camel paddock and an ideal camp site.

"Let us break our fast," said Faris, as he pulled the heavy saddle and the water-skin from the back of his *dhalul*. A fire of *ghada* sticks was soon lighted. In a few seconds this became very warm and burned without smoke and with an almost colourless flame. The men fed it with roots and sticks as thick as a man's arm. Meanwhile the bread-dough was being kneaded. As soon as there was a good heap of glowing ashes, the iron baking-sheet was placed over the fire. Together with the warm bread-cakes, the dates, honey, and hard camel-cheese tasted delicious.

Faris posted sentinels on two commanding sand-hills. One watch I had to take myself.

A clear, still night enfolded the desert. The starlight

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

344 they bathed the squealing, downy infant all over, baptizing him with this herb-scented water of the beast of the desert into the sacred fellowship of the wilderness.

I was still thinking how unexpectedly this incident had come to pass, when I was startled by heavy pattering on the tent-roof and on the sand outside. Everywhere, on tents and on the backs of the camels, it was raining big, fat, reddish locusts!

The new baby boy's mother was just then squatting in her smoke-filled tent, engaged, with the assistance of her women friends, in swathing his little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags—a measure considered indispensable among the Bedouins for the protection of newly born children. But, all-important
• 136 as this ceremony was, all the women except the mother
222 rushed away pell-mell, to help their menfolk and children to harvest the locusts.

These kept coming up in swarms—nay, in cloud piled on cloud. While myriads whirred past and on with a loud noise, a host of them broke flight and settled. Wherever one looked, the ground was thick with them, covered, as it were, with a crawling red carpet. Grass, herbage, bushes melted away under the devouring mass of insects. And the whole camp was out gathering them.

252 Soon locusts were roasting at every fire, round which
262 men, women, and children squatted in a circle. They picked up the insects by their gauzy wings, plucked off the legs, dipped the roasted "husks" in salt, and ate them, skin and all.

Boiled, I did not like locusts; they had the taste of particularly insipid cabbage or some such vegetable.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All round the camp and all day long smoke screens were kept going, into which women and children drove the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them —but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens, bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bedouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that at times their camels and horses too can have no other fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

to fifty miles from our last camp by the Jabal Tawil—we found all the pasture gone, consumed to the last blade by the locusts. It was only in the plain of Biyaz that we found a depression which was untouched and with plenty of forage. There we made camp under the shelter of a *wadi*.

The women and slaves unloaded the camels and at once proceeded to put up the tents. The tent-cloth is spread on the ground, looking like a long, black, hairy hide; the lines are drawn east and west, tent-pegs driven home with wooden mallets, and the long tent-poles, properly spaced, are inserted under the roof-strip. Then, by dint of lifting and pushing, up goes the structure; first one pole in place, then the next, and so on until the whole goat-hair "house" rests securely on its supports. Row after row of tents rose, casting long shadows as the last sun-rays gleamed on their peaked roofs.

I bought a weakly camel from my fellow-travellers, had it slaughtered and the meat distributed to all and sundry. The flesh-pots of Ishmael were soon steaming and the savour of them attracted a horde of hungry dogs. One of the tribesmen was to play host to myself, Faris, and a number of others. Out of the dark his troop of camels stole up silently, showing suddenly in the light of the fire as if they had come from nowhere, and lay down before his tent. It was comfortable and homely there by the fire, in the wide circle of men and beasts.

Our cook had transferred a turbid, muddy mess of old coffee grounds and water from a goatskin bag to a pot with a long spout, which he put on the hearth. Now the black, bitter brew foamed up again, and after it had

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong and undefeated for one hundred and thirty-seven years? 703
As yet, they had no suspicion of Ibn Meheyd's activities, but he had, to all intents and purposes, united eight other tribes with his Fid'an. They only lacked a suitable pretext. Nature, however, helped them meanwhile by wearing out the powerful and high-spirited Ruala.

Hot winds swept over the Hamad and the Syrian 731x
steppe—but never a drop of rain. Unusual heat brooded 221x
over North Arabia, so that everything withered. The Ruala pushed onwards faster and faster and lengthened the day's marches. From one horizon to the other the vast herds covered the wilderness. It was almost as if the herders had lost all control over the starving and thirsty animals. Every morning, like clouds of locusts, the camels overflowed the desert on a front of fifteen to over twenty miles. Small, shrivelled herbs were their only nourishment and the small amount of moisture in the plants was all that saved them from dying of thirst.

There was something gigantic and exalting in this unexampled struggle of man and beast for very existence against the pitiless forces of Nature. Those who were unequal to the struggle quietly succumbed. The countless herds moved slowly over the boundless plains, which here and there still showed faint touches of forage, more grey than green. To my amazement, I discovered that [136• 231]
the fat, brick-red hairy caterpillars which, in spite of the drought, were to be found on every stalk and flower, not only helped to nourish hundreds of thousands of desert fowl, bustards, and gazelles, but also our camels and horses. Troops of gazelles were in flight from death in the wilderness, striving with a last effort to reach the dis-

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

wrists of riders and the croups of the galloping horses. 223
Cloaks, manes, and tails, plaits and head-cloths, saddle trappings, fringes, and tassels flapped in the wind. The shout of men mingled with the thunder of hoofs, the neighing of the mares, the screams of the hawks and the baying of the hounds.

Knee to knee, I galloped on with Amir Fuaz. Sharp [136]
eyes descried a heron rising higher and higher into the blue, although herons are rarely seen in this part of Arabia. Probably this one was on its way to the marshlands of Southern Mesopotamia. The young Amir was all excitement; he uttered piercing yells and cried rapturously:

"O my eye, my snatcher, there is thy prey!" and with trembling fingers, still galloping, he attempted to remove the hood and leg-strap of the falcon.

"O thou flash of lightning! O thou sword of the sky!"

The Prince was particularly devoted to this falcon. It [431]
was a tercel through its fifth moult, and a present from Ibn Khalifa, the Sheykh of Bahrein, who had procured it from the Bedouins of Jabal Shammar in exchange for a valuable mare. Having taken off hood and leg-strap, Fuaz swung Anaga up and down on his fist and then sideways.

"Open thy swift wings!" he cried.

With easy beat of wings and whining cries, the splendid bird rose into the air. Instinctively we drew rein to watch the spectacle. At first the falcon beat upward, but after a while he stooped and sailed in long flight close above the ground, without seeming to pay any attention to the heron.

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala. The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥân as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazel.

The *ḳurṭa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Ḥeǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ḍab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the aṭ-Ṭawîl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies. 224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena 262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is 825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round 751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of 278 the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink, 957 assuages fever.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ḏib*, wolf, is most fond of frequenting caves and crevices in rocks. Only when it is about to give birth to young does it crawl into a deserted hyena den. In color it adapts itself to its surroundings. In the volcanic territory it is dark brown, *asḥam*; in the sandy desert of the Nefûd it is a light brown with a greenish tinge, *azraḳ*; and in the plains of al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudijân it is gray with a tinge of blue, *ašhab*. Wolf skins are used in making rebecs, or one-stringed viols, *rebâba*, which then have a particularly high note. The wolf's eye fetches a very high price, because it affords protection in the greatest danger. The wolf thoroughly understands human speech. He himself was once a human being and his name was Serḥân. At that time all the sheep and goats belonged to him. Because of some great sin he was changed into a wolf, and his flocks were taken by man. But the wolf even now regards goats and sheep as his own and has a grudge against shepherds and their dogs because they prevent him from enjoying his property. Once a wolf said to a sheep dog: "Tonight I will take some of my property for supper, *al-lejle 'ašêje râs mâl*." The dog replied: "We shall see. If I get supper from my masters, I shall protect their property, so that thou wilt not get a taste of it; *elja 'ašûni-hali affekaha lâ tḏûḳaha*." If the dog does not receive an adequate supper, his hunger causes him to seek food throughout the neighborhood, and the wolf can plunder to his heart's content.

There was a certain Bedouin who went out on his camel for booty. He met a wolf who likewise was going in search of spoil. They agreed that they would help each other like brothers, *taḥâwow ku w-aḏ-ḏib*. The wolf sat on the camel behind the rider. While the rider slept, the wolf watched over the grazing camel. When they reached a high hill, from the top of which there was a good view, *merḳâb*, the wolf crawled out on to the hill and inspected the region on all sides. Finally he caught sight of grazing camels which belonged to a hostile tribe. They rode cautiously in their direction. The rider kept his camel in a hidden gully and crept with the wolf towards the camels. The wolf ran up to the shepherds, who immediately seized their weapons and pursued him with shouts. Scarcely had they disappeared when the Bedouin seized the finest camel and rode with it into the gully. The wolf led the shepherds far away from their herd; then he returned to it, caught by the throat a tiny young camel, which was covered with

539[x] the skin of another young one, and dragged it likewise into the gully. (A young camel of this kind is called *bawwo*. If a [231] strong she-camel, which gives milk long and abundantly, gives birth to a weak male cub, the owner removes it from its mother, kills it, and ties a portion of its skin around the neck and throat of another young camel. The mother of the animal which has been killed sniffs at the skin, thinks that this is her cub, and lets it suck. Thus she does not lose her milk with fretting, while the mother of the living camel continues to treat it in the same way. Thus both she-camels adopt the cub, both feed it, and the owner can milk both of them.) As soon as the she-camels noticed that their cub was being removed by the wolf, they fled after it and also ran into the gully, where the Bedouin tied them up and drove them as a welcome booty into his camp. His comrade, the wolf, not venturing into the camp, hid himself in a rocky cleft near by and waited for the Bedouin to bring him something. This, however, the latter forgot to do. After two days the wolf began to howl: "'*Aṭi 'aṭi 'awwesni*, give me something to eat!" The Bedouin immediately killed one of the she-camels, brought the intestines, the throat, and the forelegs beyond the encampment for the wolf, and, having explained the whole affair in the chief's tent, he announced that he would punish anybody who harmed his comrade, the wolf. In this encampment there was a youth who was learning to shoot. Catching sight of the wolf, he forgot the threat, took aim, and shot it. The Bedouin avenged his brother, the wolf, and all the elders said that he was in the right. The Bedouin exclaimed: "I have fraternised with the wolf. Oh, woe is me! My other brother did not leave this brother. *Taḫâwajt ana w-ḏiben serḥân jâ wejja ḫawijje má ḫalla ḫawijje.*"

136 The *ḏib* is a cross between a wolf and a female hyena. It lives in the environs of the well of aš-Šiṭṭi and attacks a man even when not provoked.

The *zarbûl*, badger, is an animal smaller than a dog with a grayish-yellow back, a black belly, a dog's head, teeth similar to those of a human being, and a long tail. Its skin has a characteristic smell. It lives in dens, which it digs for itself, and devours jerboas and ordinary mice, lizards, chameleons, etc. Its flesh is eaten. If a Bedouin sees that a *zarbûl* has hidden in its den, he shouts: "Run away, badger! run away, badger! *ḥawr ya zarbûl ḥawr ya-zarbûl.*"

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ab-al-ḥṣejn*, *ṯa'leb*, or *ṛorejri*, fox, is found all over the territory of the Rwala. If its spoor is seen in the morning in the dew, a greyhound, *sluke*, is set on to it. The flesh of the captured fox is eaten. The fox has a great grudge against human beings for pursuing it and accuses them of ingratitude. Adam, the first father of all human sons, once found a half-frozen serpent outside the garden of Eden. Being moved by compassion, he laid the serpent in his bosom and returned with it into his garden. The serpent became warm, recovered, and shouted to Adam: "Carry me back at once to the spot whence thou didst take me; I have my family there. If thou dost not carry me back there at once, I will bite thee." Adam could not exactly remember the spot. He walked to and fro with the serpent, who kept shouting: "This is not where my family lives. Carry me back there at once, or I will bite thee." Adam, wearied and terrified, was glad to meet a fox, and proposed to the serpent that the fox should act as judge. The serpent agreed. Adam sat down in front of the fox and was about to explain what the point at issue was, but the fox interrupted him with the words: "Be silent until thy adversary comes." "My adversary is here." "I do not see him." "I am here. I am lying right on Adam's belly." "If thou art Adam's opponent, *ṯebîlek*, thou must sit opposite him, *ṯebîlek*, otherwise I cannot acknowledge thee as such." "Very well, then I will crawl out." The serpent crawled out from beneath Adam's garment and sat down in front of him. The fox said: "Thee, O man (Adam), I will call Nejṣûbe, therefore pay heed that thou mayest comprehend everything. Behold the serpent's head, O Nejṣûb beh!" But *Jâ nejṣûb beh* means: "Oh! a blow upon it." Adam understood the meaning of the fox's challenge, seized his cudgel, which was provided with a heavy knob, *kenu*, and smashed the serpent's head. Since then the sons of Adam have slain every serpent at sight. But when they began to pursue the descendants of the fox also and to eat their flesh, the latter complained: "Shame unto thee, thou black-headed one! Why am I being pursued? Is it thus that I am requited for my good deed? *Aḥa jâ sêwed ar-rûs lîk stanḍêr ṯeṣle-l-melîḥ.*"

The fox declares that he wishes to live at peace with everyone, but in reality he wishes to beguile everyone. Thus he sent a message once to the raven: "Gladly would I entertain thee, *ebyî ebrow lak.*" "Good! entertain me! *sêe 'ebrow.*" The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

thou, hedgehog?" "Near thy jawbone," and actually he perceived the hedgehog in front of him. He went a short distance farther and asked afresh: "Where art thou, hedgehog?" "Here, in front of thy face." The fox was surprised at seeing the hedgehog in front of him. He set off at a trot. The hedgehog was still in front of him. He ran leaping on. The hedgehog was still in front of him. The sweat was pouring off him when he drew near to the pile of wheat, but the hedgehog was sitting on it. Thus the hedgehog gained a victory over the fox. 539x 825

The foxes wanted to make friends with the dogs. After conferring together, the foxes wrote a long letter in which they described their love and devotion as well as their longing for peace, and they sent a young fox to hand the letter to the chief of the dogs. Scarcely had the fox reached the frontier of the territory belonging to the dogs, when he was observed by the guard, and five dogs set upon him. The fox shouted that he had come to negotiate for peace and showed the letter, but the dogs did not believe him. He threw the letter to them in order that they might read it, but the dogs continued to snarl angrily and rush after him, without taking any notice of the white paper. The fox was glad to escape with his life. Bleeding from many wounds and all covered with sweat, he reached his companions. When he had recovered, the foxes asked: "What about the letter?" "They did not believe it." "What? they did not believe it? Why, we stamped it with our seal." "Then the dogs do not trouble about your seal. I showed the letter to five of them. Not a single one could read or write, but they could all snarl and bite, as you see from me."

THE LARGER HERBIVOROUS ANIMALS

The *beden* (or *wa'al*), ibex, with long powerful horns, lives in the mountains of ar-Rawâk, al-Šâma, aṭ-Ṭawîl, and al-Hûğ. If it descends to the plain, it does not escape the dogs, but in the mountains it cannot be overtaken. The hunters track the fresh spoor which it leaves when going at night to the pasture. They crouch in a rocky cleft and wait until it passes. Sometimes five or even more men go out to hunt it. One proceeds along the ridge of the mountain, the rest go at fixed intervals along the slope, and during the day they search for the place where the ibexes take their ease. The ibex has very 136● [224]

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136 weak sight, but its sense of hearing and smell are excellent. The female protects her young with her horns.

The *baḳar al-maha* (or *baḳar al-waḥaš*), Beatrix antelope, attains the size of a one-year-old calf. It is white and has straight sharp horns, with which it defends itself against dogs. During the day it is most fond of frequenting the deep funnel-shaped pits of the sandy desert an-Nefûd. In the summer, when the Bedouins do not encamp in the Nefûd, it grazes quite freely even during the day, while in the rainy season it goes out to the pasture only at night and is very timid. If it is alarmed it will flee for a whole day without stopping. [229] Its sight is bad. A huntsman in a white shirt can approach to within gunshot of it if he advances against the wind behind a white horse or camel. The male is called *ṯôr*, the female *bḳara*, the young *'eǧel*. Its flesh is very tasty. The skin is [231] used for making water bags or coverings, and from the fat [293] skin at the back of the neck, known as *'ar'ara*, the Bedouins sew gauntlets, *daraḳe*, for protecting the hand against saber wounds.

The *ẓbi*, gazelle, forms whole flocks, *ǧemîle*, in al-Ḥamâd, especially in the territory of al-Manâṣer on the southern border of Palmyrena. The male is called *teja*, the female *'anz*, the young *ḥišf* (or *ṣazâl*). The gazelle is known as *rim* if it is white, *'efri* if it is white beneath its belly and yellowish on its back, and *ḥemri* if it is of a pinkish tint.

224 The best gazelle hunters are the men of the Šlejb tribe. Their favorite method is to hunt in twos. One does the driving, *ḥawwâš*, the other the hunting, *ḳannâṣ*. The one who does the driving wraps skins, *ḥabbâjât*, round his knees and elbows and crawls on them towards the flock of gazelles, endeavoring to drive them up to the hidden marksman. In a single day they capture ten to twenty gazelles.

In al-Manâṣer the gazelles are driven into extensive enclosures. A wall about one and a half meters high, shaped like a figure eight, is built of stone without mortar. The lower loop is only half finished. Where the two loops meet, a narrow opening, *ṭenijje* (or *ṣejî*), is left. At several places portions of the wall enclosing the upper loop are a little lower than the rest of the wall. At each of these places a hole two or three meters deep is dug outside the enclosure. The flock of gazelles is cautiously driven into the lower uncompleted loop. This is soon accomplished, because the two walls are about

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a thousand paces distant one from the other. The gazelles at first advance quietly, but later on, becoming scared, they run along the two walls and try to penetrate as rapidly as possible through the narrow opening into the upper and completely closed loop. As soon as they run through, the narrow opening is blocked up and a greyhound, *sluke*, attacks the gazelles. The frightened animals run round the wall, jump across it where it is lowest, and fall into the pits that have been dug outside. It is said that the gazelles even dream of the narrow opening, *ṣejž*, through which they rush to certain destruction. If a Bedouin wishes to stop a gazelle in flight, he shouts: "A narrow opening is in front of thee, O gazelle! *aṣ-ṣejž jâ ṛazâl*," and the gazelle at once stops and looks round. If a Bedouin perceives a gazelle when he is undertaking an important task, he is afraid of bad luck, and shouts: "Gazelle, gazelle, let the misfortune vanish as well! *ṛazâl ṛazâl w-ḥarren zâl*."

224 825 [177]

SMALL ANIMALS

The *arnab*, hare, is found throughout the territory of the Rwala. In the sandy Nefûd it is pinkish-white; in the volcanic regions it is black; in al-Ḥamâd it is grayish-yellow. Hence it cannot be distinguished from its surroundings. The male is called *ḥazaz*, the female *'edewe*, and the young *ḥurweš*. The full-grown hare is not as large as the wild rabbit of Europe. Like the gazelle and antelope it quenches its thirst with dew only. If a man approaches it, it crouches close to the ground or hides behind a stone in a brushwood thicket and does not move even if the man walks right past it. If, however, it notices that the man is returning, it seeks safety by rushing madly away.

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The hare is said to boast: "I am he with the white lip in the plain with the dried-up plants, who satisfies two and makes the mouth of the third one water; *ana-l-ḥerme bḥâ'at al-ḥerme miṣbe' aṣ-ṣuḥn w-mlaṛṛem aṣ-ṣâleṭ*," or "I am he who hides beneath a tiny shrub, whose fur gives pleasant warmth, and who is not seen except by the camel herdsmen; *ana âjêreti ḥafijje w-ebêreti safijje w-lâ jišûfni ḥâd rê'i al-ḥelijje*." If the hare runs away, the Rwala shout after him: "Furry one, furry one, into the fire with him when he's caught! *wabru wabru w-ben-nâr minfabru*." If the hare shows himself to men hunting with falcons, they shout: "Thy appearance is a

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825 good omen to us, but we will show thee to the falcon; *'araṭ-tinā-l-ḫejr w-'araṭnāč laṭ-ṭejr*."

● 136 The *ḫanzīr*, wild pig, lives only in Palmyrena and in the environs of al-Azraḳ, where it hides in the marshy thickets. The boar is called *šibl*, the sow *šibe*, the sucking pig *ḫarnūṣ*. [262] Instead of *ḫanzīr*, the Rwala use the word *ṭaḫzīr*. The flesh of wild swine is generally eaten.

The *ṣejd aṭ-ṭas'a* is an herbivorous animal of the size of a six-months lamb, gray in color; its head is said to resemble that of a wether below and a human being above. It lives almost solely on the border of the Nefūd, and its flesh is very tasty.

The *wabr*, marmot, is found in the same mountains as the ibex.

The *niṣ*, porcupine, is particularly abundant in the environs of al-Ka'ara, where the innumerable caves and rocky hollows of all sizes serve as its refuge. When wounded, it attacks a man by biting and scratching. Its flesh is very good.

[224 The *ḫumfoḳ*, hedgehog, is also hunted, as its flesh is very
825] tasty. Hedgehog skin is tied round the neck of timid camels. It is said that when they have worn it for at least a month, they cease to be scared.

The *ǧerdi* is a large variety of jerboa. It scrapes deep holes on the uplands and excavates passages into them in such a way that the water does not penetrate even during the heaviest rains. Its flesh is not particularly savory.

The *ǧarbū'* (or *jarbū'*), a smaller variety of jerboa, prefers to dig holes in plains with soft sandy soil and forms long and easily recognizable passages immediately below the surface. These passages are known as *naṭāḳa*. When it runs into its hole, it immediately stops up the entrance with a heap of clay, *ḫaf'a*, for fear of snakes. This heap of clay is
224 an unfailing sign that the *jarbū'* is in its passages. If the Bedouin wishes to hunt it, he thrusts stalks or branches of plants into the passage at several spots and waits until one or another of them moves. That shows him that the *jarbū'* is trying to crawl through, and he kills it with his stick or tramples on it. If he has no time to wait, he tramples on the passages until he drives the *jarbū'* out. In its terror the animal often penetrates the roof of the passage and escapes, if the Bedouin fails to reach it with the stick he throws. The
252 flesh of the *jarbū'* is very tasty, similar to that of chicken. The

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skin is removed and the carcase roasted whole together with the entrails, only the lower part of the legs being thrown away. 252

The *ǧarbū'* and *ǧerdi* boast: "I am *al-ǧarbū'*, the son of *al-marbū'*; on me ten people can easily eat their fill at supper, and pieces of my extremities will still be left in the scrub; *ana-l-ǧarbū' eben al-marbū' mu'aššī 'ašara ma'ašera w-ḫaṣṣ-illmi 'ala-l-ǧǧera.*" "If my forelegs were as long as my hind legs there is no *'obejje* mare, which could overtake me; *law idejje ṭūl riǧlejje má talḥaḳni kill 'obejje.*" "I am *al-ǧerdi*, the son of *al-ǧerdi*, who thrusts a man in armor into a mouse hole; *ana-l-ǧerdi eben al-ǧerdi rammāj al-milbes bel-ḫabāra.*" The man in armor always rides on a horse, which stumbles if it steps into the deep hole of a *ǧerdi* and throws its rider. 539 825

An old *ǧarbū'* was giving advice to her child. Amongst other things she said:

Fuz bnaʿsak en šufet ǯejmen
w-ḫalli-d-dār tanʿaʿ limin banāha
ad-dār taǧed dāran aḫejr minha
w-rūḥak lam taǧed rūḥ sawāha.

Flee alone if thou beholdst a mightier
And let the dwelling mourn for him who built it.
A dwelling, thou wilt find a dwelling better than this one,
But a soul, thou couldst not find a soul such as the one thou hast.

Eǯa ḫall aṣ-ṣeīl bdār ḳowmen
w-má lis-sāčenin illa-r-raḥīl."

If the oppressor penetrates into the dwelling of his vassals,
There is nothing left for the dwellers but to go.

The *fār*, mouse, is found everywhere. It penetrates into the tents, carries away food, and often gnaws even sleeping persons. A Bedouin recites: [36]

Ana-sharatni tāli-l-leyl fāra
tāḫoḏ zahābi jamm ḫafrah twaddīh
parabtuha ḫaṣṣi-iha bel-faḳāra
min ǧūd malḥi rūḥ dammaha jibārīh
w-adḫol 'ala ḫayrān w-ḫeyḫ al-wabāra
w-allāh yiṣnaǧe' min ḫalla 'awānīh
amm-enta já parbūl má bak ḫamāra
akṣa ǧūdak bjāraf al-ǧoḳr taflīh.

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Once the mice summoned a great meeting and agreed with one accord that every cat must wear around its neck a little bell which would give warning to the mice. The mice bought many little bells, and their chief, *čebir al-fâr*, called on the bravest to come forward and undertake to hang them around the cats' necks; but so far no mouse has ever come forward. The little bells are lying in the storeroom of the mice, and the cats still torment the poor creatures.

The *ḫlend*, mole, grayish in color, lives particularly in the depression of Sirḥân. Once a mole encamped with an owl, *bûma*, a swallow, *rḳê'i*, a frog, *ṣafṣa'*, and a moth, *šerâra*. There came to them a man riding on a camel. They all entertained him; he was the guest of all. At the time when the morning star rose, someone stole his camel from him. All his hosts had just fallen asleep. The lamentations of their guest woke them up. They at once left the camp and went in search of the stolen camel. The mole searched for it under the earth, the owl among ruins, the swallow among herds of grazing camels, the frog in the water, and the moth among garments and carpets. The butterfly moth is unhappy because it has not yet succeeded in finding the camel, and throws itself into the fire with the words: "Rather into the fire than live in dishonor."

CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

The Rwala divide birds into *ṭjûr* and *ḫummar*, the *ṭjûr* comprising all carnivorous birds.

Falcons and Falconry

The main representative of the *ṭjûr* is the hunting falcon, *ṣaḳr*, which is often known as *ṭejr*. The Rwala buy hunting falcons from the settlers in al-Šejḫ Miskîn and ar-Rḥejbe, who either select young ones or catch fully grown ones. The best hunting falcon is *al-ḥorr*. It is reddish brown, *aḥḍar*, with many white spots, *ṭrejwât*, on its tail; or dark brown, *adbas*; or even black. The male falcon is called *ḥabbâṭ*, the female *ḥâḥma*. The Bedouins relate that the young falcon remains forty days in embryo, forty days before it is hatched from the egg, and that only after another forty days does it show whether it will fly or not; *arbe'în jowm fî ṣ-ṣarbe'în jowm bîṣ w-arbe'în jowm ṭejr w-lâ ṭejr*.

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136 223 The best of the young falcons is called *zôu en-nâder*; the second best, *lasîz en-nâder*; the third best, *kafîjje*; and the one which is of no use for anything is *tibe'*. The male provides food for both the female and the young. It brings home *hubâri* (bustards) and hares. If the young one falls out of the nest, only the male looks after it. If the male perishes, the female is glad if she can supply her young and herself with jerboas and mice, which are not particularly good for the young. When the young falcons are able to feed themselves is the most favorable time to take them out. A dealer in falcons gives them food until they are fully developed, whereupon he sells them to the Bedouins.

FIG. 2—Hunting falcons.

223 The catching of full-grown falcons involves less trouble. The falcon hunter, *farrâh*, seeks out a suitable spot among the rocks, prepares a hiding place there, places two or three stones in front of it, fastens a small net between them, shakes clay over it, and connects it to his hiding place with a string. To a thin cord he then ties a raven, a handful of feathers, and a pigeon. By means of a slender thread he fastens the raven to a large stone between the hiding place and the net and gives it water and food; he himself keeps in his hiding place with the pigeon, and waits until the cry of the raven shows that the falcon is circling above it. He then cautiously pulls the raven in, so that in its place there remain the feathers tied to the same cord, while the pigeon sits down by the net. If the falcon flings itself upon the pigeon, the hunter releases the net by means of the string, catches the falcon, and immediately sews up its eyelids, *jekuffeb ajfajr*. After three or four days the falcon has become a little tame, *jewdi'*, and the stitches may be undone. The falcon hunter sells untrained falcons for eight to twenty *mejîdîjjât* ($7.20–$18) each.

[#35]

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A pity is this loss; I shifted it into my other hand,
But it is like a *meseḥḥ ar-riṣḍa*, which because it is
a sluggard cannot be trained for flight.

The falconer seizes the falcon, places it on his hand on which he wears a leather gauntlet, unfastens the chain from its foot, and by swinging it to and fro in his hand compels it to fly. When one hand becomes tired, he shifts it into the other and repeats his attempt. The *meseḥḥ ar-riṣḍa* is a bird of prey similar to the falcon.

Aṭ-ṭejr jā 'ammār jā ḏāseb aṭ-ṭena
allāh w-lā leh ǧerraten nastaḥdi bah
ṛudat beh 'arda min al-ḳerānis ḥājel
'dmēn ḥitēn muḫḫaha biǧeridah.

Of our falcon which was so winsome and ever capturing booty.
By Allāh himself! there is no trace which we could follow;
It was joined by a hardy female falcon, a barren one,
Whose marrow after two summers and two winters had gathered in her feet.

The *ḳerāṣe* (pl. *ḳerānis*) is the full-grown female falcon. The *ǧerid* are the falcon's legs from the talons to the knees. The female falcon had not paired for two summers and two winters; she had remained *ḥājel*, barren. In the opinion of the Bedouins the marrow — mainly that which has accumulated in the region of the shin — escapes from the bird's body during pairing.

Other Carnivorous Birds

The *ǧelēme* is a bird of prey smaller than the falcon, *ṣejr*, but larger than the *bāšeḳ* (known also as *ḏbaia*), a kind of hawk. It catches and devours all *ḥummar* birds (see below, pp. 37—41) and seeks particularly after *al-ḥuṣṣ'*, the sand grouse.

The *meseḥḥ ar-riṣḍa*, a kind of falcon, is fond of catching the *ǧarbū'*.

The *bāz* is the sparrow hawk.

The *ḥdejje* is a kite.

136 The *ʿaḳâb*, eagle. Not even a *bâšek*, nor a *ǧeleme*, nor the falcon itself is safe from the *ʿaḳejb al-ǧerdân* species.

223 825 757 The *nisr* (pl., *nsûr*), vulture, especially the *ḥabâši* species, is shot and eaten, for its flesh is healthful. Seven pieces of its flesh dried in the sun are the best remedy for rheumatism and hemorrhoids. The patient should eat these seven pieces at once, cover himself with seven quilts, and sweat, and Allâh will help him.

136 825 The *raḫama* (*Vultur perenopterus*) migrates at the beginning of the autumn rains and does not return until the beginning of the *smâk* season. The Bedouins greet its return with joy, for they know that within ten or fifteen days there will be warmer weather. The *raḫame* is unwilling to give up its booty and exerts all its strength to get possession of it. Hence the saying: "So and so craves for something like a *raḫame*. *twaḫḫam twaḫmet ar-raḫama*."

The *saʿadi* or *abu saʿad* is the stork.

The *ṛark* is a water bird.

The *ṛurâb*, raven, is found in three varieties: the *zâṛ al-baḳ'*, the smallest, is black with a bluish or greenish luster on its chest; the *ǧab'a*, somewhat larger, has a short tail and very tasty flesh; the *ṛurâb al-'aḳ'aḳ* is the largest. All three species accompany the camels far into the desert and from them they pick ticks, *ḫarûd*, and the larvae of the gadfly, *Ḥeleme*; but they also gnaw at the blisters under the saddle, and for this reason the herdsmen drive them away. If they see a raven settling on a camel, they call to it: "Fly away into the inhabited regions! *ṛarreb ṛarreb*." Or: "Beware of the awl! The awl will prick thy throat! *mḥejriz jibeṭṭ le-ḥâtak!*"

777 825 If a man undertakes an important journey and observes a single raven, he laments: "Oh! weary with weeping is the eye of him whom a single raven has approached. *jâ ḫard al-'eja min ǧâḥ al-ṛurâb wâḥid*." He knows that he will have bad luck, and therefore he will prefer to return. If, however, he sees two ravens, he exults: "Oh! blissful is the eye of him whom two ravens have approached. *jâ ḫazz al-'eja min ǧanaḥ al-ṛurâbên*."

539 825 The young ravens are more wary than the old ones. An ancient raven was giving instruction to its great-grandson: "My son, do not trust people. If thou perceivest a man approaching thee, fly away as soon as he bends down. He might

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lift a stone and throw it at thee." "Granddad, do not be afraid for me. I shall not wait until he bends down, but will fly away as soon as I catch sight of him. Why, he might be carrying a stone in his hand, and then he could throw it at me without having to bend down." 539* 825

NON-CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

Non-carnivorous birds, known as *ḥummar*, are as follows: 136

The *ḥubâra* (pl., *ḥubâri*), a variety of bustard. It is dark-gray, with white feathers in its wings and tail, and is the size of an average hen. It runs quickly but flies clumsily. It is most fond of frequenting plains and valleys covered with perennials, and for the most part it lives on seeds and young shoots. When frightened it hides under a shrub and does not fly out until its enemy draws near. It flies close to the ground for a distance of one or two hundred paces, settles down for a moment, makes off again for several paces, and once more nestles close to the ground under a shrub or a leaning slab. It is very difficult to get within striking distance of it, because it flees continually. Only a rider on a horse full of endurance can weary it. Its greatest enemy is the falcon, which watches its movements from above and when it settles down swoops upon it like lightning.

Originally the falcon was afraid of the *ḥubâri*, for they were more numerous than his own stock. Once a wounded falcon asked for their hospitality. They received it kindly, fed and nursed it, so that it completely recovered. It seemed strange to the falcon that they did not hold any councils together. Accordingly, it asked the hostess: "To what tribe do you belong?" "We are the *ḥôm* (subjects of) az-Zennâra." "And who is your chief?" "I am the chief," said the hostess, but her neighbor exlaimed: "Not at all, I am the chief." A bird which was flying past contradicted her: "Why, how so? I am the chief." The falcon was very much pleased, for it thought to itself: "Surely I shall not be afraid of these. They will never attack me together. I shall be able to feed on one after the other. I shall have less trouble than if I were to catch only small birds, as hitherto." From that time the falcon, *ṣeyr*, has devoured the *ḥubâri*. 539* 825

The *ḥubâra* mocks at the falcon: "I am the *ḥubâra*; in the region where there is no camp the shouting of the herds-

men [who have observed thee] scares me, so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-l-ḥbâra ḥarz ekfâra ḥeas ar-ra'jân jeḫarrîni má tekwâni já mesčîni.*" The falcon replies: "I am the commander assigned to thee, with very keen eyes, although I do not rub indigo upon them; *ana ḥurren leč maḳûren leč makḥûl al-'ajn belâ nîli.*" The *ḥabâra*: "I am like a snake crouching under a shallow stone, so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-l-ḥajje taḥat ap-ṣfajje má tekwâni já mesčîni.*" The falcon: "I am a snake charmer, the son of a snake charmer, I charm the snake, so that thou canst not harm me; *ana-l-ḳarrâ'i eben al-ḳarrâ'i akra' al-ḥajje má teḫîni.*" The *ḥabâra*: "I am a tiny date, hidden at the top of the palm [protected by the spikes of its leaves], so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-s-ṣḫala brâs an-naḫala má tekwâni já mesčîni.*" The falcon: "I am a climber, the son of a climber, I will cut the spikes with my knife; *ana-r-raḳḳâj eben ar-raḳḳâj aḥask* (sic) *al-ḥoṣk besčîni.*"

The *na'âme*, ostrich, is found mainly in the Nefûd, particularly in the northwest part, also to the west of al-'Elejm, in the environs of aṭ-Ṭawîl, in al-'Arejî, and in al-Rwêṭa. In the dry season the ostriches go far to the north, as far as the environs of Palmyra. On account of its dark-gray plumage the male ostrich is called *ṣlîm* (or *muzellel*); the female is called *rabda* and the young, *rîlân*. In the *ṣwâk* season the female lays ten to thirty eggs in shallow holes in the sand. Such a heap of ostrich eggs is known as *dehw*. As soon as the first egg has been laid, the guarding of the nest begins. According to the Rwala, in the daytime it is guarded by the male, while the female feeds, and during the night she does the watching. When the last egg is laid, three or four are rolled away to a distance of one pace from the nest. The bird does not trouble about these, but turns the others over and during the night sits upon them and warms them. The male bird, which remains by the nest during the day, does not sit on the eggs, as they are then warmed by the sun, but the female protects them against the night cold with her body and plumage. After what is said to be twenty-one days the young are hatched. The male then pecks through the eggs, which were removed from the nest one after the other, and makes the young birds feed on their contents. When they have finished these eggs, they go to the pasture under the protection of their parents. They

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are always led by their mother, while their father walks behind them and protects them from wolves, hyenas, and *ṣaḳr*. The ostrich has very bad hearing; on the other hand its sight is excellent. It is easiest to hunt near its nest. When there is no wind the spoor of the ostrich is very plain in the sand. The hunter follows it, hides behind every shrub, crawls on his stomach, and so draws near to the bird. If the male observes from a distance any suspicious movement of the shrub or the hunter, it flees with the whole flock, which cannot be overtaken in the sand even by the swiftest horse. Near the nest the hunter can fire at the birds he is stalking. The fat of the ostrich, known as *ziḥem*, is a remedy for various diseases.

The *ḳundara* is a pinkish bird about the size of a hen. It flies badly and runs in a clumsy manner. It is found solely in the Nefûd, especially on the precipitous slopes of the pits.

The *ḳaṭra* is larger than the *ḳabâra*. It flies very little. If attacked by the falcon, it lies on its back and defends itself with its claws.

The *ṭarše* is a dark bird the size of a small duck. It lives only in pairs in al-Ḥamâd. It has no sense of hearing.

The *bauwa* is half the size of the *ḳundara*. Two varieties live in al-Ḥamâd, of which the darker and larger is the *ḳidri*.

The *ḳaṭa'*, sand grouse, is found in the interior of the desert only as long as the various natural reservoirs are filled with rain water. When these dry up, it migrates to the edge of the desert about a hundred kilometers distant from permanent water. The *ḳaṭa'*, *ḳaṭâ'* (see next page), and the pigeon are the only birds which regularly drink water after sunrise and before sunset. The *ḳaṭa'* never lays eggs near a watering place, but in a remote valley covered with grass and bushes. It digs a tiny hole alongside a shrub, and the female lays three or four eggs, gray in color with dark spots, the size of a pigeon's egg. The birds leave their nests only when flying to the watering place; otherwise they always keep close by them. In such valleys there are usually at least a thousand nests. When the young are hatched they run about like countless tiny chickens and search for seeds. The *ḳaṭa'* never flies alone, but always in flocks. If the flock does not contain more than ten birds, it is known as *firs*; otherwise as *ruff*. The Bedouins express surprise that the *ḳaṭa'*, when flying to a watering place — even though it may be a hundred kilometers

2: Musil 3-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 825 away — never goes astray and never deviates from the straight course; and therefore they say of a good guide, *delil*, who has an excellent knowledge of the flat desert, that he is *delil ḳaṭāwi*. The *ḳaṭa'* is very fond of entering encampments, where it seeks for grain. Its arrival is known immediately throughout the camp, for it is always possible to hear the cry of the bird: "*Ḳaṭa' ḳaṭa'*." The Bedouins say: "The *ḳaṭa'* have come to us with a deafening cry; would that Allâh had not blessed the *ḳaṭa'*; *ǧāna-l-ḳaṭa' leh farḳaṭa' lā bārak allāh bal-ḳaṭa'*."

The *ḳārwān* is a variety of *ḳaṭa'*, but smaller; the outer half of its wing is black.

The *ḥaǧal*, partridge, lives in flocks of eight to sixteen in the depression of Sirḥân only, where there is abundance of water everywhere. On hot days it hides in the bushes. The male bird calls his flock together by crying: "*Ḳor, ḳor, ḳor.*" The flock, thus alarmed, flies out but soon retires again and hides. If a Bedouin wishes to stop their escape, he shouts: "*Hawǧeló ḥawǧeló.*" The male bird never hides but jumps from boulder to boulder, watches the enemy, and warns his charges.

136 The *murʾi* is a smaller variety of the *ḥaǧal*. It does not live in flocks but only in pairs, and it flies well.

The *ṣumaḳmaḳ* is a dark-gray bird the size of a small pigeon. Its legs and neck are long, and it lives on fish in the lake near al-Azraḳ.

The *ṣabri* collects seeds and insects, but it also gnaws the young of the *ǧerdi* and *ǧerbâ'*.

The *ǧabbâḥ ummeh w-abûh*, murderer of its mother and its father, is the hoopoe.

The *semmâne*, a small dark-gray bird, creeps among the bushes.

The *fsejsi*, a small bird with a white belly and a dark back, flies only among the tops of bushes and trees.

The *ṣeʾw* is a small bird similar to our finch. One variety is yellowish, another black and white.

The *ǧarǧara*.

The *ḥaʾêle*.

The *rḥêṭi*, swallow.

The *ṣaffâra*.

The *ǧhojjen*, a dark-brown bird, smaller than the hoopoe.

The *sumarmar*.

The *milekît er-reʾjâm*.

The *umm ṣwejī*, the turtledove, lives only in the oases. 136
The *ḥaḍri'* is found only in palm groves.
The *mḳaṭṭa'* eats ripe dates.

The *umm ṣēlem* is a small ash-colored bird which always flies round camels. If it flies up to a height of ten or fifteen meters, it begins to choke and at once comes down again. Its voice is very pleasant. Once the *umm ṣēlem* came to the 537 K
ant and begged: "Give me supper for my children." The ant disposed of her by saying: "Depart! I am constantly attending to the harvest, but thou to singing; *ana ḥasemi al-ḥaṣāṣēd w-enti ḥammeč al-ḥaṣāṣēd.*" The *umm ṣēlem* replied: "And yet my voice is often more precious than the whole of thee with thy ragged tail, *ana jowmen min ajjdm ṣrubi jawāč jā mḥarāḳat aḍ-ḍaebi.*"

REPTILES

Of reptiles the Rwala are most interested in the following: 136
The *ṣabb*, also known as *abu ḥamad*. Many declare that it does not belong among the reptiles, because it has four feet of which it can make good use. It is a large lizard with seven vertebrae. It has five toes on each of its feet. Its tail is longer than its actual body. It lives on plants only and is fond of lying in the clefts between stones. The Bedouins eagerly pursue it. 224
If they catch it, they turn it over on its back in order to cut its throat. It then raises its forefeet to protect itself. The flesh of the dead lizard twitches for a long time. It is very tasty. Generally the Bedouins push the *ṣabb* into the sand and light a fire above it. After about an hour they rake the fire away, dig the *ṣabb* out, turn it over, push it back again, and make another fire over it.

The *ṣabb* was originally the chief of all reptiles, being 539 K
the first one who urged them to prayer and who taught 825
them how to bow down, while praying, and to kneel and touch the earth with their foreheads. When human beings began to increase in number, the *ṣabb* sent forth his spies into the territory inhabited by human beings, in order to find out what weapons the latter possessed and how war could be waged with them. The spies, who were the actual sons of *abu ḥamad*, informed him of what they had seen and heard, and he realized that war with human beings was not possible and that it would be best to hide from them. Accordingly he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

dug dens for himself and his numerous family. To the rest of his subjects he said nothing. When he used to come from his work into the assembly, his whole forehead was gray with dust and clay. His companions asked him: "What makes thy forehead gray?" "Constant praying, during which I touch the earth as is prescribed." One day the guards who had been posted on the boundary came running up, shouting: "The Arabs are approaching with dogs and weapons." *Abu ḥamad* and his family at once hid themselves in the dens which had been prepared, so that none of them perished.

The Rwala divide serpents into *ḥajje* and *dibb*, the former being any short snake and the latter any long serpent, irrespective of whether it is venomous or not. In poetry the latter appellation is always used for venomous serpents. Of the short serpents they are afraid of the viper, *efa'i*, which is found in the rocky desert, as well as of the *batra* and the *ḥanaf*, which live in the sandy desert. The latter crawl out only by night. During the daytime they dig themselves into the sand, so that the tips of their heads alone project.

Of the long serpents the *ḥawiš* is particularly venomous. It is one meter long, covered with patches of color, and swims in pools of rain water.

The skin shed by a serpent, *silb*, serves as a remedy for various diseases of the eye. The Rwala all eat the long serpents. The flesh of the short snakes they give to camels suffering from the disorder of the stomach known as *roši* and from caries, *rusis*.

The *ḥarḍaun*, chameleon, basks in sunny spots and nods its head at passers-by.

The *ab-aj-ǰhejh* is smaller than the *ḥarḍaun*. It lives exclusively in the Nefūd, where it hides in the sand, leaving its head alone uncovered.

The *waiza*, a reptile similar to the *ḥarḍaun*, is found likewise in the Nefūd. It is spotted with red and black patches. Its flesh dried in the sun and ground to powder is eaten by impotent old men.

The *solejmāni* (or *ǰlejmāni*) and the *ḥabeneššije* are harmless lizards.

The *be'erṣi* (or *breiṣi*) is a venomous lizard of the Nefūd. When a man is bitten by this lizard, he becomes very restless. He cannot remain in one place. If he is lying in the shade, he craves for the sun, and if he is carried into the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

sun, he wants the shade. Hence they say of a man who runs from place to place: "He has been bitten by the *brejṣi, ka ḳeriṣ al-brejṣi.*"

The *'aḳrab*, scorpion.

INSECTS

The Rwala are infested by the following insects:

The *'enkabût*, a venomous spider.

The *naḥal*, bees, which are found particularly in the rocky regions. They are tiny creatures, and their sting is insignificant. Their honey has a sour taste. If anyone finds a swarm of bees, he endeavors to reach the honey. There is a well-known riddle: "It feeds in the waterless region, no man tastes its flesh, but its offspring is eaten by every passer-by; *ṭâfer al-arṣ mar'aha w-mâ ġâḳ en-nâs laḥamha illa welodha jâkelah kill min ġâb*"; the answer is: the bee.

The *ḳu'ejsi*, a species of large ant, is known also as *ḥejḥ en-ḥamal*. It forms the subject of the following riddle: "It devours barley and is not a camel; it devours straw and is not an ass; it pulls down a dwelling and is not a mouse; it is black as night and yet is not night; *jâkel eš-ḥa'ir w-lâ ka ba'ir jâkel at-tiben w-lâ ka ḥmâr jiḥarḳ ed-dâr w-lâ ka fâr aswad al-lejl w-lâ ka lejl*"; the answer is: *ḳu'ejsi*.

The *namal*, the ordinary ant, of which there are three varieties: *ṭajjâr, farsi*, and *ġarr*.

The *arṣa*, wood borer, a small insect somewhat larger than the ant. It devours everything that it can reach.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *dâ*, and even riding one on another, *enadâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *faraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Safa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *safa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enjamm'*), gathered together. *Bel-aâfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâḥî*, and fears, *âfâḳ*. *Enâafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-afrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *sudmâḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣundâḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḍf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *rața*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

not cry in the tent, so she goes behind the camp and there cries and laments to relieve herself. *Aṯṯâb* is a wolf, who also wails and laments and is therefore called *aṣ-ṣâwi*, the wailer. On the border of the desert the jackal is called *ṣâwi*, in the inner desert there are no jackals. *Ṣâwi* is a word imitative of the jackal's cry.

831*
539*
[136]

Lâ wa' bi nawwow jinḥown
jamm ġirat allâh já 'arab ḥelli
jiḏkor 'aṯiri naḥâr aṣ-ṣown
jeruddaha w-er-radi ġelli.

Alas, my sorrow! They are to set out in another direction.
Oh, may you camp in the neighborhood of Allâh, O Arabs of my friend!
My beloved on the day of the fight will remember
And turn his mare, while a scamp will flee like a coward.

Lâ wa' bi or *lâ wa' b'ejsi* signifies much the same thing as *já ḥasreti*; it is the usual expression when something dear is lost. According to our song the lover's kin have moved in company with the kin of his sweetheart, who fondly hoped that they would also camp together. But her lover's kinsfolk have unexpectedly turned aside. Then she comforts herself again with the thought that her youth will not forget her and will come to her aid if her camp should be attacked. And even if the stronger enemy should force him to retreat, the thought of his sweetheart would make him turn round and begin the fight anew. *Jamm ġirat allâh* (or *ma' ġirat allâh*) has the same meaning as *ma' ḥafeẓ allâh*, under Allâh's protection.

Zell er-rabî' w-diḥeina bel-beiḍ
w-el-ṣaru mâ waḳna 'aleiḥ
já-bu nhûdein ḏawweḳa el-beiḍ
w-el-ḥelb maliḍ 'aleiḥ.

The season of plenty is gone and midsummer begins,
And yet my sweetheart and I have not met.
Oh, the maid with the egg-shaped breasts,
To whom my heart so firmly clings.

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312 of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All
[406] through the night they kept watering their herds at the deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bearings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

133 A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which extends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste without water, without pasture, on which it seems to have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards
● [137] avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended
[562] on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta —the *samh*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed granules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark, bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

726 After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well, we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

IX

The Nufud

I HAD MY FIRST sight of the Nufud from the neighbourhood of the Shedad Umm-Kur. 133

And what a sight! The waves of the red desert, rising and falling evenly, seemed to extend to infinity. Crescent-shaped crests and twisted cones; a contrast of light and shade; dark red levels which rose to banks against flanks aflame with the sun. In gorges between the red walls, sixty to a hundred and sixty feet deep, a shimmer of silver and green; scattered low bushes and small trees with straight milk-white trunks and supple drooping branches bearing feathery twigs and greyish-green needles.

I held my breath, overwhelmed with amazement and admiration.

With soundless steps Maha made for the first tree, [137] stretched her slim shapely neck and nibbled with obvious delight the yellowish young shoots and the new green needles of the *ghada*—a species of tamarisk. As far as the sand dunes of the Nufud roll, the *ghada* also is found—a boon and a blessing to camel and to man. Its roots are anchored deep in the red waste of pure quartz-sand, and it disdains other desert soil.

Maha knew the Nufud. She followed the tortuous slopes which, as in a storm-tossed ocean, led from trough to crest and, past deep chasms, to the next slope. Impossible to steer a straight course, as in the Hamad or Harra.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

slate-blue rocks seemed to deepen rather than to relieve its sombreness.

One morning I let Mnahi go on his shooting alone and instead attached myself to a herder. The camels in his charge were grazing a good way off and he came to camp only once every three days.

It was a stony tract, and all day long the camels roamed to and fro in search of feed among the boulders, which were sometimes as high as one's head. About noon we collected the herd and led it into the shade of some loftier rocks. There the herder and I stretched ourselves full length on the ground, and in lazy contentment, half asleep, we passed the warmest hours. But when the sky was clouded over, we had to keep on the move to avoid getting chilly, halting only shortly before the sun went down to draw milk for our supper into a wooden bowl.

The plants among the rocks were in bloom, with fragrant white, violet, and red flowers. Some of them imparted to the milk of our camels a peculiar but very delightful flavour, reminiscent of sweet sage or camomile or some aromatic herb. It had not the bitter taste of the milk produced in some regions, nor the watery, salty "variety" of the Wadi Sirhan. Even the camel-thorn bursts into bloom here at the base of the Jabal Tawil, and the stunted acacias shed a sweet fragrance. At times our small herd was powdered all over with pollen of a blue and yellow tint.

My herder companion was a bright, merry lad. Instead of sitting on his camel in normal fashion, he had the knack of sprawling for hours on end behind its hump, hanging on like a leech. I tried to imitate him,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at aṣ-ṣhejl naḥarreḳ*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṭrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṭrâwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧauza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-šta'*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *aṣ-ṣmâḳ*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *aṣ-ṣmâḳ*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-waṣm*, *aš-
132 šitwi*, *aṣ-ṣmâḳ*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *aṣ-ṣhejlâwi*, *aṭ-ṭrâwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which
[131] are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at aṣ-ṣhejl lâ tâmen aṣ-ṣejl waṭlammes aṭ-ṭamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *ṣhejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-herfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arṣ maṣṣûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the tiny pale-green leaflets of annuals, which the Rwala call "grasses," *'ešeb*, whereas the perennials are called by them "woody plants," *šuǧar*. If the *wasm aṯ-ṯuraiyā*, the rain of the Pleiades, is likewise abundant, the grasses attain their full growth and the camels pasture on fresh *'ešeb* even before the winter, *aš-šitā'*, sets in. 132 137

The most important rain of all is the *wasm aṯ-ṯuraiyā*; it is the decisive factor for the future grazing. A copious rain of Gemini extending over wide areas assures the growth of both the grasses and the woody plants and banishes the dread of hunger. Sometimes at the end of the *ǧōzāwi* rain period comes a rain called *aṯ-ṯawejbi'* (of Aldebaran), which completes the fertility brought by the rains of Gemini, although not sufficient in itself to take their place altogether.

The *šitwi* rain, called also *an-neżżān*, will not assure a successful growth of the grasses if they have not already sprouted after the *wasm* rains. In the *smāk* and, especially, in the *ṣejf* seasons there are many very hot days, so that the grasses which came out from the ground after the *šitwi* rain grow yellow before reaching their full development. But the *šitwi* rain fills all the reservoirs with pure healthful water, which evaporates but slowly during the cold winter days and nights and in consequence remains pure for a long time. [312]

The rain of *as-smāk* is beneficial only when the soil has been thoroughly soaked by some autumnal rain, especially that of Gemini, for then both the grasses and woody plants are rapidly developed by *as-smāk* and the prosperity of the Bedouins in that particular season is well-nigh assured. Yet even the most abundant *smāk* rain is of but little account if it falls on ground already parched from lack of moisture from the preceding autumnal rains, for the hot sun of the following season, *aṣ-ṣejf*, will consume everything that the *smāk* has called to life.

An abundant *ṣejfi* rain leads to the destruction of the annuals, strengthens the perennials, and fills all the spring wells. The grasses refreshed by copious summer rain become luxuriant, quickly sending out new leaves and blossoms; but in a few days the scorching sun absorbs all their sap, withering them more prematurely than if *aṣ-ṣejfi* had not awakened them. The woody plants, on the other hand, having a longer

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A luxuriant growth of perennials in the autumn is a sure sign that the particular district has been visited by good *ṛejfi* rains, whence the saying: "O that lovely little gazelle! it will eat its fill of the autumn pasture after the summer rain; *jā 'ajn al-ḥējf tar'-al-ḥelfi 'eḳb eṛ-ṛejfi.*" Abundant summer rain also fills both the natural and artificial reservoirs, but such water soon swarms with frogs, *ḍafā'i*, and all kinds of worms, which render it foul-smelling and undrinkable in a short time.

PRAYERS FOR RAIN

If the earth does not receive abundant autumnal rain, the danger of a failure of the pasture, *maḥal* (or *muḥfi*), arises. In order to prevent it, the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of the rain (Fig. 1). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession, which wanders from tent to tent singing:

1. *Jā-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   belli bḥejt nā'ina
2. *jā-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min al-maṭar eṭṭina
3. *jā-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min midd allāh meddina
4. *jā-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min al-wabel eṭṭina.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Wet the mantle of our herdsman.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
With pouring rain allay our thirst.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
From Allāh's measure measure out to us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
A real flood let our share be.

Verse 1. *Ṛejṭ* signifies a rain of at least four days' duration extending over a vast region. *Bḥejt* is a cheap gray cloak made of wool or cotton waste. 2. The girls gradually increase their prayers for rain. At first they want the rain only to wet the herdsman's mantle; then they pray for a downpour, *maṭar*,

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no rains after the *ḳejf*. in summer nor after the *ḥemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṣâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-ṭejṭ*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-ṭejṭ*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-ṭejṭ* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṯ-ṯrûwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'eśeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rubî'*. In the inner desert

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

In the inner desert

the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *felláḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *felláḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arṣ elli má tinsa-sem má terabbe' muḥtije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The chaff, *ḥiśr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away, while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is called *semḥne* or *sebîb*.

The fertility, or abundance, *rabî'*, depends entirely on a luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even after a good *ṣejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *maṣ-jûfa*; but no *ṣejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may have no *rabî'* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have something to bite into), and men die of hunger; *hâḍi-s-sene w-laha snûn nâs ja'îdûn w-nâs jemûtûn.*" The Bedouin also refers to a *rabî' al-mâ*, meaning a season when the entire growth consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even the youngest camels; a *rabî' aṣ-ṣufâra*, when nothing grows except the *ṣufâra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rabî' ad-dimne*, when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *šitwi* rains, fail to receive the *smâk* rain and become yellow as early as the end of March; a *rabî' an-naṣṣân*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rabî' aṣ-ṣafḥa*, when not only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant pasture.

Just as the Bedouins long for the *rabî'* years, so they fear the years of want, or *ǧawe'*. If for two or three years the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody plants alone. The winter rain, *aš-šitwi*, makes these perennials swell, but during the hot *smâk* days they dry up, become unpalatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ajjâm al-ǧawe'*, or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish. But if the rains of the *ṣejfi* also fail, then not a single perennial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

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731
821

a dead and death-dealing desert. This is the work of the woman sun, whose sole aim is to burn and destroy.

HOT AND COLD WEATHER; DEWS; WINDS; FOGS; MIRAGES; SAND STORMS

The greatest heats, called *ḥàmm al-ḳlejbên*, occur in the season of *al-ḳêẓ*; *ḥamm as-ṣhejl*, the season immediately before the rise of Canopus, is the next hottest. When the Pleiades, *aṯ-ṯrajja*, disappear from the heavens, every stalk dries up, *ilje ṛâbat aṯ-ṯrajja kll 'ûden jibes.* 132

The season of *aṣ-ṣtà'*, with a few days before and after it, is the coldest of all; from about December 11 to January 20 is the time of the real winter, *al-marbà'anijje*. The *ṣtà'* cold is followed by the seven poisonous nights, *sabà' semm*; then come the seven bloody nights, *sabà' demm*; and finally seven nights in which the fat (of the camels) is either increasing or decreasing, *jiṣir ad-desem w-lâ jiṣir*. In explanation it should be said that the nights of the first and second week following the *marbà'anijje* are often so cold as to make the life of both human beings and animals miserable; the noses of the camels even bleed from the effects of the cold. Not until the third week, or about the middle of February, do the cold nights begin to alternate with warm ones. In the daytime the earth is warm but at night the air stratum more than one meter above the ground cools off; wherefore the two giants (i.e. the camel and the palm) suffer much from cold, *bard aṯ-ṯawîlên*. In winter, *al-marbà'anijje*, all of Palmyrena, all the territories of al-Ḥamâd, al-Wudijân, al-Ḥeǧera, al-Ḥunfa, Ḥezma', and even the Nefûd are covered with white frost, *ḥallt*. In Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and al-Wudijân trees and bushes become white with hoarfrost, *ǧellâ*, at that time. Snow falls, *feleǧat aṣ-ṣlinja*, in Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and Ḥesma in large flakes, *ṭuṣêṣât*, regularly every year, but as a rule it remains on the ground no more than one day, excepting in Palmyrena, where it sometimes stays longer, causing great losses to the owners of sheep and goats. [821]

The dew, *ṭall*, *wadà'*, or *ṭo'al*, is plentiful all the year round, especially during the summer months. It is sent by the moon to refresh both the annuals, or grasses, *'eṣeb*, and [821]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

mǧowdalât, keeping in the path trodden by camels for centuries past; it is very seldom, and then only in a level plain where the grass is fresh, that they move side by side, *mutarâdât*. Once on the pasture grounds, the she-camels graze together, *mertaʿât ḥwâlêhen*. The herdsman sits down in some higher place the better to overlook his herd, sings, carves something, or seeks edible plants and bulbs. About noon when the heat is at its highest, *ḥakmat* (or *sanḳarat* or *ḥujjalat*) *el-ḥâʿile*, the she-camels leave off grazing, kneel down, *jeṯbarreken* or *mubarrekât*, and chew their cuds till two or three o'clock. Then they rise again and graze till supper time, *jeʿaššen*, when the herdsman turns them in the direction of the camp and drives them back, reaching the tent at sunset. At that time all the youths and slaves ride out from the camp, on horseback and in small groups, *serfât*, to protect the returning herds from a possible attack. 233

When satiated the she-camels move very slowly, stopping every little while. The herdsman mounts the leading animal, *ḥaʿûda*, and rides at the head of his herd, urging it to greater speed with a short drawling song, *jeḥâjeʿ*. The ditty sung by the herdsman to keep the returning herd together is called *meḥjêʿ*. Every herdsman has a song of his own, which differs from those used by others in the words as well as in the cadences of the tone and the length of the syllables. Were it not for this singing, the camels of the same herd would never keep together, but would get lost among the thousands of animals returning home after sunset. On arriving at his tent the herdsman remains sitting on his she-camel, which he halts; he keeps on singing the *meḥjêʿ* while he waits for the whole herd to come in. Then, dismounting, he takes the cords handed to him by the host, makes each animal kneel down in the place allotted to it, *jemarreḳhen bel-mrâḳ*, fetters its left leg above the knee, *jeʿaḳḳelhen*, eats his supper, and lies down among the herd, so as to watch it at night also. Next morning before sunrise he unties the cords again, *jeṭallelhen*, and, having counted them, gives them back too the host. The milking of the she-camels is done by the owner himself or by a slave or servant. After the milking the host, or anyone bidden by him, drives them a short distance from the tent, where they graze till the dew has evaporated. [533]

The best camel pasture consists of plants called *ḥamḍ*, among which the Rwala count the followwing perennials: *arṭa*, 233 137

233 *orejabe, ḥenawa, roṛol, rimṯ, rūje, zrejje, ḥa'rān, ḥnān, ṯhamm, ṣamrān, 'ajram, 'urād, ṛaṛrāṛ, ṛaṛa', fira, fidfia, ḥuṭaf, ḥuṛḥāṛ,*
137 *ḥulūa, maḥarūt, mardaḍ, nejtāl, hejlu.*

WATERING OF CAMELS

233 As to the right time for watering the camels the pasturing ground and the season of the year are the deciding factors. When grazing on the salt *ḥamṛ* plants exclusively they can hold out no longer than four or five days without water. If their food consists of dry plants, *ṯenn*, like some dry grasses called *ḥemri* or the perennials known as *ṣafi* and *soboṭ*, they can endure from six to fifteen days. In the time of *rubī'*, when they eat nothing but fresh, juicy grasses, they will not touch water for even as long as thirty days. In the hot season, *al-ḥēṛ*, when the Bedouins encamp in the settled territories, the herds are driven to the watering places every day.

A thirsty she-camel murmurs pitiably, *taḥenn*, refuses to graze, her eyes overflow with tears, *tedāma' 'ajūnaha*, every little while she makes an attempt to urinate, and her loins sink in more and more. On seeing the camel herds in this condition the traveler inquires of the herdsmen: "How long have the camels thirsted? *ṣma' al-bel wuḍu*," the answer being: "They have thirsted four, five, seven, eight, and even fifteen days; *rib' ḥems semḥ ṯemān laḥadd ḥamsta'aš*."

The watering of camels is described by various words. *Hadad* is used when the camels leave the pasture, are watered, and return all in one day; *ḥamir*, when they reach the watering place in one day, spend the night there, and return to their pasture on the following day; *ḥurub*, when the camels going to be watered spend the first night far from their pasture, reach the water the following noon, stay there over night, approach the tents on the third day, and do not return till the fourth day from the time when they set out.

When the Bedouins move and encamp towards evening by some water they let their herds drink at night, calling this *nazelna bil-ḥemle*. If they camp far from the water, it is *menda'*; *nazelna bel-menda'*. If the camp is situated near a watering place, but with no pasture in the whole neighborhood, the herdsmen drive their animals a long distance from the camp, to which they return only when it is necessary to water them. They camp by the water, but the herds spend

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it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

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Dubiya, a Friend of Tabisa

Mavis, a Friend of Tabisa

Annie, the Mother of Paris

Tabisa

opposite page 33

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

splendid figures, and they walked straight, with swaying hips, even under the heavy loads they carried. The long trains of their blue gowns trailed behind them on the sand, but the front was gathered high enough—but only just high enough—about a hand's breadth—to give them freedom in walking.

Eleven days of leisurely travelling brought us next to al-Khor, low-lying country pitted with rain pools, south of the Jabal Enaza. There Faris and I parted from our fellow travellers and rode westward to the boundary of the Hamad (gravel steppe) and the Harra (flint desert), making for a *wadi* in the neighbourhood of the Jabal Umm Wual. Darkness fell upon us in the lowlands, but on the higher levels of the Harra enough daylight lingered for us to see ahead. I pulled up Maha, for a fairy scene was spread out before me—the encampment of the Ruala at evening.

After seeing nothing but the empty wilderness, day after day and weeks on end—nothing but the sky and solitude—there suddenly appeared to us a city of tents! Smoke rose from thousands of black dwellings, and in between, large camel-herds, hundreds of them, were wending their way home.

At last we were at home again. Seven hundred and fifty miles in the saddle lay behind us, through the virgin desert of the Hamad and the Nufud; and I had brought back a priceless store of unforgettable memories.

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Front and Profile Views of Pygmy
Ibo Mask, Shamanic Chief

following page 80

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in constant fear and therefore keep a sharp lookout all the time. In the same manner the daughter of Ebeu Kuṭṭân watches for danger from the enemy and wishes that her lover may always be ready to go to her assistance.

La'ujûn min labes al-ḥarîr
ûukrun ḏurâjeh rîsche
w-eljo' talâkuw bel-wa'ed
w-aš-šeiḫ bimeḥâseha.

For the eyes of her who wears a silk garment
And has braids of fair hair!
When men shall meet in the fight appointed by Allâh,
The chief himself will be the first on the battle ground.

The daughters and wives of the chiefs wear silk kerchiefs. Fair hair is rare among the Rwala women; they generally dye it. Our beauty with braids of fair hair has a suitor in the person of the chief himself, who therefore hastens to her aid when the migrating clan is attacked and fights on the battle ground before her eyes. *Wa'ed* is a fight ordained by Allâh himself. *Maḥâs* means the place of an encounter, a battle ground.

Arḫaṣt 'omrî w-el-faras
dûn al-ǧemel w-elli 'alejh
jâ-bu ḫrûn ûuha-l-maras
ḳalbi muštâḳeu 'alejh.

I ris'ked my life and my mare
Before the camel and her who sat on him.
For her with braids like this rope,
My heart is longing for her.

Kûl ǧoum 'ajdeu lal-baudt
w-al-joum hâḏa 'ajdeua
narmi-al-'aša lal-ḥâjemât
lal-'ujûn min teridaua.

Every day is a holiday for the girls,
But this day is a holiday for us,
As we shall throw a supper to the birds of prey
For the eyes of her who longs for us.

The girls sing, amuse themselves, and turn the heads of the young men every day, but the youths show them their real qualities on the day when they repulse a hostile raid.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

beans with an iron spoon fastened to the handle by means of a long copper chain, *id al-miḥmâse*. As soon as the coffee begins to turn brown, *aškarrat*, he lifts the plate from time to time, shakes it until the beans jump about, blows on and continues roasting them. When all the beans have acquired a dark-brown color, he shakes them out upon a wooden dish, *mibrâda*, which is also provided with a long handle, in order that they may cool off, *jebarredha*. Meanwhile he takes the second smaller pot, pours boiling water into it from the first one, and sets it by the fire. He wipes a wooden mortar, *mihbâš* (or *niǧr*), decorated with carvings, shakes, *jekubb*, into it the cold beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle, *jad* (or *mehwân*), and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes. After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it. The noise made by the mortar and pestle, *ḥess al-mihbâš*, is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not. The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done.

The coffee when ground to a fine powder is shaken out, *jelažžemha*, by a slave into his right hand or straight into the second pot, in which the fresh coffee is boiled. This pot is called *maṣfa'* (or *ṣalâje*). The slave takes the rag with which he has wiped the vessel, places it on the handle of the pot, and holds it above the fire, continually moving it farther away or nearer in order that the coffee may not boil over. When the coffee is thoroughly boiled, *ṭabbat*, he places the pot at some little distance from the fire in order that the coffee may settle. He then puts into the mortar a few grains of the fragrant spice known as cardamom and a pinch of saffron, beats them up, shakes them out into the third pot, which has been cleaned and warmed, and pours into it the boiled coffee from the second pot. The third pot, in which the coffee is boiled with the ground spices, is called *mabhâra*. From a circular box of wood, *ḫuṣṣi*, or copper, *ḥafaṣ*, the slave takes out small cups of solid stoneware, *fanâǧil*, pours a little water into each one, rubs them with his thumb on a piece of rag, and puts them on a copper platter called *ṣiniyye*. When the spice-flavored coffee has boiled he empties a part of it into the fourth

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Yesterday my beloved was near
And today [I only see] the territory of her tribe.
Behold the stone pile on the high hill,
Perhaps [from there] thou wilt see her fire.

Yesterday he left the camp, passing by the tent of h
beloved, while today he is far away from her but still i
the same territory. There, on a high hill, he sees a cairn
riǧm. He wishes to ascend, hide behind the stones, and loo
in all directions. Perhaps he will see the smoke or flame o
the fire in the tent where his sweetheart is living. The deser
air is clear, the Rwala have sharp eyesight and can see
fire even if sixty kilometers distant.

●[151]

Abṛi atamanna menweti
šaḳra ḏehúb muḥaǧǧala
abṛi elja' laḥž aṭ-ṭalab
w-rajjeẓha má-'aǧǧelha.

I wish to explain for what I long:
For a gold sorrel with white forelegs!
I wish, if the pursuing enemy overtakes us,
To let her walk but slowly, not urge her to speed.

Ṭalab is the term for camel riders pursuing raiders.
While being overtaken, the greedy cowards urge the captured
animals to the highest speed in order to make their escape.
Our rider, who desires to capture a sorrel mare of a golden
tint, has no intention of galloping away but means to check
his animal in order to repel the enemy, although he knows
that the owner of the mare and his relatives will do their
utmost to throw him from the saddle in order to recover the
sorrel.

Já 'amm wa-štar li ǧemúḥ
já budd má hi sájere
já budd min jowmen jeṯr
beh al-ḳalâje' ḥâjere.

O uncle, buy for me a mare that clears all obstacles;
Oh, truly, how such a one will attack!
Oh, truly, on the day when she attacks,
Mares whose riders have been thrown will run to and fro.

Ǧemúḥ is a mare able to jump over any obstacle. She
does not slip on soft salt-covered ground, nor fall from a

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these Ruala that thou hast actually accorded us thy protection that we might safely reach the grazing grounds of our friends. I shall ask him to permit thee and thy men this evening to camp in peace with the Ruala." 721

"Truly, thou lightest up my countenance," the Fid'an replied, overjoyed, "and I swear that I have now restored everything." To my amazement, I saw in his extended hand my costly compass, which I had supposed lost.

The Ruala, swaying on the backs of lean *dhaluls*, were drawing nearer. Well ahead of them galloped a horseman on a "red" (bay) mare, obviously their leader, and I cantered to meet him. He had his *kaffiyah* drawn over his face, so that when we met I could see only his eyes, and his voice came muffled: "Who art thou, rider on the 'blue' (grey) mare?" 609

For answer, I uncovered my face and said: "I yield myself to thee. And all these men"—pointing to Ali and the Fid'an—"I put under thy protection, O *Akid*, in the name of my brother and thy Amir, Fuaz."

The Rueyli drove his heels into his mare so that she plunged wildly and he had great difficulty in controlling her. He pulled down his *kaffiyah* and I was greatly astonished to see that it was Fuaz himself, but beside himself with rage. "Ride away, my brother," he said, "lest thy blood be answerable for my deeds. Like the panther, I winded these dogs of Fid'an that dare to yelp in the grazing grounds of the Ruala." 152 609

He was berserk, mad with the fighting frenzy of the Sha'lan. He tossed off his cloak, which caught on his mare's croup; he bared his arms and chest; he shifted his carbine from hand to hand, while his horse curvetted

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152 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one
609 thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to
[577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place
[576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

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watch Aziz carefully, or he may flee to your enemies with Falha."

"Allah give him strength," said Fuaz. "He rides with the panthers and the falcons!"

"With the lions!" was Ali's improvement.

Despite their show of cheerfulness, I could see that it went hard with the Ruala tribesmen to watch the Saba ride off with the captured mares. But no one uttered a word of complaint against the magnanimous gesture of the chief, for generosity is held to be the highest virtue amongst the Bedouins.

So we started on our long ride to the home camp, and eleven days later rested again under the hospitable roof of Nuri Sha'lan's dwelling.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwala numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neğe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf ježeldi al-meẓâhir*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arṣa* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: "*Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Abči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
w-aẓonn min jabči ḥaleh mâ jiljâmi
2. *ğît al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḳalb maʿ'ûm*
mandzel al-ğullân ḫom w-al-'amâmi
3. *ḥâḍa meḥabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maʿlûm*
marka' dîdlen muʿabâten aš-šwâmi
4. *w-hâḍi merdbaṭ ḫejlahom dâjmen dûm*
ḫoḳb al-'ujûn mrowba'ât al-ḫwâmi

2: Musil 5-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by their own people. 8. *Ṣâbûr* are the camel riders who during the raid ward off the attacks of the owners of the captured herds. 9. *Mirkûḍahom* signifies the galloping of the horse riders who from ambush attack the enemy engaged

726
539x

Fig. 31—Pack camels, *al-maẓhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

with the *ṣâbûr*. 10. Most of the coffee is to go to the owner of the tent, who entertains the warriors returning from a raid, *ma'âwid* (or *menâčïf*), with genuine unaffected kindness. For whether the raid has been successful or not, on the return from it all are hungry, riders as well as animals, because as a rule every raid lasts much longer than was planned. 11. *Al-čeḏûb al-ehlâfi* is the term applied to a man who pretends to rejoice at some news, while in reality he is seething with wrath. It is used of the host who embraces and kisses the guest, but does not give enough to eat either to the guest or to his animals.

[152]
272
539x

1. *Kum saw mâ jeǰmed 'alâ-ṛ-ṛîn jâ ḏijâb*
   bedlâl jeïdem al-bṭûṭ al-maḥâdîb
2. *w-ekmes elja min al-'araḳ fowḳha ḏâb*
   w-estaden mâ jeḏḏeb 'alejk alï-berârîb

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHARACTER OF BEDOUIN WOMEN

The Bedouin women are renowned for their acuteness. They comprehend quickly but use much caution in expressing themselves, as the following story will illustrate:

A young Bedouin was riding on his mare to a neighboring camp. Being thirsty, he halted in a small camp through which he was passing, before a tent where he saw only two women. One was old, the mother, as he thought; the other much younger, her daughter, perhaps. The younger one stepped out from the tent, and the rider addressed her thus:

"If we knew the name, we should salute; *low 'arefna al-isem sallemna*." Her answer was:

"If we knew the name, we should return the salute. When dost thou grasp thy saber? *kaṣabt sejfak*."

The rider understood the meaning of her words and, because he expected to grasp his saber in a revolt or bloody quarrel known as *fetna*, he addressed her by this name and indicated his own by pointing to the beauty of her face, *ḥasan*.

"Be strong, Fetna! What manner of face hast thou? *ḳaw fetna naẓar waǧheč*."

Without a moment's hesitation the girl replied: "I welcome thee, Ḥasan!"

The rider asked for water. She filled a small wooden trough, *žedaḥ*, and held it to him so that he could drink more easily. As he was sitting in the saddle, she had to raise her hands, the wide sleeves of her shirt slipped down to the arm pits and her arms were bare, revealing to the rider the hair under them. With a sigh he said:

"What a pity! If only the nether hair were as long as the upper! *jâ ḥejf en čân wâṭih miṭl 'âlih*."

To indicate that she understood, the girl replied: "It is still without a master, *min ṭillet wâlih*."

Glad of conversing with a virgin and liking the looks of her, the rider asked:

"Will you receive a guest gladly? *'endakom laẓ-ẓejf ekrâm*."

"Certainly, if he is destined to eat of our food; *elja čân leh naṣib baṭ-ṭa'âm*."

He then jumped off his mare; as the girl was leading it aside she stooped down in order to tether the animal to some object. Noticing near the tent a heavy spare peg of the kind used for securing the tent ropes and also a few smaller

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

163 639 pegs for fastening the back tent wall, she took the heavy peg in her right hand, one of the smaller ones in the left, and tried to drive it into the ground in order to tether the mare. But the ground, being scorched and hard, the peg could not be driven in. She therefore complained to her mother, but in a careful way so as not to offend against decency. Hence she preferred to say wood, *ḫašab*, instead of peg, *wadd*:

"Mama, I hammer wood with wood, but the ground will not let in the wood. Hand me a big stone to hammer the wood with. *Jâ jumma-dukk al-ḫašab bel-ḫašab w-al-ḳâʿ mâ taḳbal al-ḫašab jâ jumma hâti li rṣuma adukk al-ḫašab.*"

The youth marveled at the girl's good sense as at the orderliness which he found in the tent. He called again when her brother returned from a raid, and made the girl his wife.

A Bedouin once had three wives. The first, whom he had married in his youth, bore him several children; the second he had taken to wife two years before; and the third, a blooming girl, had been in his tent scarcely two months. Once he went to an itinerant merchant for a short rug, *ḳaṭîfe*, and brought it home. The women began to quarrel as to which of them the rug was bought for. "It belongs to me," said the first one, "to me the mother of his sons." "I devote myself to him day and night. The *ḳaṭîfe* was meant for me," said the second. "He has already tired of both of you," exclaimed the third, "you ought to know that what is old cannot be made new again and an enemy will never become an intimate friend, *al-ʿatîž mâ jirǧaʿ ǧedîd wa-l-ʿadw mâ jirǧaʿ ṣiddîž*. I am young, still new to him; therefore I taste the best to him. He bought the *ḳaṭîfe* for me." The man listened but held his tongue, while the wives went before a judge to decide between them. The judge decided that the *ḳaṭîfe* belonged to the third woman.

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3. I for myself twisted a rope to pull this world with, 539x
But, instead, the world pulled me without a rope. 577x
4. O thou who sittest in the shade! it is as if thy shade were gone,
And over thee who sittest in the sun has fallen a shade.
5. He that says "I am better than others" is destined for torments,
And he that says "I am violence" will be violated by men.
6. Become not a long spear, even if thou reachest its length,
But be not downcast, even if the present has treated thee mercilessly.
7. A well cannot be filled with dew or moist fog,
And a revolt will not be calmed without an effort.
8. The informer shall not whisper in a noble man's ear,
And true men shall not eat lies.
9. How many are there who rest on the goods of their father and grandfather,
But, if the Lord of this world shall destroy those goods, they will perish.

The poet was Rumejzân at-Tamîmi of the Beni Tamîm tribe, who live in various settlements of Neǧd; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri, Ḥmâr [illegible] Awwâd, and Ǧwâd al-ʿÂni.

Verse 1. *Jowm* signifies a day from sunset to sunset, [805] hence the night too. The days are secret, because nobody knows how many people were begotten in them, *ad-dinja telkah w-teled*. 2. Grief caused by various troubles does not torment [513] so much in the daytime as at night, when the troubled man cannot sleep. *Cwaneh* means that the nights lay on the red-hot iron used in curing various diseases. *ʿÂtihen* means putting oneself above or being offensive to others. 3. Sooner will the surroundings spoil a man than a man reform his surroundings. 4. A despised person ought to be conscious of [156] his condition and should not press into the foreground, while he who is famous ought not to forget that the time may come when his fame will end. 6. *Marhâš* is the term applied to an unusually long spear. No matter how many good qualities a man may have, he should not put himself above others and wound them with his sarcasms. *Heǧ'en* is one low in spirit, downcast, crushed. 7. *Ǧibb* is a deep well. *Neda'* means the dripping moisture which settles on clothing, tents, animals,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

953 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

181 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys
● 157 seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given
628 me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

nay deadly, enemies for centuries. But the family of 619
Faris had, because of a blood-feud, been living with the 628
Ruala for the past sixteen years. This accounted for the fact that a Shammar could act as my protector in the territory of his tribe's deadly enemies; but the choice also displayed Nuri's wisdom. Being a Shammar, Faris could safeguard me with the enemies of the Ruala, while as Nuri's confidant, he could answer for me before every Rueyli.

Faris was an exceptional man. From the moment of 157
our first meeting, when Nuri introduced him to me, I felt that this must be more than a mere chance acquaintance. The softness of his voice, as he wished me "Peace", and the grip of his strong, manly hand in an instant disclosed to me the open and pure soul of the young Bedouin. Under his hair-cloth cloak beat a heart so affectionate, yet so stout, that I must confess I have never encountered its like among the children of men. To his last breath he was the truest friend I have ever known. Faris was also one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His noble, oval face was unforgettable, with its gentle, dark eyes. His wonderful hair and beard, his flowing shepherd's cloak, made him a striking figure. Tender and gentle as he was, Faris was yet among the boldest and bravest of Ishmaelites. Perhaps he was living two thousand years too late.

After we had left the old suburbs of Damascus be- 487
hind us, our way led through walnut, olive and apricot orchards into the great open spaces. Majestically the snow-capped peaks of the Syrian mountains rose into

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not take sides against the French. The French authorities immediately realized the danger, and promptly gave orders that the ancient caravan route from Damascus to Tudmur (Palmyra) and Deyr-ez-Zor (which passes south of the hills of the Abu Rijmeyn and branches off near Tudmur towards Baghdad) was to form the most northerly boundary beyond which the Ruala might not seek pasture. None must cross this line if armed or mounted.

Now the foes of the Ruala could triumph!

The Saba, the Muwali, Hadediyyin and all the others had the law of the land and the power of the French Government on their side—and they were confederates of Ibn Meheyd! What did they care for the misery of the Ruala? They only saw at hand a long-desired opportunity to fall upon and destroy this hated Ruala nation and take possession of their vast herds.

It was a day in April, when our distress seemed to have reached the last extremity beyond which endurance could not go—when death stared every man and animal in the face—that I entered the tent of Faris, which was pitched on a hillock a little apart. The tent was empty. The mother and sister of the young man were probably searching for truffles, roots and dry herbs for fuel. As I flung myself down by the glowing ashes inside the tent, I heard the voice of Faris ibn Naif behind the tent. It was loud and excited, which was an unusual thing for him, for the calm and self-control of my friend had always been exemplary. He was neither a Philistine nor a bigot, but a man of a moral purity such as I never found surpassed, even among the Bedouins. I

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

wondered, therefore, that I should now hear Faris so excitedly wrangling with someone. But when I stepped round the tent and saw him, I was undeceived. He stood with clenched fists, his face raised to the sky, in an attitude of supplication. He obviously believed himself secure from human observation, and it was obvious also that he conversed with no human being.

He spoke to God, and his prayer was an expression of the anguish of his soul.

"Thou art merciful," I heard him cry. "Thou seest that our suffering and our dying have become cruel. We are starving to death. The helpless have no hope except in Thee. . . ."

Faris was a Muslim in name only. He cried out like a child to his Father. He implored—and raged in turn. He stamped his feet and clenched his fists in impotent fury. He bowed his head in humility—he raised his eyes in anger, but he also wept bitterly. He stretched out his empty hands, crying: "O Lord, the people perish, men and beasts starve, give pasture—give water—give bread—give peace. . . ."

Without letting him see me, I slipped back to his tent. I sat down by the hearth and poked with the fire-irons in the glowing dung, and held out my hands over it. Involuntarily I folded them and thought of the childlike faith of Faris, and I too begged God for aid. "Thou must help—the need is great; the herds are starving and the nation is dying."

When I raised my eyes, Faris stood before me. "Thou art sad, my Brother?" he asked affectionately.

I rose and grasped his proffered hand. "No," I said.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ḥubbi bil-ǧâl	Against the rocky wall beat
jâ delw ǧbâl	Thou, O Ǧbâl's bucket! [drawn by]
be'uẓûd rǧâl	The strength of arms of men
mâ hom ǧehâl.	Who are not heedless.

The bucket strikes against the rocky sides of a deep well, making the work of the men drawing it exceedingly difficult. When they feel that its edge has caught on some bulge of the wall, they must not jerk at the rope lest they injure the bucket or tip it and spill the water; they should, rather, merely rock the bucket slightly so as to bring it into the center of the well. Such deliberation, of course, is possessed by real men, *reǧâl*, not by harebrained, hasty, inconsiderate lads, *ǧehâl*, who think that all things can be accomplished by violence.

Jâ maljâna	Oh, the full bucket,
sallamha-llâh min ǧildnah.	May Allâh save it from the sides of the well!
Mâ jarwi-l-bel'	He shall not water his camels
rejr muserbel.	Who does not pull up [the rope] steadily.
Abjen abjen	More visible, more visible,
čânha bil-bin	If visibility be the question,
al-waẓha-bjen	A white she-camel is the more visible.
čânha bis-sin	If beauty be the question,
al-ḥamra-zjen	A brown one is more beautiful;
čânha bil-ṯil	But if a load be the question,
al-malha-ḥjel.	Then a black she-camel can stand more than all.
Tawwa' tfazza' bâli	Now my mind has cleared,
al-ḥouẓ beh efzâli.	For in the water trough there is a surplus.
Ab-ḥoel ǧrîd	The camels need
joum al-tawrîd	On the watering day
'abdân w-ekl	Two slaves and one master.
en ḥell al-'abd	If one slave gets tired
mâ ḥell ea-ekl.	Not so the master.

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539x

O comrades mine! now I have drunk of satisfaction,
Because we have cleansed the stomach of its dirt.
And that in the cloud of dust that enveloped the foe
Between as-Swejda and al-'Ala'.

Já surbaten ǧat taḥtadi
má sannadaw ǧikhâlaha
wa' má 'aḏḏalnâhom w-'ajjú
já má baṭa! 'aḏḏâlaha.

When the troop came, singing its ditties,
The gay youths did not hold in their mares,
Oh, how we warned them and still they paid no heed!
Oh, what hero was even the least of that troop!

Surba is a troop of ten to twenty riders. *Taḥtadi*: it (lit., she) sings the *ḥda'* ditties. *Má sannadaw*: they did not hold back their mares on meeting a much stronger enemy. *Ǧâkel* (pl., *ǧikhâl*), a gay youth; já a youth between his fourteenth and eighteenth years, who is imprudent and will be neither advised nor remonstrated with. *Wa' má* has the same meaning as *já kuṯr má*, Oh, how much! *'Aḏḏalnâhom*: we warned them, we advised them to hold in their mares and to wait for help, for a counter attack, *faz'a*, from other camps; but they *'ajjú*, rejecting our warning, threw themselves on the enemy.

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Já ṭejr já-lli ṭâlr al-ḫowm
sallem elja' ǧit ṭarḥúme
'allraha ḍa'ḍa' bel-ḫowm
telḳa' ta'âǧib be'lúmeh
wallaw ǧemá'eh rušškom lowm
alli ma' al-ḥejd mazmúmeh.

O thou bird of prey, who ever circlest above us!
A greeting, if thou wilt fly to Ṭarḥúme.
Her darling has shaken the enemy;
Thou shalt hear news of him to make thee wonder.
But his comrades fled — Oh, may so many reproaches
That they make the plain level with the hillside. [cover them

Ḥejd is a slope or hillside shutting in a plain.

Heǧǧi ḥaǧlǧ aṣ-ṣejd ma' waǧh al-ǧulwa'
ma' waǧh dazmin al-lḥa w-al-ǧawâreb.

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While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his own tribe, his eldest son, Nauaf, was charged with leading the Ruala against their external enemies. Nuri was the father of a large family and was in fact credited with eighty-two children, of whom thirty-seven were sons, nearly all of whom died violent deaths.

A few days after this first meeting with Nuri Sha'lan, I paid a visit to Nauaf, whose tents were pitched a day's ride away, by the rain-water pools of Rukûban, one hundred and twenty odd miles east of Damascus.

Nauaf differed greatly from his father. He lacked the old *Sheykh's* strong personality. Nor had he the talent to organize for warfare a tribe so vast as the Ruala, with its seven thousand tents, thirty-five thousand souls, and over three hundred thousand camels.

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He had just mustered another small camel-troop to strengthen his forces operating against Jauf, the oasis at the southeastern end of the wide, fertile depression of the Wadi Sirhan. They had already taken a few lesser fortified outposts. But these successes had brought Nauaf little credit: neither from his own tribesmen nor from the subjugated settlers could he win the respect which would have consolidated his position. Moreover, this attack on Jauf was a reversal of tribal policy. From of old the Ruala had peacefully traded with that oasis, bartering their camels, wool, cheese, and butter for dates, barley, salt, coffee, tent fittings, camel-saddles, and textiles. Suddenly, and quite against the old *Sheykh's* intentions, Nauaf conceived the scheme of monopolizing that trade for himself and occupying the oasis as a strategic stronghold from which to dominate Northern Arabia and the caravan routes to Nejd.

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The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

Within sight of Jauf opens out the great, red-sand desert of the Nufud, which extends more than three hundred miles from east to west and nearly two hundred miles from north to south. Its northern half, called El-Labbe, forms the proper grazing ground of the Ruala. Their real home is there. The southern part is held by the Shammar Bedouins, who have made Hayil, on the southern edge of the Nufud, their trading centre.

Until after the Great War, the Shammar were ruled by Ibn Rashid, a renegade governor of the Ibn Sa'ûd family, who, with his Negro bodyguard, had rebelled against his masters and had taken Hayil. Ibn Sa'ûd, however, succeeded in recovering that dominant position, which secured him undisputed power in Central Arabia (Nejd, Kasim, and Hejaz).

The efforts Ibn Sa'ûd made to weld all the tribes into one national unit, his subjugation, in campaign after campaign, of all *Shiyukhs* (*Sheykhs*) who resisted him, are well known. Now, at the time of my first sojourn in the land of the Bedouins, this Ibn Rashid, the traitor governor, had still the greater part of Inner Arabia under his power. He became so completely sovereign that his former masters, the Ibn Sa'ûd family, had to live for decades in exile, while the "Black Princes" held sway over the towns and oases as well as the many Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. In the history of Arabia there are few bolder achievements than Ibn Sa'ûd's recovery, with a mere handful of men, of his capital, Riyadh, his subjugation of Hayil and the Shammar, until he, adding success to success, became at length the

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visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab. 769

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyye was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala. 619 721

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black. [302]

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates. [164]

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my 619 721 576

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628 his animal before the chief's tent, and, entering, sat down among the guests and visitors. They conversed on all possible 782 topics, *an-nâs tesowlef min ʿarẓ al-ḥači*, as is usually the case, the boy listening eagerly. Suddenly he heard one of the visitors say: "Our blood-stained one, *dammawi*, mentioned that he had found at such and such a place a hole filled with rain water; but look, he has just come back with his water bag full." Great was the joy of the young avenger on finding the culprit so soon, and he took good notice of the tent into which the guilty man carried the water. Crawling in at night, he found him sunk in deep slumber. Shaking him with all the force at his command the boy said:

"Art thou asleep or awake? *ènt nâjem walla' žâʿed.*"

"I am awake, *ana žâʿed.*"

"How canst thou sleep with my father in thy belly? *čejf tnâm w-abûj bebaṭnak.*"

"Not thy father alone but thou too wilt be in my belly," replied the culprit, jumping up and grasping his weapon. But at the same moment the boy fired a shot at him from his revolver, *ṭawwar beh ar-ridnijje šamâm*, killing him instantly.

On his return he simply said: "Uncle, I have avenged my father; *jâ ʿammi aḫaḍt ṭâr abûj.*" But the uncle was not to be comforted, thinking that he had not fulfilled his vow. "I vowed not to sleep with my wife before bringing back the blood of my brother. Thou hast now brought it. What am I to do?" Then the more experienced men advised him to dismiss his present wife and to marry anew. This he did.

782 In 1898, when cholera was ravaging the country, the Bed-[164] ouins fled to the desert to escape the contagion, *waḫmen čebîr*, which threatened them. Ever since they have called that year *sanat abu faḳsa*, cholera year. At that time Blejhân eben Meṣreb became seriously ill, and his relatives were convinced that he could not recover, *mâ beh rabeḥ*. When his brother, who was pasturing camels at some place far from the water, heard the news, he left his herd and hastened home, *rawwaḥ min al-ʿazîb*. The sight of Blejhân filled him with terror, for he looked more wretched than any one would have wished to see even his worst enemy appear, *w-allâh aš-šowfat al-ḳašra tamannâha l'aduwwak*. Weeping bitterly, the brother lifted his eyes to heaven and exclaimed:

"O God, a camel I vow to thee at once, if my brother shall again walk full of health and vigor, *ʿadîden w-šedîden.*"

CHAPTER XXIII

DEATH AND AFTER DEATH

DISEASES AND WOUNDS

165 Few Rwala reach a very old age. More than four-fifths of the men either fall in war or perish in consequence of wounds received, 164 while the women die mostly when suckling their babies. Such women as survive this period generally grow to be very old. From diseases the Rwala suffer chiefly in the months of July and August, when they camp in the neighborhood of Damascus, in al-Ruta, Gowlan, al-Mzerib, and Kerajat al-Meleh (the vicinity of Etra and Caf). Kerajat al-Meleh are notorious for their ague, hemma, and malaria, shune; in al-Guba the flies are a real pest; likewise the strong winds which blow there all the time, whirling up the fine sand and dust, are very injurious to the eyes. All these districts are called bilad mabijje by the Rwala, who therefore prefer to camp in either the Nefud or al-Hamad, where the atmosphere is both clear and salubrious, bilad 'adijje.

The following are the diseases most universally known.

164 Hubta: pains in the spine and the head combined with a strong 757 fever. The patient wants to lie only on the flat of his back. For a cure he is burnt with a red-hot iron about the head and temples. This occurs most frequently in winter.

Gederi: smallpox. Treated with red clay diluted in water, which is then poured into the patient's eyes. This disease breaks out towards the end of the sferi season (October--December).

Sarba: pains in the stomach combined with fever and endless thirst. Its cure: the root of the nose is cut through so that it bleeds profusely, and the shoulders are burnt all over. Sometimes a thick thread is pulled through the skin of the shoulder and left there until the wound suppurates. The disease appears in winter, especially after one drinks cold water.

Mwallje: pains in the intestines, accompanied by swelling-also the abdomen hardens. It is treated by laxatives;

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appears mostly in summer, eating of meat being most frequently the cause. 164● 757

Ḥemma: ague. The cure: burning about the neck. Appears in midsummer.

Sẖûne: a violent fever; lasts two or three days, ceases for a while, and reappears in the months of July, August, and September. The cure: drinking tamarind water.

Ḥeben: ulcers. They are treated with poultices of the *ḥaltîta* and *mbâraka* drugs till the pus flows out.

Šoṭob: hemorrhoids. The cure: a piece of clay is kneaded, shaped like a large nail, allowed to dry, burned to a white heat, and then inserted into the rectum in order to burn out the hemorrhoids.

Rîḥ: rheumatic pains, especially in the *ṣferi* season (October—December). The afflicted limb is burnt for a cure.

Ramad: diseases of the eye. The cure: *ḳoṣt al-eḫt* or *ḳaṭra* and *twejtijjân* drugs are bought, crushed, mixed with woman's milk, and applied to the eye.

Aba ẓhejr: pains in the small of the back compelling the afflicted person to walk with a stoop. It is treated with burning about the small of the back.

Sâbeʿ: chronic fever combined with headache; otherwise the patient feels well but has no appetite, grows thin and weak, and finally dies. This is treated by burning from the nape of the neck across the top of the head down to the nose.

Ḥubejǧǧe: measles. The cure: dates mixed with pepper and butter warmed up and given the patient to eat. Occurs mostly in winter.

ʿAkankaš: eruption on parts of the body, with itching of the skin. This is treated by drinking the *ḥebbḥâr* and *ṭûm* drugs in milk. It occurs in the months of January and February.

ʿAnḳûd: a severe cough accompanied by vomiting, *jaǧ-ḍef*. As a cure the sick man drinks asses' milk. Occurs mostly in winter.

Aba waǧh: stiffness of some part of the face. As a cure they burn the corners of the mouth and stick three lead balls under the skin of the part of the face affected, which is then covered with a red cloth.

Lwêṛef: venereal disease. Cured by inhaling the smoke of some drug strewn over hot coals. It is very rare among the Rwala.

On falling sick a Rwejli instantly ties into his hair or ooo

CHAPTER XXIII

DEATH AND AFTER DEATH

DISEASES AND WOUNDS

165 Few Rwala reach a very old age. More than four-fifths of the men either fall in war or perish in consequence of wounds received, 164 while the women die mostly when suckling their babies. Such women as survive this period generally grow to be very old. From diseases the Rwala suffer chiefly in the months of July and August, when they camp in the neighborhood of Damascus, in al-Ruta, Gowlan, al-Mzerib, and Kerajat al-Meleh (the vicinity of Etra and Caf). Kerajat al-Meleh are notorious for their ague, hemma, and malaria, shune; in al-Guba the flies are a real pest; likewise the strong winds which blow there all the time, whirling up the fine sand and dust, are very injurious to the eyes. All these districts are called bilad mabijje by the Rwala, who therefore prefer to camp in either the Nefud or al-Hamad, where the atmosphere is both clear and salubrious, bilad 'adijje.

The following are the diseases most universally known.

164 Hubta: pains in the spine and the head combined with a strong 757 fever. The patient wants to lie only on the flat of his back. For a cure he is burnt with a red-hot iron about the head and temples. This occurs most frequently in winter.

Gederi: smallpox. Treated with red clay diluted in water, which is then poured into the patient's eyes. This disease breaks out towards the end of the sferi season (October--December).

Sarba: pains in the stomach combined with fever and endless thirst. Its cure: the root of the nose is cut through so that it bleeds profusely, and the shoulders are burnt all over. Sometimes a thick thread is pulled through the skin of the shoulder and left there until the wound suppurates. The disease appears in winter, especially after one drinks cold water.

Mwallje: pains in the intestines, accompanied by swelling; also the abdomen hardens. It is treated by laxatives;

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ṛazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḥâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeṛarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'w* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'idîn aẓ-ẓa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

7. Order all the burdens to be taken up when ye resolve to go on,
   And load the camels with everything that in the desert is needed and that is ready.
8. Keep the North Star on your right, so ye may not lose the way,
   And watch the seven stars of the Great Bear that are visible.
9. Greet also those who went away from me and deserted me,
   Sejf and Šwardi, the light of my eye, my healing.
10. Thus to them speak: "Your father swears that ye must return,
    And if ye come not to him, he swears that he must come to you.
11. If thou toilest because thou art poor or to gain treasures
    [Know that] wealth does not lengthen a short life;
12. The world thou livest in lasted forever neither for al-Âjde nor Sa'dûn,
    So it is best to spit on a world beyond which there is death."

A certain Šammari had two sons, Sejf and Šwardi, who went to the Ḥawrân to earn money. This is done every year by many people from the settlements of inner Arabia. They generally join the Rwala in their march to Syria, which takes place in the latter part of June. In the Ḥawrân they help as shepherds, reapers, or threshers, receive grain or clothing for their work, and return home again with the Rwala. Some stay abroad only two months, others several years. As the sons of our Šammari had been a long time away, their anxious father composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm. When a chief sends out a mission he takes care that all ride camels of the same color. The prince of the Rwala sends out an embassy of this kind to the Ḥawrân every year, before he comes there himself. He sends letters and verbal messages to the elders of various settlements, to certain officials, and to his confidants, in order to assure himself of an undisturbed sojourn and of plenty of supplies. Our Šammari happened to see this party, consisting of ten youths on ten pale-gray she-camels, this color being the most favored in these animals. They resembled each other like sisters.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXI

The "Ark of Ishmael"

TO THE BEDOUINS of Arabia, the *Markab* has a significance such as the Palladium had to the Trojans. They all hold the belief that the possession of this symbol, much like the Israelitish "Ark of the Covenant", means safety and power to the tribe holding it, while its loss spells disaster to the tribe and its subsequent dispersion. The Ruala have held it uninterruptedly for nearly a century and a half, but even to-day the sight of "Ishmael's camel-throne", with the chosen maiden sitting on it in times of war, will inspire them to greater heroism. The warriors composing its guard of honour are the picked troops of the tribe. They vouch for its safety with life and limb; they are, above all others, the heroes of Arabia.

Before coming into the keeping of the Ruala, the *Markab* was held by the Amarat. More precisely, it was in possession of the Ibn Hadhdhal family of that tribe until 1793. In that year the Wuld'Ali, a tribe in alliance with the Ruala, made war on the Amarat. Jidua ibn Mubadir, a Rueyli then visiting the Wuld'Ali, took part in the campaign. At the height of the decisive battle, so the tale is told, this Rueyli, with permission from the Wuld'Ali chieftain, flung himself on the horsemen guarding the *Markab* (with the Amarat maiden enthroned in it), cut his way through single-handed, and with one blow of the sword cut off one of the legs of the camel bear-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 ing the emblem of the tribe, and brought it to the
• 173 ground. With the sudden overthrow of the Holy Standard, the resistance of the Amarat also broke down and, terror-stricken, they suffered a crushing defeat.

On the battlefield the victors found Jidua, killed from ambush by a foot-soldier, and the Amarat maiden of the camel throne—Jamila—who had stabbed herself to death so as not to survive the shame of her people's defeat. The Wuld'Ali, indeed, claim to this day that Jidua had been Jamila's lover; for, they say, the lifeless bodies of those two were found side by side beneath the collapsed *Markab*, and one of Jamila's hands was still clenched round the hilt of her dagger while her other hand clasped the hand of Jidua.

After the defeat of the Amarat, the *sheykh* of the Wuld'Ali presented the *Markab* and with it Jidua's sword, now famous, to the Ruala, since it was a Rueyli who had overthrown the *Markab* and thus brought about the victory to the Wuld'Ali. Since then this sacred emblem has been in the hands of the Sha'lan family and has accompanied the Ruala in all their victorious wars, a symbol of their dominant position among all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia.

778 Of Jidua's sword—Thu'l-Hayyatu—"the-one-en-
773 dowed-with-life"—there is also an older legend, which
821 the aged Prince Nuri Sha'lan thus related to me:

In the fifth century of the Hegira (the twelfth by our reckoning) when the 'Anaza Bedouins were still grazing their camels south of Teyma at the Jabal Bird, it happened on the sacred pilgrim's road to Mecca from Damascus. Janda ibn Mubadir, an ancestor of Jidua, was

[For the history of tribal relations between the Rwala and other tribes, of various clans and chiefs from the beginning of the nineteenth century, see the narratives in category 116, pp. 574-661. For an account of traditions concerning the Rwala chiefs, see category 116, pp. 51-58.]

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XI

CAMELS

According to a Rwala tradition the Bedouins originally had no camels and the Jews no horses. The Jews camped in the almost inaccessible mountain rifts of the al-Haṣb district in the Ḥeǧâz. No Bedouin would ever visit them, fearing to lose his way and fall into some of the rocky gorges there. But once the Bedouins made a raid on a tribe encamped alongside al-Haṣb. Their guide, a herdsman, claimed knowledge of every path in the whole district; yet even he lost his way among the rocks of the Ḥeǧâz. This impressed on the Bedouins the inhospitality of this territory, and they begged Allâh not to send even their worst enemies there for punishment when they died. The raiders crawled from one ravine into another but could not disentangle themselves from the wild rocks. They ate up everything they had taken with them for the raid, killed some horses, and cooked their flesh, but still could not find their way out to the plain. At last they met a traveler, whom they asked for the nearest camp, and were told that there were some Jews close by. Then the traveler conducted them by a narrow path across isolated crags divided by ravines, till they saw in a large gully shut in by hillsides the black tents of the Jews and before and among them curious animals, such as they had never seen before. The traveler told them they were camels, *bel*. The Bedouins concealed themselves on the heights and after sunrise, leading their horses by the reins, descended into the gully, where they prepared to attack the Jews. These fled in fear on sighting the strangers mounted on animals unknown to them, but their white she-camels escaped even before them. Every pure white she-camel, *waṣḥa*, in the camp broke the tent ropes barring its way and ran to the neighboring gullies, while the she-camels known as *serḥa*, which are also white but with some black or almost blue hairs, looked at the Bedouins and their horses inquisitively and were captured with ease. Then it was that the Bedouin leader exclaimed: "May Allâh not bless these! *lâ jobârek bîš*," and commanded his men

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

173 to kill every *zerḳa* calf found in the camp. Again led by the traveler, the Bedouins now surrounded the place to which the Jews had fled and robbed them of the she-camels still in their possession. Since that time the Jews have kept no camels, satisfying their needs with sheep and goats but still hoping that the she-camels will return to them. They never tire of making leather buckets for drawing water as well as leather troughs; they fill them with water every Friday and, rapping on them, expect the camels to appear, but in vain, *raǧw al-jehûd min al-bel.*

CAMELS OF DIFFERENT AGES AND KINDS

231 *Bel*", a feminine noun, means camels in general. This word is never used in speaking of particular animals. "*Al-bel wuḫidat*, the camels were captured," is a common saying. Camels belonging to a certain clan or kin are designated by the words *ṭarš* or *debeš*. For "your camels were captured" the expression is "*ṭarškom*" or "*debaškom wuḫid*," for "an attack was made on them," "*ṣîr 'alejh*." "*Debaškom wên waǧah*" means "whither are your camels gone?"

Ba'îr is the common name for a camel, regardless of sex. The sentence: "Your camel is lost, *lekom ba'îren ṣâdi*," implies that one animal was lost, without stating whether a he- or she-camel is meant. Up to ten heads the plural is *ba'irât* or *ba'rin*; a larger, unspecified number is *abâ'er.*

Ǧemal is the word for a camel between its sixth and twentieth year. A plural of this word is never formed. "How many grown camels (males) have you?" is expressed by the

* Of the names given by the Rwala to the various parts of a camel's body (Fig. 35) I noted down:

1. 'aje
2. 'arnûse
3. ḥaṭm
4. burṭum
5. ǧarm
incisors: ǧrûd; c. eye-teeth: nâbe
6. šizz
7. ḥanaš'a
8. labje
9. ḥeddâǧ
10. ḥeǧr, ḥasa'
11. ǧôn
12. fâ'de
13. hdûse
14. mesne
15. 'erba
16. dhaǧîrt ar-ṣuḳa
17. rdrub, ḥrîf
18. arnabe
19. ǧerwa, rds ar-rumûs
20. mesnâb
21. daffa'
22. ǧamb
23. ǧanb
24. ḥûwe
25. marḳeǧa
26. 'urḳûb
27. ǧabaǧ
28. ǧil
root of the tail: 'akrat aǧ-ǧil
29. krûb
30. ǧafas
31. 'arḳûb
32. aḳj
33. berǧûm
34. maǧraḳ ar-rumûs
35. ǧaḳr
36. ferwa
37. sirr
38. abje
39. zâr
40. ḥâ'
41. 'aṣâa
42. rukba
43. ǧrâ'
44. ḥaff
45. rugûǧ
46. mankar, manǧaḳ
47. ǧifker
posteriors: 'arâwa, ǧeja
sexual organ: ḥeǧǧ
testicles: ḥaṣâṣa
sexual organ of a she-camel: subbe
udder: dejd
teats: ǧâr.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XII

HORSES

The Bedouins assert that no horses were created by Allâh in Arabia. According to their tradition they brought their first horses from the land of the settlers whom they raided. In the inner desert the horses have no place and would perish, did not the Bedouins look after them better than they look after their own children. A runaway horse cannot live long in the desert, while a camel will persist even without a man. Horses are of no economic value but serve merely as weapons for the getting of booty and influence. For this reason they are called *al-murnijât*, the enriching. It is said that the mares' bellies contain treasures and their backs help to win power, *al-ḫejl buṭûnahen kanz wa-ẓhûrahen 'azz*; for they give their owner colts which can be turned into money at any time, and it is much easier to make or repel an attack on horseback than when mounted on camels. The more horses a tribe has, the more feared it is by its neighbors and the greater its power. But successes gained on horseback are not lasting. The defeated neighbors unite for revenge, and soon both the riders and horses are annihilated. Hence the saying: "The horse reins are snakes, and death dwells on their backs; *al-ḫejl erseânahen ḥajîja wa-ẓhûrahen manâja.*"

HORSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

The Rwala classify horses[10] as common ones, *kdîš* (pl., *kudš*), and thoroughbreds, *aṣîl* (pl., *aṣâjel*). The common horses are not kept in the desert. Of the thoroughbreds they raise for the

[10] The different parts of the horse (Fig. 48) are called:

1. 'arnabe	12. ḫajrat al-'aja	24. subûb
2. minḫar	13. ijen	25. ṣahad
3. ḫarṭam	14. margûr al-ijen	26. jaf'ac
4. 'dirse	15. fâ'da	27. arṭâb
5. mdaḥdam	16. mat'dref	28. krâ'
6. ḫarak	17. rububa	29. dajd, udder: ḫâr, teats
7. warîd	18. ḫdrad	30. surra, sirr
8. ḫabbar: in the middle, al'ad	19. dâbbar	31. baṭn
9. ḫagga	20. gabr	32. ḫarak
10. mukbad al-'aja	21. mgarmaṣ	33. kâbda
11. 'aja	22. ḫaja'	34. kâ'
	23. 'dirat aj-jâl	35. mukjen

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731
22 looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours.

778 At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the centre of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab*, the "Ship", also called *Abu-Dubur*, "Father of the Ages"—the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,—the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

778
175
182
787
726

This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

race or my creed amongst the Arabs. I was never once the butt of their mockery or suffered at their hands any discourtesy. 123 114

The reason that I was allowed to live with them on the most intimate terms and was implicitly trusted by them may perhaps be explained by the simple fact that I refrained from mingling in their politics, except when invited to give my opinion in internal tribal affairs. Furthermore, I was careful to adhere to all their cherished customs and prejudices, particularly those relating to their women. These are strict, and no European can hope to gain the complete confidence of a Bedouin without studied observance of them.

Like the desert itself, the Bedouins, looked upon from the outside, have a forbidding appearance; but the closer one lives to them, the better one comes to know them and is the more astonished at their placid unconcern. 181

The most astounding thing, which will ever command my admiration, is the equanimity with which the Bedouin leads his family and his herds from the oases and cultivated lands into the wilderness and across desert areas, which appear to be absolutely barren. The first cloud proclaiming the advent of rain lures him irresistibly to the highlands of the Hamad and the flint desert or into the sand dunes of the Nufud. After the first rains the bold camel-plunderers also leave their tents. With their war-mares tied to their racing camels, they ride out into the blue, often covering a thousand miles, "and sit on the roads (as the holy script says) and lie in wait for booty like an Arab in the desert. . . ."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

353 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

●181 157 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 628 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

VIII

Panther and Ostrich

SEVERAL DAYS WERE spent by us among the volcanic table-mountains of the Jabal Tubayk. Precipitous cliffs, riven and pinnacled rocks rise some six hundred feet from flower-sprinkled level pastures and valleys strewn with black lava boulders. It is a country of savage beauty, in which gazelles and game birds are numerous.

There Faris and I, out after game, chanced to come on three tents tucked away in a hollow. They belonged to members of that curious folk, the Sulkan (singular: Sleyb)—nomadic hunters and handicraftsmen. In the popular sense they resemble the gypsies. Like them they doctor man and beast, love music, are fortune-tellers, and have a weakness for things occult and superstitious.

As hunters, trackers and scouts the Sulkan surpass the other Bedouins, and they know the desert better than any other nomads. Many a secluded water-hole is known only to them. Their origin is a mystery. They are few in number, but are held together by some sort of tribal organization, under a chief; and they pay tribute—"protection money"—to the Ruala and other Bedouin tribes. In return, each of these appoints from among its own tribesmen a "Brother" to the Sulkan, charged with looking after their interests.

The Chief of the Sulkan was then one Ralib welde Tulihan, and it was to this young man that the little camp we had discovered belonged. Ralib, accompanied

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 of the hunting trophies; and several injured greyhounds into the bargain.

825 554 Noticing on Amir Fuaz's *abs* droppings of his falcon, I attempted to brush it off, but the young Prince stopped me and said proudly: "No—no, Aziz! The excrement of the noble falcons stamps us with the hallmark of noble birth."

224 ●181 His words explained better than any conception of mine the true inwardness of these hunts; they are considered noble and honourable. The nobility of the desert (its "large-eyedness" as the Bedouins call it) must be experienced and tested; but noble and large-eyed as the Bedouins are, so are also their horses, camels, greyhounds, and falcons, and no less the Bedouin's prey—gazelles, antelopes, and ostriches.

But the ignoble man or beast the wandering Arab despises. He holds them beyond the pale, beyond the law of the desert . . .

". . . die that they might have new life;
For only what is weakling dies,
That what is strong may live."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-eṛnam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak ʿal-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *taʿab al-ḥorr murr*."

[576 181]

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak ʿarâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 685 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*) or mounted (*muʿajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *kowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana muʿtežk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaẓabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥîtak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭaʿ râsak*. It is much easier for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

302 628

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

538 any. He usually recites from six to ten verses and then says that perhaps someone else knows the rest. Hence, since every long poem must be collected piecemeal from a number of men, the order of the individual verses can seldom be accurately established. If two Bedouins know the same verses of the same poem, they never recite them in exactly the same way but change the original words and often whole verses. Sometimes these changes are due to later improvements by the poet himself, but in most cases his unconscientious or careless friends are to blame. The Bedouins often quarrel as to the original wording of the verses and frequently ask the poet himself about this, but even he is not always absolutely sure. Often the poet insists that a verse was at first worded in such and such a way, but his friends contradict him. This makes him exclaim that all the versions are good and original, and he ends by appealing to the omniscience of Allâh. After hearing this answer from a number of poets, I gave up the search for the original wording, as the task is not only most difficult but quite useless. At other times I found that the poet himself knew barely the first few verses of his own poem. The rest he had forgotten and was glad that his friends remembered more than he. Only poems dealing with subjects of common interest become widely known and are preserved, whereas poems describing particular events are recited only by the persons concerned and fall into oblivion when these persons are dead.

[181] It cannot be denied that the Bedouins are poetically gifted. The composing of all kinds of ditties and songs is mere play to them, and they do not hesitate even at longer poems. They also hold that the words used in a poem must be out of the ordinary, not those heard in common everyday life. The more unusual words the Bedouin can put into his composition, the better he thinks it. The poet therefore revises every verse most painstakingly, repeats it many times, substitutes some words for others, and asks the opinion of his friends before producing his poem.

The Rwejli always explains the reason or occasion of the origin of every poem, believing that the poet had some motive for its composition. Often he forms his own opinion as to the origin of some old poem simply from its contents and is firmly convinced that he is not mistaken, and yet no one but the poet himself could say what induced him to compose it.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Genuine Bliss Dwells with All True Believers

1. *Aṭ-ṭib mâ hw bass ma' az-za'ânina*
   mužassem 'ala rûs al-'ejâl al-mefâliḥ
2. *bejt aš-ša'ar w-alli ḳa'ad leh bṭina*
   al-ḥazar w-al-bedwân min habb leh rîḥ.

1. Not with those only is bliss found who load tents and their fixtures on camels,
   But it is distributed also on the heads of those poor sons
2. Who live in tents of goat's hair or in the mud-brick huts,
   On settlers, on Bedouins, and on all on whom the wind blows.

The poet was an unknown orthodox Moslem; the reciter, Ǧwâd al-'Âni. It is a firm belief of the Rwala that honesty and, hence, both physical and spiritual welfare are to be found with them only. All the settlers from the ruler down to the slave are, in their opinion, nothing but hypocrites and full of low cunning, who misuse for their own benefit the religion as well as the power with which they are entrusted and who are a torment alike to the stranger and to themselves. For the Bedouins cannot understand why the settlers should be so eager to acquire both property and honors. A Bedouin's heart never longs for such vanities, for he knows that he may lose his life, the most treasured possession he has. Why, then, should he depend on riches and worldly dignities? The passionate hunt for wealth is, in the opinion of a Bedouin, the root of all the troubles and want of integrity among the settlers. Moreover, because the settlers are true Moslems while among the Bedouins Islam does not carry conviction, the latter consider Islam weak, as it cannot free the settlers from their miseries. In the two verses cited above the correctness of such Bedouin views is denied by an orthodox Moslem, who maintains that genuine bliss dwells with all true believers, *mefâliḥ* — that is, with people who live and act in accordance with their inner religious convictions. 2. *Habb leh rîḥ* would mean with a Bedouin: "success or luck is blowing towards him"; to the settled Moslem it means anyone on whom a wind blows or who breathes, hence all men without distinction.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XXI

WAR AND PEACE

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The Rwala are ever at war with one tribe or another. Without war a Rwejli could not live. War gives him an opportunity of displaying his cunning, endurance, and courage. He neither loves the shedding of blood, nor craves booty, but is allured by danger and delights in the predatory art. The booty itself he will give away without thinking much about it — even to the wife of the very man he has just robbed. Some tribes, not always entire strangers, hate each other cordially. Between them peace is never of long duration. Despite the greatest efforts of the chiefs to prevent war, their people continue to attack and destroy one another. With the tribes settled along the desert borders and fully subject to the Government, peace is never concluded. If the Government, which is supposed to protect them, is weak, the Rwala despoil them whenever they are so inclined. The more distant the pastures of two tribes are, the longer will the war between them last.

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

721

The causes of war are, as a rule, petty thefts and the capturing of stray animals. The individual tribesmen begin to accuse each other of harboring stolen she-camels, *nakâjes*. Then they call on their chiefs for help. Couriers ride from tribe to tribe with verbal and written messages. Evidently both tribes desire war. Finally the chief of one tribe sends to the chief of the other a letter worded somewhat as follows:

"To the well-born, highly honored brother, Chief So-and-So! May Allâh preserve his good name! Amen. Extending our greetings and entreating Allâh's mercy and blessing for you, we announce to you that your Arabs are harassing our people and robbing them of their property continually without any effort on your part to put a stop to it. From this we judge that it happens with your assent. We now demand that you return without delay the stolen camels. If you refuse, you are, behold! hereby deprived of your fair name, *maǧrûd an-neḳa'*

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours.

At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the centre of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab,* the "Ship", also called *Abu-Duhur,* "Father of the Ages"—the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,—the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

It is the duty of every Rwejli capable of procreation to marry. This duty is laid upon him by his connection with his kinsmen. The more numerous these are, the more power and influence they possess. The individual who refused to defend the rights of his kin would be expelled, and whoever deliberately declined to multiply its defenders would meet the same fate. Without his kin, *ahl*, the Bedouin would be the most wretched of beings.

To marriage the Rwejli is led by mutual inclination or love. A boy of twelve has a liking for a girl of the same age, and it is generally recognized; no one objects. It is said: "Love comes from Allâh, *al-mḥabbe min allâh*." The boy calls on his beloved in her tent, talks with her there, helps with the work, and the parents recollect the time of their first love. An older boy may join his sweetheart where and whenever he wishes to. He helps her water the camels, draw the water, strike and pitch the tent; he attends her on the march, and pays her a visit in the evening. Usually they meet in a tent that is either vacant or little visited. The Šarârât women whose husbands are serving as herdsmen or who are widowed gladly lend their small tents, *ḫarâbiš*, for the lovers' meetings. There in the cold seasons of the year they sit all night by the fire, parting only when the morning star makes its appearance. In the warm season, especially when camping in the Nefûd, the lovers sit down on a sand drift in the shade of a tall *ṛaṛa* bush to talk of everything and nothing. Their love they declare to each other in these words:

"Thou art the slumber of mine eyes, *enti nowm 'ajni*; thou art my desire, *ent murâdi*; thou art my food and drink, *enti akli w-širbi*; thou art my creed, *ent dini*," and so on.

The enamored Rwejli likes to say: "I wish to fast and pray, but only in honor of those with loosened hair; in honor of Allâh's countenance I shall not pray; *ana-ṣûm w-ṣelli lâ-ǧl-ṣḍât al-'aḍâṛîš w-illa lwaǧh allâh mâni mṣalli*." Or: "I will not

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

2:Musil 5-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *mejidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-18
435 *mejidijjât* ($3.60-$18.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *šnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freği from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aṣi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Ṣkûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 721 576 the slave's hand and presented it to me with, "Welcome! May it please thee!" Twice he repeated these words, which are a guarantee of peace and safety. Then Faris and Mijhem also drank with him.

000 To us, used to the ways of Western civilization, such a train of events and their result must seem incomprehensible. But after one has lived a length of time with the Bedouins, one learns to understand that the unwritten laws of the Bedouin social code are closely adapted to the conditions of life in the desert and have sufficed, from time immemorial, to meet its manifold circumstances. Without these rules of the game, indeed, all human life in nomad Arabia would have become extinct long since.

619 728 After I had asked, and Ibn Meheyd had granted me, leave to speak, I set forth the object of my mission and exhorted the assembled *shiyukhs*, with what persuasive eloquence I could muster, to make peace with the Ruala, and, as in former years, share the grazing-grounds like [186] brothers. I dwelt on the advantages of unity and the evils of dissension, and drove home my argument by pointing out that by their present policy they were only playing into the hands of foreign powers, who, after all the Bedouin tribes had been weakened individually, would encompass the complete destruction of them all.

My exhortations and arguments were received in cold silence. Most of the chiefs sat with bent heads and tapped the ground with their camel-sticks in apparent boredom. I felt pretty sure, however, that their indifference was assumed, and I would not let myself be dis-

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

This disposition gave Fuaz twofold satisfaction. It would facilitate the execution of his plan to recover his mare by stratagem and confirmed his assumption that the Saba did not reckon with the possibility of a Ruala raid so soon, as very little rain had fallen in that region and travel therefore was still very difficult. They probably thought that the Ruala would not venture so far into the inner Hamad until much later, when water and pasture would be plentiful. It was clear at all events that, for the time being, Falha's keepers felt themselves quite secure. Furthermore, if a skirmish proved unavoidable, the fighting would be away from the Saba tents, for Bedouins of noble lineage consider it barbarous to engage the enemy near their own camp. They believe that only the Turks, the "Franks" (Europeans) and the rulers of agricultural Arabia wage war in such a way as to endanger the women and children.

Luck favoured Fuaz's designs from beginning to end. We broke camp early in the morning and a few hours later circled round the pasture where the Saba horses were. Then we wheeled and got between them and the camp. The whole movement was made smoothly and without contact with our opponents. But now their outposts sighted our troop and sought to evade us and carry word to the camp. Our camel-riders easily caught the fugitives, who stopped when a few shots were fired over their heads and let themselves be taken without attempting any defence. They were mere boys, fourteen to sixteen years of age. In rough jest, their captors cut off some of their long plaits and with these bound them

Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Genuine Bliss Dwells with All True Believers 539x 577x

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Not with those only is bliss found who load tents and
their fixtures on camels,
But it is distributed also on the heads of those poor sons
Who live in tents of goat's hair or in the mud-brick huts,
On settlers, on Bedouins, and on all on whom the wind
blows.

The poet was an unknown orthodox Moslem; the reciter, d al-'Âni. It is a firm belief of the Rwala that honesty hence, both physical and spiritual welfare are to be found them only. All the settlers from the ruler down to the are, in their opinion, nothing but hypocrites and full w cunning, who misuse for their own benefit the religion ell as the power with which they are entrusted and who torment alike to the stranger and to themselves. For Bedouins cannot understand why the settlers should be ager to acquire both property and honors. A Bedouin's never longs for such vanities, for he knows that he lose his life, the most treasured possession he has. Why, should he depend on riches and worldly dignities? The ionate hunt for wealth is, in the opinion of a Bedouin, root of all the troubles and want of integrity among the ers. Moreover, because the settlers are true Moslems among the Bedouins Islam does not carry conviction, latter consider Islam weak, as it cannot free the settlers their miseries. In the two verses cited above the cor- ess of such Bedouin views is denied by an orthodox em, who maintains that genuine bliss dwells with all true vers, *mefâliḥ* — that is, with people who live and act in rdance with their inner religious convictions. 2. *Habb leh* would mean with a Bedouin: "success or luck is blowing rds him"; to the settled Moslem it means anyone on whom nd blows or who breathes, hence all men without dis- ion.

[828 186]

[181]

[771]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent. From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamin we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings. With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.

The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

272 and, as the cup is often as much as a meter below the pot, great dexterity is necessary in order not to spill a drop. But even the best pourer spills when jostled — whence the sayings: "*Čefâḳ al-ʿawḳ*, may Allâh save thee from an obstruction!" "*Čefâḳ aš-šerr*, may Allâh save thee from evil!" 20. *Arnâḳ* signifies anything that resembles a round grain, as, for instance, several kinds of spice, drops of water, etc. Instead of *ṣinijje* the poet uses the word *kursi*. 21. The coffee, very strong in itself, acquires through the addition of five different spices, as is the custom in the towns of inner Arabia, still more body and leaves on the cup a fine sediment, which the poet compares to red fringes, *šebrâḳ*, and to the blood of a heart, from which the main artery has been torn out, *maʿlûḳ*. 23. When he has drunk the strong coffee, he again [326] longs for his sweetheart, *ṛarw*. 24. *Šaʿûḳ* and (16) *ašʿâḳ* signify the grip of a sword or dagger, richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. In the larger towns of inner Arabia there are craftsmen, thorough artists in their work, who make to order such handles, often of wonderful beauty. 26. The ladylove laughs at one moment and cries the next. When she smiles her white teeth glisten. *Ḥâḳ* is the name for the quick flash of the lightning. 27. The calf of her leg [201] is well turned and firm. 28. The town dweller in inner Arabia stretches out his fingers when surprised. 30. Ǧwâd did not know whether to say *minn* or *min*, and was unable to explain what the word meant in this connection. *Dubbal* signifies the incisors, *min fowḳ*, of the upper row. 31. The poet's heart is agitated, as if the town crier or auctioneer had carried it about the market places, offering it for sale. *Mawsûḳ* has the same meaning as *maʿḥûḏ*, a captured or imprisoned one. The clerk Ǧwâd knew the Rwala dialect well and adapted himself to its pronunciation.

Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

an inhabitant of the Mâred fort" or "of the settlement of a," "*râ'i-l-kerije*, he is a settler." 10. 'Abdallâh eben Ḥasan n 'Askar was the lord of another settlement. The Bedouin -camels are easily scared by the shade and the rustling of m groves, as well as by the high walls enclosing them. *Rabb as-sera'* or *'oḳb al-bârḥa* means after yesterday. The l-fed she-camels on yesterday's march were still a little y, for their bellies were full and much of their food not digested. As they found no pasture on their whole trip m Nefi to Eben 'Askar and all they got in his house was ttle dry grass, they digested all that was in their stomachs l emptied their bowels, which caused their loins to sink in. The black Bedouin tents stood in the basin, while the she-nels were approaching across the plain. When they were sight, the Bedouins sent out a rider to meet them and find who they were and whither bound, also to inquire about camping places of their friends. 17. Eben Ruḥmân was ef of a small kin of the Dowšân clan. *Zeml at-tḫût* or *l aṭ-ṭḳâl* is a camel able to carry heavy loads (more than ee quintals). 18. The Dowšân belong to the 'Elwa division of Mṭejr but are often at war with the other Mṭejr, as they not submit to the head chief. 20. Fejḥân eben Ża'ed eben jbân, the Dowšân chief who ordered the search for the uty (21), offered 'Abdallâh the assistance of a large nber of his tribesmen mounted on she-camels, but cheated in this. *'Arâwi m'arrât* are she-camels on which the riders only on a piece of cloth fastened between the hump and s. 23. *An-neǧâjer msawwât* was explained to me by Mḥam-d to mean the same thing as *al-ešidde*, riding saddles, while âr thought that it signified *ḫalâwa*, reward or gratuity en to the herdsmen. *Al-ḫerz terz* means, according to Ḥmâr, bargaining for the pay to be given to the hired camel ers, while Mḥammad understood it to be the total expense he expedition. *Râ' aṣ-ṣûf* is a seller of fancy bags for horse camel saddles. 24. Before he could use these she-camels had to have good saddles, *ḫašab*, bags, *ṣûf*, water bags, *d*, and arms for their riders, *âlât*. The riders too had many hes and were insatiable in their demands. 25. Their stop- g and shaking the little sticks used in guiding their camels ified that they threatened to leave if 'Abdallâh would not nt all their demands. The rattans were sold by the dealer bags. 26. 'Abdallâh relates in a sarcastic manner that he

2:Musil S-4.5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

Thou deprivest an old woman of her only son,
O thou by whose hand the wounded finds no restful sleep!

'Aẓejb eben Mow'ed is a Rwejli hero. He slackens the rein to let his mare take him into the midst of the enemy. A *ǧenîn* is an only son of an aged mother.

Jâ ḥṭejl wa' ḳalbi ṛada'
mâ bên dlejjel w-ar-raṭû'
jâ ḥṭejl low tašûfaha
mâ telbes al-melṭam dalû'.

O Ḥṭejl! ah! my heart is wandering
Between Dlejjel and the mare Raṭû'.
O Ḥṭejl! shouldst thou ever see her,
She wears no veil but keeps her mouth free.

The youth is to take part with his mare, Raṭû', in a raid of at least a month's duration; but, hating to part for that length of time from his sweetheart, Dlejjel, he complains to his comrade, Ḥṭejl. *Raṭû'* is a species of the *kbejše* breed. *Melṭam* is a large kerchief, folded under the chin and sometimes pulled by women and girls up to their noses, thus forming a sort of veil. A *dalû'* is a woman who never covers her mouth.

[291]

Waǧdi 'ala-r-rab'i sanad
ṭannab ar-râ'i jaṣîḥ
zaban al-ḥṣân elja' balad
ar-rab'i čassâb al-medîḥ.

My desire takes me after Sanad ar-Rab'i,
As soon as the herdsman's high voice gives the alarm.
He defended the stallion when he stopped from exhaustion.
Ar-Rab'i was a raider of great fame.

Sanad ar-Rab'i, the famous Šammari war chief of the Rbâ' clan, rode a mare whose endurance surpassed that of any stallion. When, in a long fight, the strength of even the most powerful stallion was so far gone that he exposed both himself and his rider to the danger of capture or death, it was Sanad who, appearing in the nick of time on his mare, rescued the rider and the stallion too and never failed to return with booty. When giving the alarm cry the herdsman or watchman holds the palm of his left hand before his mouth and shakes it, at the same time prolonging the vowels. In his

201

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

right hand he holds his staff or a rifle, to which he ties his kerchief for a flag, and points it in the direction of the threatening danger. *Ḥṣân* always means a stallion, *faras* a mare, *ḫejl* horses in general. The *ḥṣân* is, as a rule, more enduring than the mare. *Al-ḥṣân balad* means "the stallion became tired," implying that he stopped moving owing to oversweating or because he was so weakened by heat and thirst that he could not escape from the enemy hard in pursuit of him. *Zaban*, he protected, took his part. He that is threatened with death or is in fear of an avenger asks the protection of one more powerful, who will then shield and bring him to a place where he can live in peace, *zabaneh*.

Jâ 'ejâl duḳḳû-l-barûd — My sons, pound the powder;
lel-moṛrebi muḫḫ al-ḥadîd — For al-Moṛrebi we need steel,
lâ budd min jowmen ja'ûd — And the day is sure to come
jafroḳ wadîden 'an wadîd. — Which will take the lover from his sweetheart.

A Turkish officer, known to the Rwala only by the name of al-Moṛrebi, was in command of the regular troops who drove back the Bedouins whenever they tried to encamp in the settled territory. This happened in the seventies of the last century, when it was the policy of the Turkish Government to protect the *fellâḥîn* from the Bedouins. The Rwala, who had lost many men, thirsted for revenge and as they could go neither to Syria nor to Irak they manufactured their powder themselves. *Muḫḫ al-ḥadîd* is steel. They wished to shoot al-Moṛrebi with a steel bullet, thinking that an ordinary one of lead would not kill him.

Narmi-l-'aša benḥûrhen laṭ-ṭejr
w-en kankabb al-adnas wara'
bemšenšelâten ṣan'ahen bed-dejr
berḳab 'adlât al-ǧena'.

Before the throats [of the she-camels] we shall throw their supper to the birds of prey,
Though the base one still lingers behind;
With spears adorned with chains made at ad-Dejr
[Driven] into the necks of mares fed from the new crop.

Benḥûrhen means the confusion of galloping camels and also their throats. Our riders are loath to retreat; they want

VI

The Commander of Our Camel-Saddles

721 [202] WHEN WE DREW rein, slaves were already lighting a huge signal-fire to call together the warriors of the tribe. A strong raiding-party of the Bishri (the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Saba, and Amarat) was reported to be advancing. It was said to number five hundred camel-riders, with some hundreds of war-mares. Perhaps the numbers were exaggerated.

That night Amir Fuaz made all his dispositions. Before the first grey of dawn Faris was at my bedside. "Awake, if thou wouldst ride with us," I heard him say, with a laugh. I jumped up and hastened to make ready for the march. Faris handed me a filled water-skin, a lump of pressed dates, several balls of hard Bedouin cheese, the size of a fist, and a stack of fresh-baked [492] bread-cakes. With the help of Mnahi, who was to be my rider-attendant, I stowed everything in the saddlebags of my *dhalul* (racing-camel), saddled Sadha, my white war-mare, and tied her by her halter to the dromedary's cinch.

Amir Fuaz had appointed Faris leader of our camel corps.

726 It was still dark when we started. The moon had set. The night was calm and the voices of the riders chanting as they rode made no echo, but moved over the desert

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 *Ḥejd*: the foot of a hill; a slope shutting in a plain
104 *Ḥemma* or *ḥamme*: lava
Ḥerr (pl., *ḥerara*): a river channel in clay soil, with steep banks
Ḥesw (pl., *ḥesjân*): a depression in a rocky river bed into which the rain water runs under sand and gravel
Ḥôr: a depression where the rain water forms numerous pools
Ḥšabe (pl., *ḥšabât*): a circular, natural rocky wall shutting in small level spaces called *krajje* (pl., *krajjât*)
Ḥubta: a depression in a flat rock, where rain water can accumulate

ʿIṭa: undulating plain covered in places with sand

Ḳâʿ (pl., *žiʿân*): a flat plain where the rain water forms no brooks
Ḳaʿara (pl., *ḳaʿar*): a large hollow shut in on three sides by steep slopes
Ḳara' or *aḳra'*: a ridge
Ḳâra (pl., *ḳûr*): an isolated table mountain; a mesa
Ḳaṣʿa (pl., *ḳṣâʿ*): a shallow natural depression in a rocky surface, where the rain water remains
Ḳaṣîme (pl., *ḳaṣâjem*): isolated sand dunes in a rocky plain
Ḳasr: a large but shallow basin which becomes a pond after unusually heavy rains
Ḳaṭar (pl., *ḳṭâr*): the last spur of a mountain range
Ḳaṭṭâr: a spring the water of which does not flow actively but merely trickles drop by drop
Ḳejš: shallow holes in a channel
● [202] *Ḳenna*: an isolated conical hill on top of which a beacon is lit whenever the enemy means to attack herds grazing far from the camp
Ḳîr or *ḥummar*: bitumen
Krajje (pl., *krajjât*): roughly circular basin surrounded by walls of crumbling stone

Lâl: a level plain glistening in the sun
Laṣṣâfa: a hillock with mica
Luṛuf: the eroded border of a sand desert

Maḥâl: a great distance between two wells
Maḥâri: the last spurs of a range of hillocks
Maḥfûr (pl., *maḥâfir*): artificial rain pool

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The wilderness was his motherland, rich, beautiful, most dear, for he had never known cities.

Before we started homeward, Faris tore up bunches of grass by the roots; each one of us had to take back an armful to testify to the fertility of the land we had explored.

When we reached camp we found hundreds of men seated before the threshold of Tra'd ibn Sattam's tent, waiting for our tidings about the land in the North. Slaves brought up dry brushwood and herbage and piled it on the slumbering fire. Soon the flames were crackling, leaping as high as the roof, and the inside of the black tent was one red glow.

We spread out our silent witnesses—the bunches of grass, herbage and flowers, which were no less precious for being withered. All night long the people came, even from the most distant camping-places, to see and touch them. They fingered the long grasses with exclamations of joy and praise to God. Now and then Tra'd ibn Sattam handed out a blade, which passed from hand to hand, and some would lift it to their lips with a murmur of "*Ya hayat*—O Life!" And each time Ibn Sattam proffered one of these precious specimens from the grazing grounds of the enemy, he would say: "Here are the proofs of Life. Tell your children that we shall go on." And the tribesmen vaulted on to their horses and galloped into the night, to show the emblems of hope to their women and children and neighbours, and to tell them of the wonders of the highland pasture.

The evening of the following day I sat talking with some Rwala by the fire in the principal tent, with others

576 "May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh je'âfik.*"
609 "How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"
484 "May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh je'âfik w-jesallem rjâlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

● [203] It takes some-time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-ma'âzîb.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terawwehûnahom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Bejt* means the whole verse, *ḳâf* its second half and then, specifically, the rhyme of this second half. 3. *Śenâḥ* is a man of morose disposition, who will neither talk nor smile. 4. *ʿElem* signifies a report circulating in regard to a man. If such a report is consistent it is considered unshakable. A good report must be that, otherwise a man would fall in the public esteem. 5. *Melwâḥ* is the decoy swung by a falconer when trying to lure a falcon towards him, *lawwaḥ ʿala-ṭ-ṭejr*. When a man breaks off a twig of the luxuriant *rûṭe* and shows it to a riding camel, he coaxes her to come near, *lawwaḥ ʿala-d-ḏelûl*. There are people whose actions lure evil into the tribe, regardless of the fact that their fellow tribesmen are already suffering. 7. *Menhaǧ* is a path or trail. 12. The women will reveal your secret plan, and you will then be unable to realize it. *Sadd* means, in particular, the planning of a great raid against a certain enemy. The men taking part in it do not themselves know accurately either the time of their departure or the enemy they are to attack. Should the commander's wife learn of it she would undoubtedly tell it to some of her friends, and the enemy would receive warning even before the raiders started. 18. When you have a good friend, share your last drop of water with him. Do not confound words with deeds. *Al-ʿajn* means both a spring and an eye. *ʿEdd* is the name of a well with spring water which never dries up. 22. Violence, force, often leads to peace sooner than mildness. 28. *Ḥaẓẓ* signifies a passionate desire for something. Out of a youth filled with such a strenuous desire an exemplary being can be formed by a man of good sense. 25. *Nijje* is a plan, intention, desire, which robs a man of sleep, drives him to undertake night marches, and lights him on his way. 26. *Enṛaṭar* is said of a man who likes to eat well and to amuse himself with women. 28. The appeased man has not laid aside his saber; he has only dropped its point and could, if angered again, strike at him who had just appeased him.

1. *ʿEndi fetâwi lil-faḥîm al-fâhem*
   jarmi bḳalb al-ṛâfelîn aḥča'
2. *al-ʿafen low taʿṭîh mâl ḥešet killeh*
   mâ jaškor faẓlak w-lâ jarodd ḫana'
3. *ḥelw elja' ǧûk maʿtâz ḥâǧa*
   w-ʿafen elja' laḳḳa-l-ʿamîl ḳafa'

539* 726* Rašîd, who calls his camel herds Nûra — whence his battle cry *"an-aḫu nûra*, I am the brother of Nûra" — organized a great raid against Eben Ša'lân under the command of Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ, who succeeded in surprising some clans subject to Eben Ša'lân and in completely robbing them. The news of this disaster was carried by A'îd, a negro, who, borrowing a horse, rode in all haste to report it in all the camps. Our poet, Fahad eben Ṣbejḥ, was greatly affected by the news brought by A'îd, to whom he had lent his horse, yet he soon learned that the raiders had been at once pursued by Eben Ša'lân, overtaken by him at Ḥabra Rmejḥ at the beginning of the al-Ḫerr valley, and that, besides recapturing all the herds from them, Eben Ša'lân had also killed their commander, Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ, with his sons. Fahad therefore urges A'îd to spread this true account so as to give Eben Ša'lân the credit due to him.

Verse 1. *Al-'arač* is a poetical expression for a worn leather saddle. 2. *Hamlân* is a jester, a laugher, or babbler. *Ṣamâjel* means well-founded reports; *ṣâmel al-kilme*, the truth. A market place, *sûḳ*, is frequented by people from all sides who receive and spread news. 3. *Barâṛît* are desolate waterless regions. The negro Ḥmâr thought the proper spelling of the word was *barârîd*, meaning men armed with rifles. 4. *Ḥabra* is a shallow but often very extensive depression in a vast plain where the rain water remains for a long time. Ḥabra Rmejḥ lies near the beginning of the valley of al-Ḫerr. 5. *Menṣab* is a poetical expression for the lesser chiefs or their relatives. *Râseh 'an al-maten mâjel*, he received a saber stroke in his throat, which was not cut through completely, so that the head remained hanging by the skin of the throat and then fell on the small of his back, *maten*, from which it rolled to one side, *mâjel*. *Rwâǧîd* are handfuls of cut grain laid crosswise.

● [203]

Wars Between the Rwala and the Beni Wahab (1850—1864)

The Rwala were wont to encamp for a few weeks every year in the fertile an-Nuḳra territory on the west slope of the Ḥawrân in order to supply themselves with all they needed during their ten months stay in the desert. But their encamping was resisted by the Beni Wahab, led by Eben Smejr, head chief of the Weld 'Ali. Long wars followed. The head chief, Muḥammad eben Smejr, succeeded also in winning to his side some

2:Musil 8-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

272 539x before, had fallen in love with a woman of extraordinary beauty, but for the last year he had been tortured by doubts as to her faithfulness. In order not to lose her, he would gladly forgive much, but again and again in the market places he has heard insinuations which have exasperated him anew, filling him with melancholy. During a moment of such mental agony, he ordered strong black coffee to be prepared for him in his house in the 'Anejza market place and then dictated the poem to his clerk.

Verse 1. *Bâḥ al-'aza* (or *enkašef al-'aza*) means "melancholy has taken hold of me; grief is seen on the countenance too." [212] *Adîb* in the poetical language of the district of al-Ḳaṣîm, to which 'Anejza belongs, is a man who can both read and write. [439] *Šâmi* is paper brought from Damascus. The commercial relations of 'Anejza with Syria in general and with Damascus in particular always have been much brisker than with Irak and Bagdad. 'Anejza, it should be known, is the center of the 'Aḳejl camel traders, who buy up camels all over Arabia, drive them through Syria to Egypt, sell them there, and on their return stop at Damascus, where they buy articles needed in inner Arabia and bring them home. 2. *Dwât al-ḥeber* [212] signifies drugs which mixed together and with water give ink; also an inkstand. In the towns of inner Arabia no fluid ink is sold. The inkstand is a small vessel made of either brass or tin and closed with a well fitting lid, into which a small piece of cotton-wool or camel's hair is placed and steeped in the prepared ink until soaked through. The clerk sits on his heels, holds the paper with his left hand, and writes with his right, dipping his pen in the inkstand almost constantly. His pens he cuts himself. Buying a few long reeds or sedges, he cuts off, when needed, a piece about ten to fifteen centimeters in length, shapes it with a sharp knife, *mûs*, into a pen, splits it, and tries it on his thumb nail, and the writing instrument, *sâḳ*, is ready. *Šaḍra* is also pronounced *šaṭra*, corresponding to *šafra*. 3. *Ḳufl mafhûḳ*. [414] The door lock in inner Arabia is more like a bolt than a lock. It is usually made of wood and both barred and unbarred with a wooden key. The iron lock and iron key are found only in mercantile booths and storehouses. *Mafhûḳ*, used when speaking of locks as well as bolts — and also of the throat — means, properly, "forced backwards or forwards." 4. *Dabwa'* are young locusts whose wings are just growing. They are so numerous at times

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâǧ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sǧile* is a sheet of paper. *Ziž* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhiǧ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which knelt, *mabrak*, over a snake hole, *ṭâǧ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṛamâliǧ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳejṣ* or *meḳiṣ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ğaw Fertež lies southwest of Ḥâjel. *Ṣarâhiǧ* (for *ṣahâriǧ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḳamḥ*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *sâǧ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâǧ*, or *felǧ*, for *ṭelǧ*, means snow or ice. *Šuddab* are small pieces of dry *ṛaṣa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḍeb* (pl., *šuḍḍab*) is equivalent to *bejaṣ* (pl., *biṣ*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭe'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wudâǧ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *šîžân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darâriǧ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tenseṣ*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâǧ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâliǧ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârú* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Teḳel*, [231] instead of the correct *teḳúl*, "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Mwaffeḳín al-ḫejr*, has the same meaning as *šájefín al-ḫejr*, perceiving luck. *Ṣu'lú* for *waṣṣelú* or *ṣelú*, "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Ṛowá*, or *'ejál*, indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [415] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣandúḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjeẓú*, *waẓẓefú*, *waẓfú* or *ta'awwaḳú*, mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṛaljún* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. *"Ḥúfú 'alejhen"* [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarámiš al-ḫala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wálmát*. 8. The road from al-Ġowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem sabe'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjde is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifek tribe.

1: Raswan
●221, 731

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[For a discussion of the problems arising on the annual trek of the Rwala when their usual grazing lands are desiccated see complete text, category 116, pp. 83-138.]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the 133
rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared; not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shep- 609
herds rode over to us with their women and children, 221
scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home-pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had [578]
disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian up- 133
lands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, 136
with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

133 We also came across a huge owl, which sat blinking and
136 bewildered by the daylight, and we brought our car to a standstill close beside it.

Unexpectedly, just before sunset, we had a shower of rain which greatly refreshed the dusty desert. The greater part of the night we passed stretched out on the bare sands in the shelter of a dry river-bed.

221 On the evening of the following day, after driving like mad, with a sand-storm on our heels, we came up with the Ruala. The great tribe was migrating northward in a body, its encampment sprawling beyond the range of vision, its vast herds spread out in all directions. A shallow depression held one cluster of some eighty tents of all sizes, their open fronts facing to leeward; and among them stood out the most spacious pavilion in Arabia, the famous tent of Nuri Sha'lan.

We drew up there, and my first question was for Amir Fuaz; but the young leader of the Ruala was not at home; he was on a visit to a clan, camping some distance from the main body.

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Bedouin Raiders Riding out of Camp

Preparing for the Long Migration

●221

following page 48.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731K 221C Amir Fuaz beside the *Abu Duhur*, the hallowed tribal emblem. But it all seemed so different now: no martial bodyguard; only the litters containing some chieftain's wives and children. Now there was no Faris among the young men galloping with them on their mares, with the baying greyhounds about him. In vain also did I look for the young war goddess.

The melodies of ancient herding-songs came floating back to us as we penetrated deeper into the beautiful pastures, which, with every step we took, became more luxuriant.

Never shall I forget that happy picture of the joyful people and its contented herds browsing, as they wandered onward, the juicy herbage and luxuriant plants.

Nor shall I easily forget the stragglers that vainly strove to reach Ishmael's promised Canaan. There were thousands of camels dragging themselves along with the futile exertion of the last remnants of their strength. They were still perishing by the wayside, while the more fortunate ones were already walking in the rich meadows that had saved them from death.

. . . . . .

000 Nearly two years passed, and the hardships of that spring were forgotten. Twice since then had I been with the Ruala, but only on my third visit did I fall in with [221] the camp of the Shammar family of Faris ibn Naif; for in the rainy season the sub-tribes divide and wander sometimes hundreds of miles apart, and it is not so simple a matter to find someone you are looking for. On my arrival I was greeted by the sons of Tra'd ibn Sattam, whose tents adjoined the Shammar household, and after

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXVII

Anaga—the Falcon

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THE FALCONER'S SONG

Arise, my brother!
Let us away to hunt with the hungry *silek*;[1]
Set the daring falcon upon my gauntleted fist,
Bring the leashed hounds,
And saddle my finely built *dhalul*.
Tie my speediest horse to her girth—
The mare of noble birth.
Let us ride once more
With the daughters of our blood,
With the wandering herds and our tribe
And the leader of our people.
Beloved friends!
To-day we ride with jubilant song,
Into the welcoming wilderness,
The hounds accompanying us in joyous voice,
And the mare with whinnying calls;
Never shall I tire of watching
The wonderful flight of the proud falcon
As he breasts the wind,
And how his golden eyes hold
The prey which his strong talons shall seize.

[221]
223

The advance guard of the migrating Ruala had a
ready reached the neighbourhood of the rain pools
Khabra Mirfiah, whence every day messengers brough
word of new thunderstorms. In that region we cou

[1] Singular. Sluki. Greyhound.

805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at as-shejl nušarreẓ*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṭrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṭrûwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-štaj*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-wasm*, *aš-*
132 *šitwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *as-shejlâwi*, *aṭ-ṭrûwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which
[731] are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen as-sejl watlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-herfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arẓ mawsûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *ʿarab*, or those who dwell in
101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
829 the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase is used: "*ʿArabna raḥalow, ʿarabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *ʿarab al-žebîla* are members of the same tribe. *ʿArab ad-dîra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *ʿorbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *ʿOrbân ʿala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Ḍmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-ʿarab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn annak min al-ʿarab mâr min ajj al-ʿorbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḳarâwne*
• 221 (the individual is known as *ḳarwâni*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *raʿw* (or *raʿijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *raʿw* or *raʿijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *šwâja* (or *šûjân*). The
233 *šwâja* have two things black, *lehom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeṛarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'w* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'îdîn aẓ-ẓa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The Šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

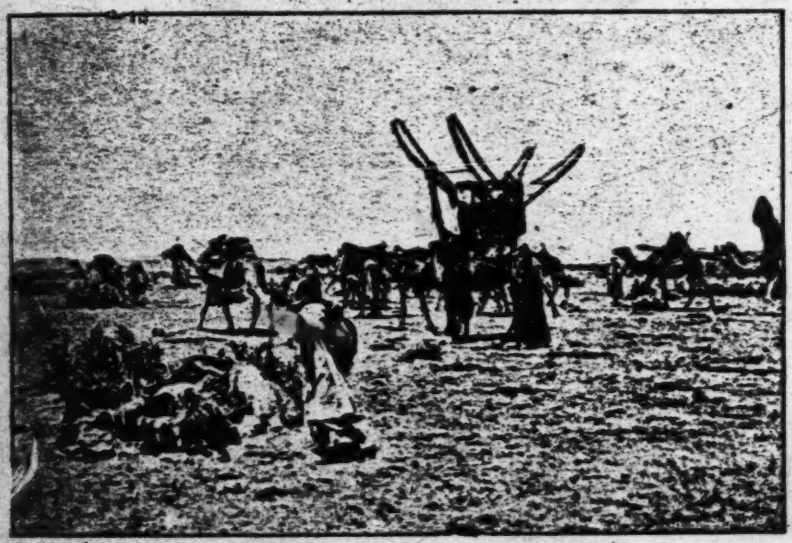

FIG. 18—*Ṣetab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'aššow*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferīž*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *neǧe'*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *kallaṭ leh ḥallāṭen min zilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mašta* (pl., *mašāti*), are found in the environs of el-Ḥōr, of the Ḥabra 'Anka, as well as of 'Lbha. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (x = date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

221 someone asks the Rwala: "Where did you graze this winter? *wên šattejtu has-sene,*" he regularly receives the answer: "Our winter pasture was in al-Ḥôr, *maštâna bel-ḥôr.*" In the spring they prefer most of all to graze, *marbaʿ* (plural, *marâbiʿ*), in al-Ǧûba and on the northern border of the Nefûd, *rabbaʿna bil-ǧûba.* In the region of al-Bijâẓ between al-Ǧûba, Tell ʿAmûd, and the volcanic territory they find their pastures in the season of *ṣejf*, that is from about the middle of April to the middle of June, *maṣjaf*, whereas from the end of June to the end of August they graze, *maḳîẓ*, in the territory of an-Nuḳra south of Damascus. In the autumn their favorite resort, *maṣfar*, is in the environs of the Sirḥân depression. If there has been no rain in al-Ḥamâd and al-Wuḍijân, they make their way to the environs of Tejma or to the eastern border of the Nefûd, where it rains more regularly.

[415]

FIG. 19—*Žirbe neǧdijje*, goatskin water container.

484 A camping place in a dangerous region exposed to raids is called *ṣâḳa.* The greatest danger threatens the tents which are pitched on the edge of the camp, *ṭwâreǰ.*

Years afterwards it is still possible to recognize an old camping place, *marḥ al-ʿarab.* The fireplace hollowed out in the men's compartment; the small piles of clay and ashes; the three scorched stones by the fireplace of the women's compartment; the piles of stones or fuel, upon which the beds were laid; camel excrements, *dimne* (pl., *demân*); luxuriant annuals, which the camels avoid, as they grow on the *demân*; all this awakens memories in the mind of the solitary traveler.

Poems Relating to Camping Grounds

539* The Rwala have many songs in which the solitary wayfarer speaks to the old camping place.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x
539x

Zall ar-rabî' w-ḥawdarow lal-ḳejẓ
w-al-ṛarw mâ waḳna 'alejh
jâ-bu nhûd čannehen al-bejẓ
w-al-ḳalb waǧlânen 'alejh.

Gone is the time of plenty, and they have departed to
the pastures of the midsumme
But the beauty we nowhere saw.
Oh, for her with breasts like eggs!
My heart is grieving for her.

[484
221]

In the time of the sultry heats of midsummer, *al-ḳe*
the Bedouins camp in the lowlands, where water is found
abundance; therefore they have descended, *ḥawdarow*, fro
the plateaus.

Abṛi aṭaṛaṭṭa bel-manâm
w-al-'ajn mâ hi nâjime
'eddi ṣawîben bel-manâm
mâ žawwedû ḥazâjimeh.

I desire to cover myself in my bed,
But my eyes cannot close in sleep;
I feel like one lying wounded on his couch,
Whose bandages they have failed to renew.

[752]

'Eddi or *čanni* means: "I feel like." *Ṣawîb* signifies
be wounded seriously, but not fatally. *Ḥazâjem* are poultic
and bandages. If not applied well and renewed, *mâ žawwe*
they cause still greater pain.

Ḳilt a'arḍîni 'ala-ṣ-ṣarḳa
čann-ar-ramad ṣâjeben 'ajni
ḥabb al-ṛaḍi bel-ḥaḳa jarḳa
muḫṭar 'ala-l-čabd čâwîni
wa' šejb 'ajni min al-farḳa
čân al-'arab bên šowrîni.

I said: 'lay me across a gray horse,'
For it seems as if blindness had struck my sight.
Love for the desired one grows in my entrails,
And burns me like red-hot iron laid on the stomach
Ah, my eyes will become gray from the parting,
If the Arabs take different courses.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved.

Wa' šejb 'ajni, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' šejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart," are sayings used in misfortune.

Jâ râčeb alli ḏemîlaha zên
ḳamran ejdêha šarârijje
jâ manweti-lli haleh mežfin
w-illa ṛarîben naṣa ḥajjeh.

O thou who ridest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarâri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

Ḏemîl or *derhem* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḳamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarârât breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes. In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *mežfin*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, *ahl*. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṣa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṣa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*).

Jâ mdaḥraǧ ḫuf li 'ala-š-ša'ejle
čarreb li al-heǧên beššâdi
al-'afw mâ-ḳšarč lejle
ḥaššejt ṣanâdîž al-fwâdi
w-ašči leč jâ ḥajje jâ dwejle
w-ašûf ḥajjâneč ḳaffaw ṛûdi.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 K
539 K

Oh, woe is me! sweetheart of mine!
Alas, she was angry with me, that is why they refused her to me.

A maiden in her anger persuaded her relatives to refuse her to her lover and moved away with them beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl ridge. The expression *ʿazzâk* is used when lightning flashes. [132] In the desert people are often killed by lightning; therefore Allâh is asked to comfort the survivors. The parting with the girl of his heart has struck the youth like lightning.

Niğmet aṣ-ṣubḥ dannat fanâğilaha
ʿokdeten bizmîri w-ana-dîraha
jâ ḥwâlen ʿalla-llâh tadâbîraha.

The morning star has shot her rays
Like a knot into my bosom, where I feel it constantly.
Alas, these changes! No one but Allâh can restore my fortunes.

It is to Allâh alone that the disappointed lover looks for help. *Fanâğil* mean not only glittering coffee cups but the pale rays of the morning star and the reflection of a beauty's white cheeks. The lover has sought his girl in marriage, but without success because her kin object, although at first they were not opposed to him.

Elja ʿâd ani min šammar
waš walaʿani bruwejli
en šarraḳaw ṭâb al-kejf
w-en ṛarrabaw jâ wejli
šikren ḏwâjeb zahra
miṯl al-barḳ blejli.

Why did I, a descendant of the Šammar,
Become attached to a Rwala girl?
If they come to the inner desert, I am cheerful of mind,
But should they go to the settled country, then, Oh woe [is me!
Zahra with her blond tresses
Shines for me like lightning at night.

[101 221] The Šammar camp in the Nefûd and to the south of it, and seldom leave their territory. Only a few Sinǧâra clans sometimes go to the settled country, *ṛarrabow*, generally to the Euphrates between al-Kûfa and as-Samâwa, to provide themselves with grain.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

6 39X
857

mâ zâl nawwâf 'ala-l-ḥejl
w-al-mâl killen jahâbeh
jista'hel al-wared w-al-hejl
w-an-naḏel jaḳmaḥ šebâbeh.

O my Lord! O creator of the night!
Let us have rain from thy clouds,
Nawwâf goes out on raids constantly
And all the property of the enemy fears him.
Of both rose and cardamom he is worthy,
And the overcautious only hold back his youthful courage.

Al-wared means the fragrance of roses as well as the rose itself and the love of women. *Hejl*, cardamom, is added to coffee, which thus prepared is to be served to none but heroes. *Naḏel*, cowards, vile ones, signifies here the older, more cautious chiefs, who with Prince an-Nûri at their head would not allow Nawwâf and his youths incessantly to raid even hostile tribes. They feared revenge.

Jâ rabbi jâ m'awwel
t'awwel 'ala-helna
nabni bujût al-'ezz
nanzel manâzelna
narḥal 'an had-dîre
w-'an wasṭha ǧilna
jislam abu nawwâf
jarḥal w-jenazzelna.

O my Lord! O thou who returnest!
Lead us back to our kin,
Where we may pitch our tents as is seemly
And encamp on our own grounds.
We shall move away from this region
Forever to disappear from its midst.
Hail to the father of Nawwâf!
Would that he may move and allot to us new camps.

● 221 361 If the pastures in the territories owned by them do not suffice for their needs, while the territories in dispute abound in plenty, *rabî'*, the Rwala march as a rule to some of their tributary settlements in the inner desert, unload their supplies, litters, and large tents, usually leave the women, children and aged persons there, and move with their herds to the disputed

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-'ezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin owning them. *Ğâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enğâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
'aṭni faṛa bâli
fowḳ awṛaḥen 'âli
ma' waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ğowzen 'ala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faṛa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben ḥumejla'
râ'ih mâ jûmi 'aṣâh
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereh jâ min laḳâh
er'eh ma' ḏwejden 'azîb
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-fela'
wa' lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏîb ğellâni 'awêḳ.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

is why the camp is without milk. Not before the fifth or sixth day, when the she-camels must be watered, can the women and girls drink as much fresh milk as they like. 10. *Maṛâlîb* are spears ornamented below the blades each with a little wreath of ostrich feathers called *ṛalab*. 11. It is a custom with Eben Rašîd to offer a she-camel and a mare to every guest of distinction. *Debâdîb* are thoroughbred she-camels, which have been grazing for some time and are well rested. *Ma'âder* are pastures reserved for horses exclusively, usually in valleys shut in by steep slopes, where they can be easily guarded and defended. 13. In the territory of al-Wudijân, as the eastern half of northern Arabia south of the ridge of al-Bišri is called, are the camping grounds of the 'Amârât and Dahâmše, who remove in summer to the right and left banks of the middle Euphrates — that is to the east, although this march of theirs is called *taṛrîb* (a going to the west). *Aḏwa* signifies the sudden swoop of a bird of prey.

In Honor of Bender, Prince of the Šammar

The enthronement of Bender, oldest son of Prince Talâl, as prince of the Šammar in 1869 was announced to all divisions of that tribe by special messengers who sang the following verse, composed by Râšed al-Haǧli:

Jâ min jebašŝer aš-šammar šâḫ bender
w-an-nâs ḳableh min ṛala abûh taṛlîh.

Oh, who will tell the Šammar the glad news that Bender has become their prince?
For he was already esteemed by men because of the fame his father had before him.

For this verse Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd, who had overthrown Bender, sent Râšed to prison for three months.

Muḥammad Eben 'Arfeǧ in al-Ĝowf Contemplates a Journeǧ to Ḥâjel

1. *Âh w-'azâḫ min ǧifnen ǧufa'*
ǧarhadij an-nowm min barden ṣerîm
2. *[illegible] w-ḫanf eláǧ*
wa-tḫallab w-eṭṭeled ĉanni ḫaṣîm

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7. Order all the burdens to be taken up when ye resolve to go on,
   And load the camels with everything that in the desert is needed and that is ready.
8. Keep the North Star on your right, so ye may not lose the way,
   And watch the seven stars of the Great Bear that are visible.
9. Greet also those who went away from me and deserted me,
   Sejf and Šwardi, the light of my eye, my healing.
10. Thus to them speak: "Your father swears that ye must return,
    And if ye come not to him, he swears that he must come to you.
11. If thou toilest because thou art poor or to gain treasures
    [Know that] wealth does not lengthen a short life;
12. The world thou livest in lasted forever neither for al-Ājde nor Sa'dūn,
    So it is best to spit on a world beyond which there is death."

A certain Šammari had two sons, Sejf and Šwardi, who went to the Ḥawrān to earn money. This is done every year by many people from the settlements of inner Arabia. They generally join the Rwala in their march to Syria, which takes place in the latter part of June. In the Ḥawrān they help as shepherds, reapers, or threshers, receive grain or clothing for their work, and return home again with the Rwala. Some stay abroad only two months, others several years. As the sons of our Šammari had been a long time away, their anxious father composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ṭrād eben Saṭṭām. When a chief sends out a mission he takes care that all ride camels of the same color. The prince of the Rwala sends out an embassy of this kind to the Ḥawrān every year, before he comes there himself. He sends letters and verbal messages to the elders of various settlements, to certain officials, and to his confidanti, in order to assure himself of an undisturbed sojourn and of plenty of supplies. Our Šammari happened to see this party, consisting of ten youths on ten pale-gray she-camels, this color being the most favored in these animals. They resembled each other like sisters.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726R
539R
[221]

3. *Mirbâ'* and *meḳîẓ* are pastures in the time of *rubî'* and in midsummer. At-Tînf is an isolated hill in the northeastern part of al-Ḥamâd. In the time of *rubî'* the country around at-Tînf is covered thickly with grasses and perennials, but no spring water is to be found anywhere near. As soon as the rain water in the *ḫubâri* or rain pools evaporates, nothing is left to the Rwala but to depart. After this they stay for some time on the east or south border of the Ḥawrân, and in the *al-ḳêẓ* season they camp in al-Mrûǧ, on the numerous meadows south and southeast of Damascus. The abundance of spring water there protects the camels from the *al-roûš* disease which attacks the bowels, especially those of the young she-camels. 4. Abu Farḥân was a nickname of Muḥammad eben Ṣmejr, the chief of the Weld 'Ali-tribe, his eldest son being Farḥân. The poet calls him *'aṭb al-maṣâwib*, a torment to the wounded, because the wounds caused by his blows were slow in healing. 5. The Weld 'Ali had undertaken to transport half of the supplies destined for Mecca and al-Medîna as well as half of the pilgrims from al-Mzêrîb, south of Damascus, to Medâjen Ṣâleḥ, or al-Ḥeǧr. Muḥammad eben Smejr guaranteed to the Turkish officials, who from their red tarbushes were called *ḥemr aṭ-ṭwâli*, redcaps, not only the safety of the transport but also its punctual delivery, *tarramow 'ala-ṭ-ṭiǧ*. The latter word means a complaint or an accusation; *eal maṣaṣwaǧ* is equivalent to *'alejk da'awa*: an accusation was brought against thee. For failing to keep to the time agreed on or for despoiling the caravan Muḥammad was liable to prosecution by the Turkish officials. He was therefore dependent on them, as if he were their slave. The second half of the transport and the pilgrims were convoyed by the Beni Ṣaḫr as far as Ma'ân, from this place by the Beni 'Aṭijje to Tebûk, and thence by the Beli to Medâjen Ṣâleḥ. 6. With Muḥammad eben Smejr the chief of the Eššâǧe'a clan, Ḥmûd eben Me'ǧel, originally an ally of the Rwala, was staying at that time. 7. The poet informs him that he should ponder upon the position he occupies with Muḥammad and also begs him not to be angry with him for taking this liberty. They fight each other, therefore the spittle of rage has already been spat out between them. 8. Feiṣal, the father of Ṭalâl and brother of Hazzâ', captured al-Ǧejdûr, a territory southwest of Damascus, with the help of hardy, old, and therefore prudent warriors and of a few bold young chiefs. *Me-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

15. Before your faces good fortune will bring success to all,
With help of the angels and of Him who built his heaven.
16. O chief, both warriors and clans migrating follow thee,
And the youths give the enemy that drink for which
he had much craved.
17. O chief, thou giver of she-camels with long reins,
Thou givest also long-paced fearless mares.
18. Ah, [this poem] should be sung at all gatherings!
Ah, they will have to ask us how it was rewarded.
19. Then I shall say: "From Eben Ša'lân came to me
A sorrel she-camel with bulging back and enduring of gait."
20. He who dwells far from his camp, seeks, when seized
by longing,
[To hasten home as fast] as an ostrich which has sighted
him who fired the shot.
21. Even if I slept, the eyes' sleep, O chief, will not bring rest,
For, O chief, every eye weeps for its own sorrow!

This poem was composed by Mir'el aḫu Za'êla from the despised Šlejb tribe and recited to me by the poet. He adapted his pronunciation to that of the Rwala, whose dialect he had perfectly mastered.

Verse 1. Among the Rwala there is no morning call to prayers, but the poet refers to it just as he used words which are not colloquial. The Muntifeẖ carry a flag on all their raids, and the members of the tribes allied with them do the same. 2. Al-Markab is sacred to all the Rwala. Should they lose it once only, should it be captured by the enemy, they would not be allowed to procure a new one, the emblem of their unity would be lost, and they would think that Allâh had deserted them. 3. *Al-mâṭeli* is a rifle constructed after the Martini model. *Jeŝda*, or *jeŝbah*: he resembles. 4. By *aš-šejḫ mâf* is meant here Prince an-Nûri, who excelled all by his bravery and prudence. 5. *Tefâfiš* are sharpshooters, marksmen; *tefaḫa*, a rifle. 6. *Aṭ'âm* are the camels which carry the tents, clothing, household goods, women, and children of a migrating clan. One of the principal tasks of a chief is to ensure safety during migration, as it is then that the tribe is in greatest danger, for then the camels are most easily frightened. The main body of the warriors ride, as a rule, at the head of the clan, while smaller troops are interspersed among the herds of camels grazing along the way. When the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

484 enemy is sighted, the main troop advances to meet them. If
221 the enemy is stronger, they are usually scattered, thus leaving the women and the laden camels without protection. The
539 enemy then lead away the camels and search for what is
726 most valuable, thus uncovering what the fair women have concealed. This was prevented by an-Nûri, who remained at the side of the deserted women. 7. *Lejl ṣarmân*, an angry, irritated lion, is another poetical expression. Like a bloodthirsty wolf, *ḏîb aṣ-ṣawâri*, did an-Nûri crush the attacking enemy, who were unable to resist him. 8. *Hafat* is said of a mare either utterly exhausted or with a dislocated foot which hinders her moving. 9. The fight took place between al-Ḥšejbi and Fejḥân, therefore the wolves there were howling with joy at the feast prepared for them. A hyena is called *'arǧa'*, lame, because it cannot run fast or for very long. 10. *Afṭar bkowmênen* means that he breakfasted on two fights, because the Rwala with an-Nûri at their head first repulsed at Fejḥân the raid made on them by Ṭâmer, the son of Sa'dûn, then attacked Eben Meǧlâd, a protégé of Sa'dûn, near al-'Êweǧ northwest of Line, and finally defeated Sa'dûn himself in the encounters at al-Ḥšejbi and al-Mḥaṭa. 11. *Al-ḫejl emtellât* are mares, which, being too exhausted to run any farther, are left behind. *Al-ḥalîb elja ṭjaḍḍa! ḥṭûha*, long-tailed mares whose pace grew slow, are mares with long tail hair and with their legs hurt in the fight; they are too slow to avoid the blows. 12. *Jaḥḍi* or *ja'ṭi*: he distributes gifts. Nawwâf does not keep the booty himself but distributes it among those whom he likes. 13. *Ṣḥûn* are large trays on which meat is set before the guests. Both Prince an-Nûri and his son Nawwâf entertain guests continually; meat is always being cooked, and therefore their trays are full of fat drops resembling
[643] drops of dew. 14. The chiefs an-Nûri and Nawwâf are descended from a house which has given to the Rwala from ancient times chiefs and conquerors of riders. 15. *Miḥân* signifies success, favorable result. *Mulûk*, for *malâjika*, angels. *Bjâk*, or *b'awne*: with the help, under the protection of. 17. *Ḳoḥûm* is a horse afraid of nothing. 18. *Wa' ṣejjûr* is a poetical term for *lâ budd*, absolutely certain, necessary. 19. *Nâbi ḫarûha* is a fat camel whose hump resembles a bulging knoll, a cone. 20. The poet longs for a present so that he can return to his Slejb soon. *Tafrîz rubda* is the fastest gait of an ostrich, during which it flaps its wings. The bird runs in this manner

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726 x
539 x

6. *aššf ḥejl ḥujúḥekom teľeb aľâb*
'an surbet ar-ribâân hom w-al-ḥamâmid
7. *abu-d-dhûr mu'auwed jilhab alhâb*
beľâf rammâj al-malâbis mar'id
8. *wa' saffak ḥwij al-ḥejl saffat ḥalabîâb*
ḥallak teṣhar min zemâjelk ferrid
9. *wa' min ṣâk lees ḥarâbna ḥirebek šâb*
jûšef ḥwâdek min wara-z-zilm w-ja'id.

1. O thou who ridest a trotting [she-camel] with a troop of nine thousand!
Their camels near the Ḥasan and Mesâ'îd
2. In midsummer dwell, to be protected from disease of the bowels and from flies,
While at Ṣwêr in autumn thou wilt find camels young and well fed.
3. The camels [of that troop] bear no load but gunpowder in horns,
Sabers of Persian make, and spears with steel blades.
4. They will reach the accursed Čenhâb kin,
The Čenhâb, whose prayers and kin alike be cursed.
5. Say to them: "Your riders on young mares with clipped tails were driven back by the cavalry
From the river Euphrates as far as the creek of 'Erbîd."
6. I seem to see your chiefs' horses as they played
Before the Ribâân and Ḥamâmîd troop.
7. [The Rwala emblem] Abu-d-Dhûr is accustomed to throwing of flames
With the help of the thunderer, defeating men clad in armor.
8. Ah, that true man of strength did thoroughly cuff thy face
And left thee alone of all the pack camels.
9. Ah, of one who has tasted the tickling of our spears the moustache will grow gray,
He will stop his horse and will return home behind the back of other men.

The reciter was 'Awde al-Kwêčbi. 1. *Haḏḏâb* is a she-camel which trots as fast as a mare. Ḥasan and Mesâ'îd are tribes living in the lowland west and northwest of the Ḥawrân, where, as a rule, the Rwala camp from the end of June to the middle of August.

619
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the middle of August. 2. Ṣwér is an important watering place northeast of the oasis of Skâka. *Miṣfár*, fall camping grounds from the beginning of October to the middle of December. *Seráḥíǧ*, well fed, was pronounced *seráḥíd*. 3. *Aḥab al-melek* dark gray salt, means gunpowder, which in the muzzle-loader period was carried in a little fancy horn, *dbâb*. *Dakk al-'aǧam*, beaten by the Persians, means a Persian saber. *Mdel 'aḳát* or *mashúbát al-bucálíd* means spears, as the Rwala drag steel blades on long wooden shafts. 4. *Ṣaláḥíd*, a poetical expression for kinsfolk and parents. Čenhâb is an opprobrious nickname for the Eššâǧe'a. 5. The tail hair of young mares is either clipped or cut off entirely. The spring and the short creek of 'Erbíd rise near as-Samâwa. 6. The Eššâǧe'a chiefs merely pretended to urge their horses to atttack. In reality they tried to keep away from the kinsfolk of Ribšân and Hamâmíd. 7. Abu-d-Dhûr, the ancient tribal emblem of the Rwala, here represents Prince an-Nûri and his retinue. *Mar'íd* thunderer, is formed from *mar'ad*, *jemar'ad* being said for *jer'ad*, he thunders. 8. *Saṭṭ*: he cuffed, he struck. *Ḥalablâb* is an onomatopoetic word for cuffs, boxes on the ears. *Zemâje* are male camels which carry the supplies and tents of the chief. The Eššâǧe'a commander lost all his camels, or, as the poet puts it, of all the pack camels he alone was left, *ferríd*.

POEMS OF WARS AND RAIDS

Scorn of Fallen Chief's Daughter for Kin Who Fail to Avenge Him

1. *Hall al-helâl w-kamelen al-'elúmi*
   wa-tmaẓhalat 'anna ǧamí' al-ḥačâja
2. *eḫṣú ḫaseejtu killekom já-r-reḫúmi*
   waš 'aḏrakom má tebnaǧún az-ẓumâja
3. *aššf 'okbánen 'alejkom teḫúmi*
   t:bṛi-l-'aša minkom al-kbâr al-alája
4. *eḏ'aw bšegrat má naḳultom eṭlúmi*
   min ḳubl má teḏ'ún miṭl az-ẓaḥája
5. *jiščinnakom bizen taḏukk ar-rukúmi*
   entom eiterken lá juḫallen 'arája
6. *wa' wajlakom en čán saffahtom 'elúmi*
   w-allâh latrúḫún killekom ẓaḥája

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

they bathed the squealing, downy infant all over, baptizing him with this herb-scented water of the beast of the desert into the sacred fellowship of the wilderness.

I was still thinking how unexpectedly this incident had come to pass, when I was startled by heavy pattering on the tent-roof and on the sand outside. Everywhere, on tents and on the backs of the camels, it was raining big, fat, reddish locusts!

The new baby boy's mother was just then squatting in her smoke-filled tent, engaged, with the assistance of her women friends, in swathing his little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags—a measure considered indispensable among the Bedouins for the protection of newly born children. But, all-important as this ceremony was, all the women except the mother rushed away pell-mell, to help their menfolk and children to harvest the locusts.

These kept coming up in swarms—nay, in cloud piled on cloud. While myriads whirred past and on with a loud noise, a host of them broke flight and settled. Wherever one looked, the ground was thick with them, covered, as it were, with a crawling red carpet. Grass, herbage, bushes melted away under the devouring mass of insects. And the whole camp was out gathering them.

Soon locusts were roasting at every fire, round which men, women, and children squatted in a circle. They picked up the insects by their gauzy wings, plucked off the legs, dipped the roasted "husks" in salt, and ate them, skin and all.

Boiled, I did not like locusts; they had the taste of particularly insipid cabbage or some such vegetable.

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Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All round the camp and all day long smoke screens were kept going, into which women and children drove the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them —but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens, bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bedouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that at times their camels and horses too can have no other fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

not take sides against the French. The French authorities immediately realized the danger, and promptly gave orders that the ancient caravan route from Damascus to Tudmur (Palmyra) and Deyr-ez-Zor (which passes south of the hills of the Abu Rijmeyn and branches off near Tudmur towards Baghdad) was to form the most northerly boundary beyond which the Ruala might not seek pasture. None must cross this line if armed or mounted.

Now the foes of the Ruala could triumph!

The Saba, the Muwali, Hadediyyin and all the others had the law of the land and the power of the French Government on their side—and they were confederates of Ibn Meheyd! What did they care for the misery of the Ruala? They only saw at hand a long-desired opportunity to fall upon and destroy this hated Ruala nation and take possession of their vast herds.

It was a day in April, when our distress seemed to have reached the last extremity beyond which endurance could not go—when death stared every man and animal in the face—that I entered the tent of Faris, which was pitched on a hillock a little apart. The tent was empty. The mother and sister of the young man were probably searching for truffles, roots and dry herbs for fuel. As I flung myself down by the glowing ashes inside the tent, I heard the voice of Faris ibn Naif-behind the tent. It was loud and excited, which was an unusual thing for him, for the calm and self-control of my friend had always been exemplary. He was neither a Philistine nor a bigot, but a man of a moral purity such as I never found surpassed, even among the Bedouins. I

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

destroyed. In the afternoons and evenings the young people hasten to the water holes, *rudrân*, in the valley bottoms for their ablutions. They bathe separately, the youths in one place, the girls in another. Their shouts of joy and various songs are heard on all sides. In the tents mushrooms and truffles, young bulbs, and fresh vegetables are cooked and enjoyed.

The local name for the mushrooms is *hawbar*. They grow after warm night rains, *emṭer bel-lejl w-râḥ jaṭaǧanna-l-hawbar*. On the mornings following such nights both men and women go out in search of this dainty, which grows best of all near the channels, while the truffle prefers soil mixed or strewn with sand. When they come to the surface the latter form tiny hat-like lumps, which attract the eye of the picker. The earth or sand covering them is then turned over by the hand or a stick, and the truffle dug out. In cooking they are boiled in salt water and then served with butter or camel's fat. Another method is to bake them in hot ashes after a thorough salting.

Of the truffle, *faḳa'*, there are three kinds: *al-čema, az-zbejdi*, and *al-ḥlâṣi*. A Bedouin, having gathered a heap of truffles, sorted them in his tent according to their kinds, saying: "This one is *al-čmajje*, the mother of the little girl will get that; this *az-zbejdi* I will give to the mother of my little son; and the best, *al-ḥlâṣi*, I shall keep myself; *al-čmajje lumm al-bnajje az-zbejdi lumm wlejdi al-ḥlâṣi larâsi*."

All Bedouins greatly enjoy the small bulbs of certain wild plants, especially *aṭ-ṭiṭa, rubaḥla, karrâṯ*, etc. Mothers send their boys in search of them with the words: "My little sons, O sonnies! go bring me *aṭ-ṭiṭa*; I will prepare for you *muṭiṭa* (a dish of mashed bulbs); *'ejâli jâ 'ejâl aṭ-ṭiṭa w-muṭlekom muṭiṭa*."

In the sun-baked gravel plains (called *ḥamâd*) in a year of abundance the *semḥ* grows with its subvarieties, *ad-da'â'* and *al-ḥawwa*. These plants, when already ripe and still fresh are much sought after by the Bedouins, who place them in pits safe from water or in bags. When dry the plants are beaten with sticks and shaken, and the seed, *če'ber*, which have fallen to the ground, are put into sacks, *'edûl*, and brought to rain-water holes, where they are either left for some time or at least thoroughly soaked until the dry husks crack. Sometimes the large leather water troughs, *ḥows*, are filled with water and the full shells are put in; in time they swell and burst.

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Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêḍa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *ṛaziẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamîsa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

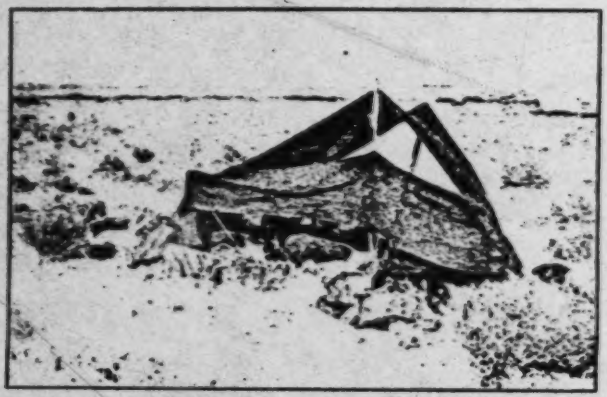

FIG. 24—A small tent, *fuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawiwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawiwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

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to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish. They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧḏân*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *ʿejš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the following:

ʿaṣide, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

bečile, a paste made from dates and flour,

basîse, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmejʿa, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧidijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *ʿažiž* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sabḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṯḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *žedaḥ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣâd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

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the nostrils. My guide, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, had drunk such water on eight occasions and there is nobody among the Rwala who has not tasted it at least once. 271

Things are more serious with those traveling on foot who have no camel to kill. Thus there were four men from the Bnejje kin of the Rwala, who were driven off during a raid. They lost their camels and their weapons and escaped with their bare lives. One of them tied a small bag, *šakwa*, beneath his shirt, in which there were about three liters of water. They made their way home through the desert, living on various herbs and always drinking a little water after sunset. On the third day they had about a quarter of a liter left. They were all thirsty and yet each one urged the other to drink, but none would drink because there was not enough water for all. At last they decided to pour it away. They sipped the dew and went for two days without water. It was in the season of *as-smâk* (March and early April). After two days they could go no farther. By the will of Allâh some Ṣlejb saw them, brought them liquid butter, poured it into their mouths, and when they could swallow it gave them also water, thus saving their lives. In the seasons of *aṣ-ṣferi* and *aš-šta'* (October 1 to February 20) a man can go without water for as long as three days, but in the midsummer, *al-ḳêẓ*, only for one day and one night, or at the most for two nights and one day. On the second day his throat becomes parched and he dies.

The Rwala know very well which plants can be eaten. Often after an unsuccessful raid they wander on foot through the desert and live only on various herbs. They are most fond of eating the dark-red ripened fruit, *ṭel'*, of the thorny *mṣa'* shrub. These are very sweet and have a bitter aftertaste. The Rwala collect them and boil them into a thick syrup. From the wood of the tall *rimṭ* shrub there flows out in summer a sweet juice, which they likewise collect. *Ḳṣâma*, the ripe fruit of the *buṭum* tree, they pluck, dry, grind, and mix with wheat flour. They also extract oil from this fruit. They eat the raw stalks or tuberous growths of the following plants: *baḫatri*, *bṣejjel*, *ṭummejr*, *ǧirǧîr*, *ḫârra'*, *ḥumbejẓ* (or *ḥammejẓ*), *ḥampiṣ*, *ḥawwa'*, *da'lûḳ*, *rubaḥla*, *reśâd*, *roṣejla*, *ummu rweje*, *šaḫḫûm*, *ṭîṭa*, *ṣorrêṭ en-na'îm*, *ḳurrêṣ*, *karrâṭ kseǧbra*, *lubbêna*, *laḫjat eṭ-ṭeje*, *mâc'*. 262 222

The following are baked: *zebb eḍ-ḍîb*, *ṭarṭûṭ*, and *mḥarût*.

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The Author with Hunting Falcon

Following page 128 (c)

• 223

Superb Specimen of Hunting Falcon

Falcon Perched on Protective Glove

Falcon with Trainer

following page 144(d)

Pages 145 and 146 contain no textual material

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XXVII

Anaga—the Falcon

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THE FALCONER'S SONG

Arise, my brother!
Let us away to hunt with the hungry *silek*;[1]
Set the daring falcon upon my gauntleted fist,
Bring the leashed hounds,
And saddle my finely built *dhalul*.
Tie my speediest horse to her girth—
The mare of noble birth.
Let us ride once more
With the daughters of our blood,
With the wandering herds and our tribe
And the leader of our people.
Beloved friends!
To-day we ride with jubilant song,
Into the welcoming wilderness,
The hounds accompanying us in joyous voice,
And the mare with whinnying calls;
Never shall I tire of watching
The wonderful flight of the proud falcon
As he breasts the wind,
And how his golden eyes hold
The prey which his strong talons shall seize.

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The advance guard of the migrating Ruala had already reached the neighbourhood of the rain pools of Khabra Mirfiah, whence every day messengers brought word of new thunderstorms. In that region we could

[1] Singular. *Slukí*. Greyhound.

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therefore expect to find game in great numbers, and 223
Amir Fuaz had immediate preparations made for a great hunt with his falcons and greyhounds.

For two days prior to the hunt, falcons and Sulkan were given nothing to eat. The slender hounds, lying about half-starved between the legs of the camels, seemed skinnier than usual, and the hungry falcons complained, crooning loudly and anxiously when anyone passed near them. The slaves had hooded them now, with small helmets of red, blue, black or green. These pretty leather hoods were ornamented with gold and silver thread.

On the appointed morning, when the hunt had assembled, Amir Fuaz mounted his war-mare. Dugan, one of his slaves, unhooded his pet falcon. Fuaz, about sixty paces away, gave the falconer's cry, and the bird straightened, recognizing its master's voice. Dugan let go the jess which he had held in his gauntleted hand, and instantly the bird rose, and, flying like an arrow to the Prince, settled on his raised right arm. Fuaz drew a hood over the falcon's eyes again.

"This is Anaga, the 'Meteor'," he said to me. "He drops from the upper sky and slays his opponent in the plunge. He can sail the higher heavens as safely as he can skim over the surface of the earth. To-day thou wilt see what Anaga can do."

At a sign from Amid Fuaz, we set out. The "whips" called their slim greyhounds by name: Shillah, Satha, Tarfa, and so forth.

They were unleashed only when the last tents were left behind and there was no more danger of the large

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223 wolflike watchdogs and herd-dogs attacking the more delicate hounds and tearing them to pieces.

Twelve of the Amir's slaves carried hunting-hawks, each bird hooded and in full attire. Relatives of the Prince and other Ruala nobles also carried falcons on their mares, some of the birds borne on the riders' gauntleted wrists, others, in fact the majority, on the sheep skin which is spread over the horse's croup, when the Bedouin goes hunting.

The "*Sala*" or beater corps, comprising more than three hundred camel-riders and about two hundred horsemen, began to spread out right and left, to round up and drive the game towards the centre of our line. Ringed by the greyhounds, our wild troop galloped over the wide plain in the fresh morning air. Our hearts beat [787] with excitement. It was to be an auspicious and lucky day, according to every soothsayer whom Fuaz had consulted during the past days.

[531] The young Prince galloped at my side. On his raised fist sat Anaga, in its red leather hood embroidered with gold thread, on the top of which was sewn a beautiful pearl; and instead of eyes there blazed on its sides two precious emeralds.

"Aziz," cried Fuaz to me, "I love the wine of war—but, oh! I also like to drink the milk of the chase. Is not hunting the sister of war and the quarry a warrior struck to earth?"

He reined in, and I also pulled up my mare, to let the train of hunting comrades ride past. They were a splendid knightly troop, on beautiful mares and camels. The falcons balanced with outstretched wings on the

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wrists of riders and the croups of the galloping horses. 223 ●
Cloaks, manes, and tails, plaits and head-cloths, saddle trappings, fringes, and tassels flapped in the wind. The shout of men mingled with the thunder of hoofs, the neighing of the mares, the screams of the hawks and the baying of the hounds.

Knee to knee, I galloped on with Amir Fuaz. Sharp [136]
eyes descried a heron rising higher and higher into the blue, although herons are rarely seen in this part of Arabia. Probably this one was on its way to the marshlands of Southern Mesopotamia. The young Amir was all excitement; he uttered piercing yells and cried rapturously:

"O my eye, my snatcher, there is thy prey!" and with trembling fingers, still galloping, he attempted to remove the hood and leg-strap of the falcon.

"O thou flash of lightning! O thou sword of the sky!"

The Prince was particularly devoted to this falcon. It [131]
was a tercel through its fifth moult, and a present from Ibn Khalifa, the Sheykh of Bahrein, who had procured it from the Bedouins of Jabal Shammar in exchange for a valuable mare. Having taken off hood and leg-strap, Fuaz swung Anaga up and down on his fist and then sideways.

"Open thy swift wings!" he cried.

With easy beat of wings and whining cries, the splendid bird rose into the air. Instinctively we drew rein to watch the spectacle. At first the falcon beat upward, but after a while he stooped and sailed in long flight close above the ground, without seeming to pay any attention to the heron.

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223 One could only suppose that the bird took pleasure in the sweep of its flight and its skimming and turning close to the ground. Then, with a bold, effortless swing, Anaga rose in wide spirals higher and higher into the sky.

With short, vigorous wing-beats he flew above and beyond the heron. Suddenly Anaga turned, and with folded wings swooped upon the larger bird, but with a swift swerve the falcon shot past and utilised the speed of his downward plunge for another upward curve, which brought him into the eye of the wind and to a higher and more advantageous position. There he circled, watching for a while; then hovered in one spot motionless, like a star in the heavens.

Fuaz, watching his pet, called out joyfully:

"Now shalt thou see the heron falling into his claws as a fish into the fisherman's net!"

Still Anaga hung on motionless wings. Was he choosing the best course for his fateful plunge? Suddenly he gave one beat of the wings and stooped, wings folded, legs pressed close to the body, hurtling down like a projectile. Yet the big heron saw the lunge in time to measure its pace and escape on rapidly beating wings. Instantly the hawk checked his plunge; with an almost imperceptible movement of the wings, he changed direction, and at once was in full cry after the heron.

Now he lowered the path of his flight somewhat, closer to the heron; and now he swooped right over him, only his breast feathers touching, but the terrible gripping talon shot out and held the great bird by the neck. Tumbling over and over, the locked combatants

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came dashing earthwards. Torn feathers were scattered in the air. In the headlong tumble the falcon managed always to keep on top, and finally to release himself from the dangerous wings of the heron and give him the death-stroke with his knifelike claws. Only an experienced falcon can so release itself at the right moment.

The clever falcon was already soaring again when the body of his victim hit the ground with a dull thud. Anaga whirled aloft as straight as a fountain, only to return to us in an elegant curve. The wind whistled through its feathers as it swooped past our heads. In rapture, Amir Fuaz cried to his hawk:

"Anaga, O thou Meteor, O snatcher, O my eye!"

The blood-splashed, broad-shouldered falcon cooed happily, as if he understood the compliment, and with outstretched talons and widespread pinions, alighted gently on the raised fist of his master, who tenderly stroked the dishevelled feathers. As if drunk with blood, the bird began to shake himself, fluffed his plumage and smoothed it again, and blinked his gold-rimmed black eyes with their grey lids. Anaga was a diabolical creature, truly a bandit, but without doubt the crown of falconry amongst the Ruala was his by right.

For his magnificent aerial combat the slaves rewarded Anaga with a live pintail grouse which someone had caught. The falcon killed it by ripping its throat, tore out one wing, which he devoured, in order to reach lungs and heart. Then he tore and ate the strongest muscles of the breast. All else he left untouched.

A horseman galloped towards two greyhounds dragging up the dead heron, and took the bird from them.

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223 The handsome crown feathers he plucked and presented to Amir Fuaz.

Our beaters meanwhile had been starting hares and other small game. The falcons used for such small fry were not of the same noble class as Anaga. The seemingly helpless hares had a means of defence, dangerous to their attackers, in the earth, which they can hug so closely and on which they can twist and double so quickly. One of the falcons injured its wings so badly that it could no longer fly. But in spite of all, most of the hawks were clever enough to make their kills by driving their talons between the hares' ribs into their lungs. After a kill, the huntsmen had to hurry and throw a cloak over the falcon to prevent its feeding on its quarry before the hare's throat was slit. This prescribed method of slaughtering is not peculiar to the Jews only, but to the Ishmaelites also, for meat from which the blood has not been drained is forbidden as human food.

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The greyhounds were also set on the hares, but always in pairs. One dog gave chase, while the other cut off the hares' flight in another direction. But to catch the hare was no easy task, and many a greyhound took a somersault when a hare doubled suddenly.

XXVIII

The Young Gazelle Buck

A FALCON SUDDENLY LEFT his riding-perch amidst the advancing hunt and flew back. The huntsmen called to him threateningly, but in vain. Like an arrow he darted so close past the neck of my horse that automatically I leaned out of the saddle to avoid being struck. He turned in a flash and landed not far from me. I reined in and watched. With his out-spread tail propped on the ground, the falcon was grappling a snake in his talons, and with his beak striking at its elusive head. The snake writhed and coiled round the bird spasmodically, but could get no purchase on the plumage. At last, the falcon seized the viper's head and with a few circular movements twisted it off. A number of other huntsmen had stopped to watch the snake-killer at work, but when the struggle was over, and the bird started to eat its kill, one of them cried commandingly:

"Suhayl!"

Obediently the hawk left his quarry, and flew toward the upheld fist of the falconer, but just as he seemed about to settle on it, he suddenly veered, shot upward, and swept away like a stone hurled from a catapult. For a moment he hovered, high in the sky, then passed from our sight forever.

"The devil!" cried someone, and laughed.

"He is truly a devil!" remarked Amir Fuzz. "Few

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falcons have such sight and still fewer such spirit. It is well that he seeks a mate. God grant that one day we may find his brood."

The call of the wild had lured Suhayl away, and he had obeyed the impulse of his blood.

With loud cries the Bedouins urged their mares forward, again racing each other. For today, however, though it was still early, the chase was over; for the heat of the sun is considered harmful to both greyhounds and falcons.

Amir Fuaz gave the order to rally, and we all proceeded to the previously appointed camping-place, where shortly after the pack-camels arrived with water-skins. In a straight line we were, at the most, seven miles from the main Ruala camp, but in our criss-cross riding we had covered nearly thrice that distance.

When fuel had been collected, coffee was made and hares and bustards roasted. From all quarters riders came in on breathless horses. Groups of men clustered round the small fires. The camel-riders of our beater-corps trickled in, bringing an abundance of game—pintail grouse, bustards, hares, foxes, badgers, gazelles. All the carcasses were ranged on the ground near Amir Fuaz and the other *shiyukhs*.

The thirsty mares were watered only after they had rested awhile, but the panting and tired greyhounds had water splashed into their mouths immediately. The falconers placed their hawks in cooking-vessels, partly filled with water, wherein the dusty birds fluffed and preened their feathers.

Huntsmen lay at ease, sipping coffee and talking.

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Near me a fine, full-grown, reddish-brown falcon sat 223
captive on a horizontal perch. It fluttered its wings and tried to fly away, but a strong leather strap held it fast. It had been captured only two days before, and its eyelids were still sewn together, as is the Bedouin practice with newly caught hawks. Dugan, the hawking-slave, had brought this wild bird along to accustom it to the riding.

Towards evening, Fuaz sent some horsemen to the 224
tribal encampment (the Ruala were in migration), to ascertain where his tent was pitched, and after supper, under the shining moon, we all set out for it.

That moonlight ride through the tranquil night was a wonderful experience. Widely spread out, in smaller or larger groups, we rode along at a walk. Mnahi, chief [533]
of the Amir's bodyguard, beat time to the Bedouin songs, which from a distance sounded like a faint, "Yo-ho-loo-oo, Yo-ho-loo-oo."

Riding up a rise, I could fancy that the earth ended beyond it; I always expected to find a dark abyss with an illuminated ocean, opal light and stars rising from its depths.

Lights did in fact appear as we topped one ridge—red campfires. They covered the plain below far and wide. It was a great Ruala encampment that lay before us in the shimmering moonlight—a magic picture, a fairy-tale of the desert. Distant murmurs fell on our ears, bringing a touch of reality to the unreal.

We rode down, a wave of singing horsemen, that melted away into the shadows of the black tents. Here we dismounted, tied our horses to the tent ropes, and

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hunted spread out over the plain and the drivers put 224
up ever new herds before them!

A group of riders, of which I was one, came almost within striking distance of one band, but the fleet gazelles always managed to elude us. The headlong ride had already lasted more than an hour, and our horses trembled and panted from exhaustion. Some gazelles had succeeded in breaking through the scattered line of hunters.

Amir Fuaz and his men now unhooded and released [223] their falcons. The liberated birds shot away. With incredible speed they overtook the gazelles and chose their victims. At first they flew above them close to the ground, then swept forward and obtained a hold between their horns or on their necks. With desperate plunges and side springs the terrified gazelles endeavoured to free themselves from their murderous assailants, but without avail. With their talons hooked in the scalp or the eye-sockets of the gazelles, the falcons struck wildly with their wings and beaks at their eyes to impede their progress.

Horrified, I reined in my mare. A blinded gazelle dashed past me, but she was no longer able to escape the pack of greyhounds which, overtaking her, seized her hocks which they did not release even when they tumbled over and over. From the swirling cloud of dust came the bleating, bellowing, and groaning of the stricken gazelle, which ceased only when the huntsmen, racing up, put an end to the animal's suffering.

The falcons soared above the heads of men and beasts, all wild with the excitement and the lust of killing. The

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Once the mice summoned a great meeting and agreed with one accord that every cat must wear around its neck a little bell which would give warning to the mice. The mice bought many little bells, and their chief, *čebir al-fér*, called on the bravest to come forward and undertake to hang them around the cats' necks; but so far no mouse has ever come forward. The little bells are lying in the storeroom of the mice, and the cats still torment the poor creatures.

The *ḫlewd*, mole, grayish in color, lives particularly in the depression of Sirḥân. Once a mole encamped with an owl, *búma*, a swallow, *rḳé'i*, a frog, *ṣufṣa'*, and a moth, *šerára*. There came to them a man riding on a camel. They all entertained him; he was the guest of all. At the time when the morning star rose, someone stole his camel from him. All his hosts had just fallen asleep. The lamentations of their guest woke them up. They at once left the camp and went in search of the stolen camel. The mole searched for it under the earth, the owl among ruins, the swallow among herds of grazing camels, the frog in the water, and the moth among garments and carpets. The butterfly moth is unhappy because it has not yet succeeded in finding the camel, and throws itself into the fire with the words: "Rather into the fire than live in disnonor."

CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

The Rwala divide birds into *ṭṭûr* and *ḫammar*, the *ṭṭûr* comprising all carnivorous birds.

Falcons and Falconry

The main representative of the *ṭṭûr* is the hunting falcon, *ṣuḳr*, which is often known as *ṭeǰr*. The Rwala buy hunting falcons from the settlers in al-Šeǰḥ Miskin and ar-Rḥejbe, who either select young ones or catch fully grown ones. The best hunting falcon is *al-ḥorr*. It is reddish brown, *aḥḍar*, with many white spots, *ṭrejwdí*, on its tail; or dark brown, *edbas*; or even black. The male falcon is called *šabbáṭ*, the female *šáhdna*. The Bedouins relate that the young falcon remains forty days in embryo, forty days before it is hatched from the egg, and that only after another forty days does it show whether it will fly or not; *arbe'în jowm fé ṭ w-arbe'în jowm bé ṭ w-arbe'în jowm jeṭîr w-lá jeṭîr*.

136 223 The best of the young falcons is called *ʿên en-nâder*; the second best, *ʿasîz en-nâder*; the third best, *ḫufʿijje*; and the one which is of no use for anything is *tibeʿ*. The male provides food for both the female and the young. It brings home *ḥubâri* (bustards) and hares. If the young one falls out of the nest, only the male looks after it. If the male perishes, the female is glad if she can supply her young and herself with jerboas and mice, which are not particularly good for the young. When the young falcons are able to feed themselves is the most favorable time to take them out. A dealer in falcons gives them food until they are fully developed, whereupon he sells them to the Bedouins.

FIG. 2—Hunting falcons.

223 The catching of full-grown falcons involves less trouble. The falcon hunter, *ṣarrâḫ*, seeks out a suitable spot among the rocks, prepares a hiding place there, places two or three stones in front of it, fastens a small net between them, shakes clay over it, and connects it to his hiding place with a string. To a thin cord he then ties a raven, a handful of feathers, and a pigeon. By means of a slender thread he fastens the raven to a large stone between the hiding place and the net and gives it water and food; he himself keeps in his hiding place with the pigeon, and waits until the cry of the raven shows that the falcon is circling above it. He then cautiously pulls the raven in, so that in its place there remain the feathers tied to the same cord, while the pigeon sits down by the net. If the falcon flings itself upon the pigeon, the hunter releases the net by means of the string, catches the falcon, and immediately sews up its eyelids, *yekuṭṭeb eṣ-ṣaqr*. After three or four days the falcon has become a little tame, *yewdîf*, and the stitches may be undone. The falcon hunter sells untrained falcons for eight to twenty *mejîdijjât* ($7.20–$18) each.

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The Bedouin has to train the falcon himself. The chiefs 223
generally have a slave who trains falcons for them and also hunts with them. If the chiefs wish to hunt themselves, they must also occupy themselves with the falcons, or else the birds will not be accustomed to them and will not return to them from their booty. The falconer needs a wooden stand about forty centimeters high, provided with an iron spike below and covered with leather above. Upon this stand, *markāba*, the hawk lives. On each foot it has a leather loop, *sibk*, from which there extends a chain, *marbaṭ*, passing about halfway down the stand. The falcon can rise a little, but it cannot fly away (Fig. 2). On its head the falcon wears a small leather helmet, *burḳu'*, which can be drawn down over its eyes and fastened under its beak around its neck, so that the bird cannot throw it off with its claw.

Shortly before sunset the falconer, *ṣaḳḳār*, puts a coarse leather gauntlet, *dess*, on his right hand, removes the chain from the loops, draws a long thin cord through them, takes the falcon on his right hand, keeps calling its name, *jad'i*, and swings it to and fro, endeavoring to make it fly. The falcon rises and circles above the falconer. He fastens the other end of the cord to a firmly fixed peg, takes a small riding bag in his left hand and a piece of meat in his right hand, and with this he beckons to the falcon, calling it by name. If the falcon does not clutch, he slowly treads on the rope until the bird finally dashes upon the meat. When the falcon after a few days of training returns of its own accord, he lets it go entirely free. Then he obtains a hare, which has either been wounded by a shot or has one leg broken, and he sets, *jihadd*, the falcon and a greyhound, *sluke*, on to it. If the falcon catches it, he lets it have it all. When the falcon has caught and devoured several wounded hares with the help of the greyhound, the falconer goes out hunting with it. He fastens it on a small chain behind the saddle of the camel, takes a riding bag with him, calls the greyhound, and rides out beyond the camp. If the greyhound raises a hare or a *ḥubāra* bird, the hunter unlooses the falcon, takes it on his right hand, rides up at a trot behind the dog, and sets the bird on the hunted animal. The falcon looks round, lifts its wings, *jiferfer*, and, observing the prey, *ṣale'*, flies after it. It catches the *ḥubāra* immediately, but the hare usually slips away, hides, and thus escapes its beak. If the falcon swoops

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223 down upon the hare, this is called *aṭ-ṭejr jedlih*. If it succeeds in plunging its talons into the hare's back, *'alak*, the falconer rides up at full speed behind it, covers it and its prey with his cloak, slaps, *jiṭabṭeb*, the bird on the back, shouting "*kiš kiš*," and endeavors to remove it, *tenaḥneš*. The falcon receives its share of the prey only inside the tent, never on the open plain. A well-trained falcon can catch as much as ten *ḥubâri* and twenty hares a day, but only if there is an abundance of game. But there are few falconers who keep their falcons as long as three or four months, as they all get lost. In February and March they do not return, especially if they meet with wild falcons.

539ᵉ 517 524 The young Bedouin is fond of hunting with falcon and greyhound. He can then ride more freely among the throngs of his migrating countrymen and can approach his sweetheart, talk to her, or offer her his booty. He therefore sings:

Jâ lejt li ǧerwen w-jâ lejt li ṭir
w-ku'ajjeden nensef 'alejh aš-šdâdi
neǧi mâ beju as-salaf w-al-meṣâhir
w-neḥalli-l-ǧerwe w-aṭ-ṭejr ṣâdi.

Oh had I a hound for the chase! Oh had I a hunting falcon
And a little camel! we would place a saddle upon it,
And would ride forth between the leader's troop and the migrating tribe,
We would call to the hound, and the falcon would hunt.

223 539ᵉ The *ǧerwe* is the bitch of the greyhound species. The leader's troop of warriors, *salaf*, rides generally one or two kilometers in front of the pack train. The *ǧerwe* runs out in front and raises hares and *ḥubâri*, which flee from the danger behind the *salaf*, but are turned back by the migrating tribe. Thus a good falcon has the best opportunity for hunting between the riding troop and the camels with the baggage.

Aṭ-ṭejr 'ajja jâ-l-ḳṣej'i jeṣṭâdi
jâ alli 'ajja jeṣṭâd al-ḥebâre
lâ wa' ḥanâjef nakîjetah 'al-âdi
meseḥḥ ar-ripân 'afen aṭ-ṭejâre.

The hunting falcon, O al-Ḳṣej'i! has refused the chase,
Alas for the one which refused to hunt the *ḥebâre*;

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A pity is this loss; I shifted it into my other hand,
But it is like a *meseḥḥ ar-riṭân*, which because it is
a sluggard cannot be trained for flight.

The falconer seizes the falcon, places it on his hand on which he wears a leather gauntlet, unfastens the chain from its foot, and by swinging it to and fro in his hand compels it to fly. When one hand becomes tired, he shifts it into the other and repeats his attempt. The *meseḥḥ ar-riṭân* is a bird of prey similar to the falcon.

Aṭ-ṭejr já 'ammár já čáseb aṭ-ṭena
allâh w-lâ leh ǧerraten nastaḥdi bah
radat beh 'arda min al-ḳerânip ḥájel
'ámén šátén maḥḥaha biǧeridah.

Of our falcon which was so winsome and ever capturing booty,
By Allâh himself! there is no trace which we could follow;
It was joined by a hardy female falcon, a barren one,
Whose marrow after two summers and two winters had gathered in her feet.

The *ḳernâṭe* (pl., *ḳerânip*) is the full-grown female falcon. The *ǧerîd* are the falcon's legs from the talons to the knees. The female falcon had not paired for two summers and two winters; she had remained *ḥájel*, barren. In the opinion of the Bedouins the marrow — mainly that which has accumulated in the region of the shin — escapes from the bird's body during pairing.

Other Carnivorous Birds

The *ǧeleme* is a bird of prey smaller than the falcon, *ṭejr*, but larger than the *bâšeḳ* (known also as *čâṣa*), a kind of hawk. It catches and devours all *ḥummar* birds (see below, pp. 37—41) and seeks particularly after *al-ḳuṭa'*, the sand grouse.

The *meseḥḥ ar-riṭân*, a kind of falcon, is fond of catching the *ǧarbû'*.

The *bâz* is the sparrow hawk.

The *ḥdejja* is a kite.

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136 The *'aḳâb*, eagle. Not even a *bâšek*, nor a *ǧeleme*, nor the falcon itself is safe from the *'aḳejb al-ǧerdân* species.

223 The *nisr* (pl., *nsûr*), vulture, especially the *ḥabaši* species,
825 is shot and eaten, for its flesh is healthful. Seven pieces of
757 its flesh dried in the sun are the best remedy for rheumatism and hemorrhoids. The patient should eat these seven pieces at once, cover himself with seven quilts, and sweat, and Allâh will help him.

136 The *raḫama* (*Vultur perenopterus*) migrates at the be-
825 ginning of the autumn rains and does not return until the beginning of the *smâk* season. The Bedouins greet its return with joy, for they know that within ten or fifteen days there will be warmer weather. The *raḫama* is unwilling to give up its booty and exerts all its strength to get possession of it. Hence the saying: "So and so craves for something like a *raḫama*. *twaḫḫam twaḫmet ar-raḫama*."

The *sa'adi* or *abu sa'ad* is the stork.

The *ṭarḳ* is a water bird.

The *ṭurâb*, raven, is found in three varieties: the *zâṭ al-baḳ'*, the smallest, is black with a bluish or greenish luster on its chest; the *ǧab'a*, somewhat larger, has a short tail and very tasty flesh; the *ṭurâb al-'aḳ'aḳ* is the largest. All three species accompany the camels far into the desert and from them they pick ticks, *ḳarâd*, and the larvae of the gadfly, *ḥeleme*; but they also gnaw at the blisters under the saddle, and for this reason the herdsmen drive them away. If they see a raven settling on a camel, they call to it: "Fly away into the inhabited regions! *ṭarreb ṭarreb*." Or: "Beware of the awl! The awl will prick thy throat! *mḥejriz jibeṭṭ leḥḥtuk!*"

777 If a man undertakes an important journey and observes
825 a single raven, he laments: "Oh! weary with weeping is the eye of him whom a single raven has approached. *já ḳard al-'eja min ǧâh al-ṭurâb wḥîd*." He knows that he will have bad luck, and therefore he will prefer to return. If, however, he sees two ravens, he exults: "Oh! blissful is the eye of him whom two ravens have approached. *já ḫazz al-'eja min ǧanaḥ al-ṭurâbên*."

539* The young ravens are more wary than the old ones. An
825 ancient raven was giving instruction to its great-grandson: "My son, do not trust people. If thou perceivest a man approaching thee, fly away as soon as he bends down. He might

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the powers that he had not bewitched any one on that day, 754
but was seized by the enraged brothers of the girl and dragged to her bed where she was still lying unconscious. Na"ûs took his spittle, *rîṣeḥ*, in his three fingers, besmeared the girl's throat and neck with it, and then walked round her seven times, after which the girl awoke as healthy as before. This sudden recovery confirmed all the women there in the belief that Na"ûs' eye could bewitch, and they took counsel together as to how they could destroy this injurious power of their neighbor. Knowing or taking for granted that the eating of [514]
human excrement was the best remedy in this particular case, they appointed a woman whose tent adjoined that of Na"ûs to apply it to him. So she watched him till he went to fulfill the needs of nature, *jeṭaḫalla' ḥal-ḥale'*, took up some of his excrement, *neḫaseḥ*, on a stalk, mixed it with flour, from which she then baked a thin loaf of bread, dipped it into melted butter, and inviting Na"ûs to dinner gave it to him to eat. Na"ûs, who was a frequent guest in his neighbor's tent, ate the bread and butter, praising its taste. From that time on no one complained of having been bewitched by him. His uncanny faculty had left him forever.

With some people the power of the evil eye is so strong [223]
that it can even bring down a bird from the air. Thus a troop of the Rwala were once riding through the desert. In one place they scared two birds called *ḫubâri*, which flew up, then alighted, and rising again flew some distance in the direction followed by the riders. Finally Ṣaḫr ál Murabbaṭ exclaimed: "Faith, we shall roast one of the birds; *wa' ḫallâh jî ḫada ḫal-ḫubâri naḥtuṭṭa.*" At the same moment one bird fell down to the ground as if struck by a bullet.

For protection against the evil eye small sea shells with 751
red, white, and green spots, called *ḫaraṣ es-safa*, are recommended, also two marbles, *neḫḫâle*. Both the shells and marbles 754
can be bought from wandering merchants. If there are none in the neighborhood, the Bedouin selects seven pebbles, *sameḥ ḫeṣwât*, pares off a splinter from the left (north) side pole of the tent, takes a grain of salt, *ṣowr melḥ*, and a small piece of alum, and sews all in a piece of new black cloth, *ḫobbe*. Still more effective is a fragment of a turtle shell, *'aṣm el-leḥa'*, fastened to a peg made of almond wood. Of the *neḫḫâle* balls or marbles there must be always two, a black and a white one. The latter gives protection in the daytime,

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buckled roofs, roll up the unwieldy goat-hair tents and load them on the sturdy camels.

Of that time, when the sun was moving northward and the tribe was moving with it—a time when Faris went to see his betrothed nearly every day—one memory stands out in high relief.

"Let us go hunting," Faris said to me one morning, and bade Mnahi hand him the automatic hunting-rifle which I had given him as a keepsake. We went to our horses, which stood patiently between the lines, loosed their halters, and vaulted on to their backs. Then we cantered out into the plain.

As we swept across a hill-top, we saw, a long way off, a good-sized herd of gazelles in full career and heading straight toward us. From time to time the animals disappeared from sight in a hollow, but as they came nearer, we saw that they were in flight from a Bedouin, pursuing them on a swift sorrel mare. He was plainly seeking to cut out a pure white buck, the leader of the herd. Again and again the buck found safety by pushing into the midst of his racing mates; but the sorrel was nimble of foot and well-trained, and her rider skilful. The herd repeatedly broke and scattered; and the pursuer steadily gained on his prey. At last he fired at close range and the gazelle-buck tumbled over and over and lay still.

When we had come closer to the hunter, who was already dressing his game, we noticed with amazement that it was no man at all. "By my faith, it is a maiden," cried Faris. We urged on our horses, and I was the first to come up with the huntress. She had risen, the blood-

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by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe; Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

big cat must therefore be close by, and we had need to 224
be doubly cautious. We scattered in the *wadi* and advanced singly.

Presently I saw, not fifty paces off, beside an overhanging bank on which the sun shone, two panther cubs at play. Round them lay the remains of their last meal—splintered bones and ragged bits of gazelle skin. Then I became aware also of the mother panther, stretched out in the shade under cover, only a part of the back and the tail showing. I motioned to Faris and Mnahi, and for a while we just watched the rare spectacle. Ralib must be somewhere near, but our eyes searched for him in vain, and of course we could not call out.

Faris lifted his rifle and communicated to me in pantomime that he meant to aim at the big panther—perhaps that her young might be taken alive. Suddenly, however, two shots came from the side, their echoes mingling in the *wadi*. The pretty game of the little robbers had come to an abrupt end; quivering and bleeding, the kittens lay on the hard gravel. Their mother, roused from her slumber, was up in a bound, flung herself over her young, snatched up one between her lips and was about to disappear from sight, when Mnahi, who until then had looked on quietly, fired. The big cat made one somersault and lay still. Sand and stones rolled down the bank. The animal did not stir; to all appearances it was dead. Now we called out and Ralib appeared with apologies; he had shot the cubs because from his position he could not see the mother.

The deadly bullet had lodged in the panther's throat. "Daughter of the Terrible One," Ralib called her. She

1: Rawan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

●224 was indeed a formidable cat. Her paws, not big but very powerful, were armed with claws as long as a man's finger, which doubtless had ripped the jugular vein of many a gazelle and antelope and broken the back of many a goat.

Ralib plunged his long knife into the panther's body, then drew it across the throat and ankles, severed the head and paws and flung them at my feet as souvenirs. Then he ripped open the belly and chest and tore out
[225] the heart. Like a savage-bred animal, he bit into the bloody tissue and sucked his mouth full of the panther's life-fluid. He believed that this potent draught would add to his own boldness and strength.

In the course of our progress Ralib discovered imprints of the big feet—the two pairs of toes—of an "Earless One," as the Bedouins call the ostrich. We followed the well-marked track until we could make out the bird with our field-glasses, far away. It was feeding. Cautiously we beat up, taking three hours to cover a couple of miles or so; then waited while the ostrich took a sandbath. Presently a second ostrich, not visible to us before, rose from the ground nearby and joined the bather—clear indication that they were brooding birds and that their nest must be quite close.

During the heat of noon the birds rested, then resumed feeding till evening. Several times they disappeared from sight, but Ralib was certain from experience that their nest was not far from the spot where the second ostrich had first shown itself; and, sure enough, before sunset the pair returned and bedded down near the place where we had first observed them.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Panther and Ostrich

Warily Faris, Mnahi, and I approached, following the 224 ●
minute instructions given us by Ralib, who remained behind with our horses. We crept up to within about fifty paces of the resting birds and took cover. With the glare gone, as the sun went down, I could easily distinguish the male from the female.

I betrayed myself by a slight movement and at once the two ostriches sprang up and ran about frantically with flapping wings. Then the hen took flight with seven bristly small chicks, the cock following protectively in the rear. The chicks, however, ran hither and thither, and Faris contrived to catch three of them and secure them by tying their legs with leather straps.

Ralib, who had come up with the mares, warned us against pursuing the ostriches. Once in full flight, they could not be overtaken by even the fleetest horse; but, if not harried, they would only run in circles and finally return to their young.

Nevertheless, Faris, eager only to bag the male, gave chase. The cock had maintained his place as rearguard, looking back frequently as he ran with paddling movements of his wings; but, when he saw the horsemen in pursuit, he abandoned his family and dashed off, now straight ahead, now zigzagging abruptly. Mnahi, Ralib, and I now joined in the chase, and in a quarter of an hour came close enough to turn the ostrich in Faris's direction. The youth threw himself from his galloping horse, which ran on a distance before it could stop. Kneeling, Faris took a hasty aim and fired twice. As the shots rang out, the bird took a tumble and remained lying on its side, fluttering. Faris leaped up, dropped

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 rifle and cloak, and ran up to the ostrich struggling in its death throes. He whipped his knife from his belt and plunged it into the bird's throat close to the breastbone. Then he bent back the heavy wings and plucked the white display feathers, a foot long.

Ralib regarded the prey appraisingly. With his dagger he then skinned the bird, opened it, and with an expert eye carved out the best breast-pieces. Roasted, the meat tasted like that of a fat bustard and was tender enough; but to my taste the liver and the heart—the latter small for so large a bird—were better.

While we were galloping after the ostrich cock, I noticed that the hen had returned in a wide curve to the nesting-place, and at her calls the chicks came out of hiding and let themselves be herded away by her. But three of the young, those which Faris had caught and bound, could not have got away. We vainly searched for them, however, and were on the point of giving up when we discovered them, half-hidden in the sand and still as mice.

251 When we resumed our forward march, Faris stowed the young ostriches in the saddlebag of his own camel. Throughout the long journey he fed them on fresh buds and shoots, but particularly on caterpillars. Wild and shy at first, hunger subdued them on the second day; and before a few weeks had passed, they would trustfully feed from our hands.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins III 34

224 A tribesman entered the tent with the information that the chief's hunting-party was returning.

It was a wonderful sight as the horsemen drew up. There were about seventy of them, with hares, gazelles, and bustards hung over the withers and cruppers of their mares. A pack of greyhounds had been unleashed and they immediately sought the shade of the tent, where they stretched themselves out with heaving flanks and hanging tongues. Several slaves got up and brought them water, which they lapped up thirstily. Meanwhile, the riders had dismounted, and unloosing the casting-leads of the hooded falcons, set each bird on a padded perch before the rug of the *sheykh*.

222 576 Tai', on alighting from his horse, passed into the women's apartment. After a while he appeared before us. In honour of his guest, he had girded on an old sabre.

We all stood up and greeted him. Ali came forward and kissed the *sheykh's* hand, and pressing it to his forehead, said in his extravagant manner:

"Ya Muhafut—O Protector! God grant thee long life, most magnanimous of all Arabs!"

Then Ali presented me to the *sheykh*, who embraced me. With simple and grave courtesy he said:

"Peace be with thee."

With a polite movement of his hand, he indicated to me my seat and I sat down.

[576] After we had settled in our places, Sheykh Tai' rolled a cigarette and lighted it between his own lips before he handed it to me.

223 Our host was a man nearly as tall as Ali, but very slender and small-boned. Rarely have I seen such refined

1 [Sheykh Tai' of the Tai Bedouins -- Analyst]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

hands and feet in a man,—in fact, his whole appearance was arresting.

For a Bedouin, he had an unusually pale complexion, set off by a brilliantly black beard and raven locks. He preferred to dress almost entirely in black. His Arab head-cloth, sandals, and soft camel-hair cloak were black, as well as the wide shawl wound round his waist. Even his mare was black, a rare thing, for most Bedouins hold black horses in disfavour. Headstalls, halter, saddle, and saddle-cloth—all were black, relieved only by delicate silver embroidery and a few silver ornaments. His silver-hilted sword, too, was carried in a black scabbard.

Sheykh Tai' was vain. He loved arms and horses, but above all he adored his little son, Farhan. According to Ali, he had not much affection for his wives, who were reputed to be beauties; but he was proud of them as he was of all his possessions—his great herds and extensive lands.

The Tai's Bedouins kept relatively few camels, but large numbers of sheep and goat, which suffer much from the depredations of wolves in winter and spring. Sheykh Tai' told me that these nimble-footed robbers from the inaccessible retreats of the Turkish Mountains had come down again into the snow-free lowlands. They had already attacked exposed Bedouin camps and caused great damage, although the watchful herdsmen had been continually on guard.

Sheykh Tai' was, like Nimrod, a "great hunter before the Lord", and liked nothing better than to be riding abroad. On the eighth evening after our arrival, he

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

224 called a meeting of his sub-chiefs, and made known to them that he desired a great wolf drive organized for two days hence. Every tribesman with a horse was to join in the hunt, so as to provide a chain of beaters. Sheykh Tai' himself, his lieutenants, and I, armed only with lances, were to ride down the wolves and spear them. This was not the usual method of hunting wolves, but is certainly more romantic and exciting than shooting them with long-range rifles from automobiles.

224 411 When Sheykh Tai' asked me if I knew how to handle a *rumh* (the Bedouin lance) I had to own my ignorance; but it was not long before I learnt how to handle it under the tuition of my good friend.

These spears are from fifteen to eighteen feet long. They are of light bamboo, which the Bedouins cut in the swamps of the lower Euphrates. Below the triangular steel head they are decorated with tufts of the black and grey down-feathers of the ostrich, a few fluttering red ribbons, and tinkling coils of very thin silver chains. The butt is sheathed in a painted iron ferrule.

224 When at the appointed hour beaters and followers had lined up at the *sheykh's* tent, and all was ready, Sheykh Tai' rammed the butt of his lance into the ground and, using it as a vaulting-pole, leaped on his horse's back.

Besides Sheykh Tai' and myself, only the sub-chiefs carried lances. The rest of the men took their rifles with them, but merely to start the game and for defense in case of unexpected meeting with enemies.

224 857 Sheykh Tai's nine-year old son, Farhan, with a heavy Mauser pistol in his belt, accompanied us. His short, bare legs clung to the sides of an unsaddled mare, which he

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 54

cleverly guided with his thighs and hands, and by his voice making her walk or gallop. 224 857

An hour before sunrise we rode into the steppe, waking to a glorious morning. I was mounted on a spirited mare, very fast and of great endurance. Over three hundred armed beaters from the widely scattered tents of the Tai' Bedouins had ridden out the previous day to the foothills of the Jabal Sinjar, there to cut off the retreat of the wolves into the northern mountains. Bands of gazelles and many bustards and other fowl fled before us. But we left them untouched, as we were after other game. 224 [136]

Only when the left wing of our riders roused two wolves did we give chase.

Wolves do not break cover and "go away" as foxes do, but there were other things to which one had to give attention in this hunt. Moles and burrowing mice had undermined the ground and more than half of our horses "took a toss" as they stepped into the hidden holes.

We galloped about twelve miles, and four or five wolves had been put up by the beaters. Our horsemen followed them tirelessly. I came so close to one animal that I could almost have touched his fur with my outstretched lance. My horse followed the runaway with the ardour of a bloodhound. I had therefore to give my undivided attention to the dangerous ground and repeatedly turned the mare aside, sometimes in the very nick of time, to prevent her floundering into one of the sandy burrows.

The slender lance rested perfectly balanced in my hand. My wolf slackened speed somewhat and my mare

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M 34

224 gained on him. In a few moments we were on top of the shaggy brute. He loped along with his head on one side, watching me out of the corner of his eye. He was cunning enough to keep always the same distance from my mare's forefeet and just clear of the point of my lance. If I urged the mare to a spurt, the wary old robber increased his pace just sufficiently—imperceptibly, but enough—to keep out of reach. At last, however, I thought my opportunity had come. With a vigorous thrust and a twist of the wrist, I aimed my spear at the wolf's shoulder. I put the whole weight of my body into it, so certain was I that I should spear him.

The tip of my lance actually grazed his pelt, but again the cunning old devil had the best of me, and slipped away from danger, and loped off. The lance drove full force into the ground and jerked me, as on a vaulting pole, high into the air. The shaft split into four parts, and I landed head over heels on the hard gravel beside my mare, which had come down on to her knees. Fortunately, the damage to both of us was trifling; a little skin grazed off, but that was all. I therefore mounted my good mare again.

Sheykh Tai', who had already speared one wolf, now joined the scattered group of riders to which I belonged. He threw aside his lance and, taking an automatic rifle from one of the beaters, galloped in pursuit of my wolf to prevent it getting clean away. With a long shot, he smashed one of its hind legs. The wolf tumbled over several times and rolled on the ground, snapping at the broken leg, until a second bullet ended its life.

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins M34

With the Tai' and Shammar Bedouins

Sheykh Tai' threw several handfuls of sand over the spilled blood—for so desert custom demands. Blood is *haram*, that is, "forbidden." Opening the jaws of the dead animal and pointing to the wicked fangs, he said: "Thou and I are kinsmen for the traces which thou leavest behind are the same as mine." (We are both robbers, he meant—like all despised Bedouins.)

Later in the day, as we galloped on, we sighted in the distance what at first we took for some of our mounted hunters driving wolves towards us. But they did not move.

I thought I could recognize riderless horses, watching us with raised heads. But Sheyk Tai' laughed and cried out to me that they were neither horses nor horsemen, but wild asses. I would not believe him at first, for the animals seemed too high in the leg.

Sheykh Tai' pointed out to me that the troop had a leader and this became apparent when the shy creatures ran off. We did not follow, and they disappeared into the clear distance of the Sinjar Mountains.

Fleeting shadows cast from above now hurried across the plain before our horses. I knew them of old from raids in the inner part of Arabia. They were the "Sharers of the Prey."

Shading my eyes with my hand, I looked up to the sky, where on motionless pinions the great vultures were sailing. They knew well the purpose of our ride; and they were sure of their feast of dead wolves. A widespread cloud of dust rose on the horizon and moved towards us. These were the beaters, whose semicircle stead-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala
Bedouins MJ4

224 ily narrowed as it drew near. They started hundreds of gazelles that fled past us, but Sheykh Tai' and his men shot only a few of the fat bucks in their midst.

During the day's hunting, our party gave chase to fifteen wolves, of which nine were killed. One of them had made a kill of two gazelle kids, whose remains were still lying about. The mother, who perhaps at first had fled, returned and stood near by, bleating, as gazelles will. I could not bear the pitiful cries of the poor animal and gave her the *coup de grâce* with a bullet. It was the only gazelle I have ever shot, for I could never bring myself to kill these beautiful, graceful creatures.

It was evening before our body of huntsmen, laden with booty, arrived back in camp.

574 Three days after the wolf-hunt a slave of Mishal ibn Faris, Chief of the Shammar Bedouins, arrived, with an invitation to me from his master to visit him and his tribe, which was then camping south of the Jabal Sinjar. [431] He also sent me as a present a golden-brown *aba*, such [486] as is worn by the Shammar in Hayil. It was to serve as a symbol which would ensure a safe journey for me, and his slave would be my guide.

619 628 The Shammar and the Tai' Bedouins are hereditary enemies and their pasture lands are always, and were especially now, very dangerous regions in which to wander. Therefore, this was an act of particular courtesy and attention on the part of the old *sheykh* to give me safe conduct to his camp.

574 431 The following day I bade farewell to the Tai' Bedouins. Unfortunately, I could not accept the mare

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 falcons have such sight and still fewer such spirit. It is well that he seeks a mate. God grant that one day we may find his brood."

The call of the wild had lured Suhayl away, and he had obeyed the impulse of his blood.

•224 With loud cries the Bedouins urged their mares forward, again racing each other. For today, however, though it was still early, the chase was over; for the [231] heat of the sun is considered harmful to both greyhounds and falcons.

Amir Fuaz gave the order to rally, and we all proceeded to the previously appointed camping-place, where shortly after the pack-camels arrived with water-skins. In a straight line we were, at the most, seven miles from the main Ruala camp, but in our criss-cross riding we had covered nearly thrice that distance.

When fuel had been collected, coffee was made and hares and bustards roasted. From all quarters riders came in on breathless horses. Groups of men clustered round the small fires. The camel-riders of our beater-corps trickled in, bringing an abundance of game—pintail grouse, bustards, hares, foxes, badgers, gazelles. All the carcasses were ranged on the ground near Amir Fuaz and the other *shiyukhs*.

The thirsty mares were watered only after they had rested awhile, but the panting and tired greyhounds had [223] water splashed into their mouths immediately. The falconers placed their hawks in cooking-vessels, partly filled with water, wherein the dusty birds fluffed and preened their feathers.

Huntsmen lay at ease, sipping coffee and talking.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Near me a fine, full-grown, reddish-brown falcon sat captive on a horizontal perch. It fluttered its wings and tried to fly away, but a strong leather strap held it fast. It had been captured only two days before, and its eyelids were still sewn together, as is the Bedouin practice with newly caught hawks. Dugan, the hawking-slave, had brought this wild bird along to accustom it to the riding. 223

Towards evening, Fuaz sent some horsemen to the tribal encampment (the Ruala were in migration), to ascertain where his tent was pitched, and after supper, under the shining moon, we all set out for it. 224

That moonlight ride through the tranquil night was a wonderful experience. Widely spread out, in smaller or larger groups, we rode along at a walk. Mnahi, chief of the Amir's bodyguard, beat time to the Bedouin songs, which from a distance sounded like a faint, "Yo-ho-loo-oo, Yo-ho-loo-oo." [533]

Riding up a rise, I could fancy that the earth ended beyond it; I always expected to find a dark abyss with an illuminated ocean, opal light and stars rising from its depths.

Lights did in fact appear as we topped one ridge—red campfires. They covered the plain below far and wide. It was a great Ruala encampment that lay before us in the shimmering moonlight—a magic picture, a fairy-tale of the desert. Distant murmurs fell on our ears, bringing a touch of reality to the unreal.

We rode down, a wave of singing horsemen, that melted away into the shadows of the black tents. Here we dismounted, tied our horses to the tent ropes, and

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

entered the goat-hair roofs to sit round the camel-dung fires.

After midnight the parties broke up and we returned to our own camping-place. The Bedouins love these nocturnal palavers and, when not wandering, rest during the day in preparation for the long evening sittings.

We rolled up in our sheep skins for some hours, close to the fire, for the night had turned bitterly cold. Scarcely had we fallen asleep when it seemed to be time to get up again. It was still dark. Muffled figures rose and moved to the glowing embers, warmed their hands over them and thrust twigs into them to light their cigarettes.

"Get up, children!" was the cry.

The slaves went down the lines of camels, took off their woollen knee-hobbles and kicked or slapped them on the flanks. One by one the *dhaluls*, shadowy in the dark, rose and were saddled. The mares were as yet spared; they were to be ridden only in the chase. We led them with us, as usual, tied to our camels.

Dawn passed into a glowing, golden morning. Far out over the plain everything appeared pure and transparent, even in the farthest distance. Our spirits were refreshed, our senses awakened. The hunters changed from camel to horseback when we neared the ponds of Khabra Mirfiah, toward which ran many gazelle tracks.

Our beaters swarmed out and quickly put up a troop of gazelles, which they drove toward us.

The wild hunt was up. Halloo! How our mares stretched out! How the hoofs flew, as hunters and

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

hunted spread out over the plain and the drivers put 224
up ever new herds before them!

A group of riders, of which I was one, came almost within striking distance of one band, but the fleet gazelles always managed to elude us. The headlong ride had already lasted more than an hour, and our horses trembled and panted from exhaustion. Some gazelles had succeeded in breaking through the scattered line of hunters.

Amir Fuaz and his men now unhooded and released [223]
their falcons. The liberated birds shot away. With incredible speed they overtook the gazelles and chose their victims. At first they flew above them close to the ground, then swept forward and obtained a hold between their horns or on their necks. With desperate plunges and side springs the terrified gazelles endeavoured to free themselves from their murderous assailants, but without avail. With their talons hooked in the scalp or the eye-sockets of the gazelles, the falcons struck wildly with their wings and beaks at their eyes to impede their progress.

Horrified, I reined in my mare. A blinded gazelle dashed past me, but she was no longer able to escape the pack of greyhounds which, overtaking her, seized her hocks which they did not release even when they tumbled over and over. From the swirling cloud of dust came the bleating, bellowing, and groaning of the stricken gazelle, which ceased only when the huntsmen, racing up, put an end to the animal's suffering.

The falcons soared above the heads of men and beasts, all wild with the excitement and the lust of killing. The

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 beautiful defenceless gazelles lay quivering on the sand.

Five gazelles fell victims to the falcons and greyhounds at the first charge, and thirty-one more before the huntsmen decided they had had enough and turned homeward.

The gamest fight I have ever seen was put up by a young gazelle buck. He had succeeded in shaking off two falcons and goring a greyhound, and had reached temporary safety. We could still see him quite clearly, but a long way off, standing on the watch, waiting. Our extended line of mounted beaters converged to hem him in, and the hunt of the poor buck started afresh. In my heart, I prayed that the gallant fellow might escape for good, but it looked as if he were spent. Our horsemen drew nearer and nearer and, when the ring had reached striking distance, three strong hawks flew at the buck. In no time they were upon him; and once more we beheld a desperate contest.

The Ruala had agreed that this fight was to be fought out by the falcons alone, without help from the greyhounds.

Our troop of horsemen galloped, shouting, after the fleeing buck. He was not a hundred horse-lengths ahead, so that we could clearly follow his contest with the three falcons, and we came steadily nearer. Suddenly he would swerve away, throw himself on the ground, turn somersaults and speed on again, doubling right and left. It was no easy task for the falcons to get the better of this master of the art of defence.

It was probably not his first fight against the terrible hunting-hawks.

: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

These hawks, too, were masters in their way. Despite 224
the buck's resourcefulness, two of them managed at last to fasten on his head and neck. Suddenly riotous shouts of applause from the huntsmen rose above the panting of the horses and the drumming of their hoofs. But these plaudits were not for the falcons; they were for the doughty buck. He had checked abruptly in mid-career and leaped bolt upright in the air. With the same mighty swing he threw himself on the ground, tumbled over, and with a sidelong thrust of the head, drove his small dirklike horns into the ground, and executed a few more somersaults, having maimed one hawk, gored another to death, and crushed the third, which had fastened upon him but a few moments before.

It looked as if the buck could never rise again, that all his delicate bones must be broken.

The whole episode had taken place with the speed of lightning—and there was the desperate animal on his legs again, and off in full flight once more, before one had time to take in what had happened.

Fearing that the buck would be lost, the huntsmen unleashed the greyhounds after all; but it was too late. The hounds chased for some time after the little cloud of dust far ahead of them, but the hero of the day disappeared in the glassy distance.

"Ya ishli—ya ishli!" the huntsmen shouted—the rallying cry of the Bedouin to his hounds.

Our ride back was not like our merry ride out in the morning. Many of our mares were lame, yet they had to carry not only their tired masters, but the best part

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

•224 of the hunting trophies; and several injured greyhounds into the bargain.

825 Noticing on Amir Fuaz's *abu* droppings of his falcon,
5654 I attempted to brush it off, but the young Prince stopped me and said proudly: "No—no, Aziz! The excrement of the noble falcons stamps us with the hallmark of noble birth."

224 His words explained better than any conception of
181 mine the true inwardness of these hunts; they are considered noble and honourable. The nobility of the desert (its "large-eyedness" as the Bedouins call it) must be experienced and tested; but noble and large-eyed are the Bedouins are, so are also their horses, camels, greyhounds, and falcons, and no less the Bedouin's prey—gazelles, antelopes, and ostriches.

But the ignoble man or beast the wandering Arab despises. He holds them beyond the pale, beyond the law of the desert . . .

". . . die that they might have new life;
For only what is weakling dies,
That what is strong may live."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala. The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥān as well as in the environs of al-Hazel.

The *ḫurṣa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Heǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ṯub'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the at-Ṭawīl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies. It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink, assuages fever.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ab-al-ḥṣejs*, *ṯa'leb*, or *ṛarejri*, fox, is found all over the territory of the Rwala. If its spoor is seen in the morning in the dew, a greyhound, *sluḳe*, is set on to it. The flesh of the captured fox is eaten. The fox has a great grudge against human beings for pursuing it and accuses them of ingratitude. Adam, the first father of all human sons, once found a half-frozen serpent outside the garden of Eden. Being moved by compassion, he laid the serpent in his bosom and returned with it into his garden. The serpent became warm, recovered, and shouted to Adam: "Carry me back at once to the spot whence thou didst take me; I have my family there. If thou dost not carry me back there at once, I will bite thee." Adam could not exactly remember the spot. He walked to and fro with the serpent, who kept shouting: "This is not where my family lives. Carry me back there at once, or I will bite thee." Adam, wearied and terrified, was glad to meet a fox, and proposed to the serpent that the fox should act as judge. The serpent agreed. Adam sat down in front of the fox and was about to explain what the point at issue was, but the fox interrupted him with the words: "Be silent until thy adversary comes." "My adversary is here." "I do not see him." "I am here. I am lying right on Adam's belly." "If thou art Adam's opponent, *ṣebliḳ*, thou must sit opposite him, *ṣebliḳ*, otherwise I cannot acknowledge thee as such." "Very well, then I will crawl out." The serpent crawled out from beneath Adam's garment and sat down in front of him. The fox said: "Thee, O man (Adam), I will call Nejṣûbe, therefore pay heed that thou mayest comprehend everything. Behold the serpent's head, O Nejṣûb beh!" But *Já nejṣûb beh* means: "Oh! a blow upon it." Adam understood the meaning of the fox's challenge, seized his cudgel, which was provided with a heavy knob, *ḳeṛa*, and smashed the serpent's head. Since then the sons of Adam have slain every serpent at sight. But when they began to pursue the descendants of the fox also and to eat their flesh, the latter complained: "Shame unto thee, thou black-headed one! Why am I being pursued? Is it thus that I am requited for my good deed? *Aḥa já ṡêwed ar-ṛis lîh ṡiandîṛ ṯaṛa-l-malḥ.*"

The fox declares that he wishes to live at peace with everyone, but in reality he wishes to beguile everyone. Thus he sent a message once to the raven: "Gladly would I entertain thee, *abyi ahrem lak*." "Good! entertain me! *aṡa 'ahrem*." The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

thou, hedgehog?" "Near thy jawbone," and actually he perceived the hedgehog in front of him. He went a short distance farther and asked afresh: "Where art thou, hedgehog?" "Here, in front of thy face." The fox was surprised at seeing the hedgehog in front of him. He set off at a trot. The hedgehog was still in front of him. He ran leaping on. The hedgehog was still in front of him. The sweat was pouring off him when he drew near to the pile of wheat, but the hedgehog was sitting on it. Thus the hedgehog gained a victory over the fox. 539x 825

The foxes wanted to make friends with the dogs. After conferring together, the foxes wrote a long letter in which they described their love and devotion as well as their longing for peace, and they sent a young fox to hand the letter to the chief of the dogs. Scarcely had the fox reached the frontier of the territory belonging to the dogs, when he was observed by the guard, and five dogs set upon him. The fox shouted that he had come to negotiate for peace and showed the letter, but the dogs did not believe him. He threw the letter to them in order that they might read it, but the dogs continued to snarl angrily and rush after him, without taking any notice of the white paper. The fox was glad to escape with his life. Bleeding from many wounds and all covered with sweat, he reached his companions. When he had recovered, the foxes asked: "What about the letter?" "They did not believe it." "What? they did not believe it? Why, we stamped it with our seal." "Then the dogs do not trouble about your seal. I showed the letter to five of them. Not a single one could read or write, but they could all snarl and bite, as you see from me."

THE LARGER HERBIVOROUS ANIMALS

The *bedex* (or *wa'al*), ibex, with long powerful horns, lives in the mountains of ar-Rawâḳ, aš-Šâma, aṭ-Ṭawîl, and al-Hûǧ. If it descends to the plain, it does not escape the dogs, but in the mountains it cannot be overtaken. The hunters track the fresh spoor which it leaves when going at night to the pasture. They crouch in a rocky cleft and wait until it passes. Sometimes five or even more men go out to hunt it. One proceeds along the ridge of the mountain, the rest go at fixed intervals along the slope, and during the day they search for the place where the ibexes take their ease. The ibex has very 136 [224]

136 weak sight, but its sense of hearing and smell are excellent. The female protects her young with her horns.

The *baḳar al-maha* (or *baḳar al-waḥaš*), Beatrix antelope, attains the size of a one-year-old calf. It is white and has straight sharp horns, with which it defends itself against dogs. During the day it is most fond of frequenting the deep funnel-shaped pits of the sandy desert an-Nefūd. In the summer, when the Bedouins do not encamp in the Nefūd, it grazes quite freely even during the day, while in the rainy season it goes out to the pasture only at night and is very timid. If it is alarmed it will flee for a whole day without stopping. Its sight is bad. A huntsman in a white shirt can approach to within gunshot of it if he advances against the wind behind a white horse or camel. The male is called *ṯōr*, the female *bḳera*, the young *'eǰel*. Its flesh is very tasty. The skin is used for making water bags or coverings, and from the fat skin at the back of the neck, known as *'or'ara*, the Bedouins sew gauntlets, *daraǰe*, for protecting the hand against saber wounds.

The *ẓbi*, gazelle, forms whole flocks, *ǰemāle*, in al-Ḥamād, especially in the territory of al-Manāṣer on the southern border of Palmyrena. The male is called *teja*, the female *'anz*, the young *ḫiff* (or *ṣaṣāl*). The gazelle is known as *rim* if it is white, *'afri* if it is white beneath its belly and yellowish on its back, and *ḥamri* if it is of a pinkish tint.

224 The best gazelle hunters are the men of the Šlejb tribe. Their favorite method is to hunt in twos. One does the driving, *ḥawwāš*, the other the hunting, *ḳannāṣ*. The one who does the driving wraps skins, *ḥabbāǰāt*, round his knees and elbows and crawls on them towards the flock of gazelles, endeavoring to drive them up to the hidden marksman. In a single day they capture ten to twenty gazelles.

In al-Manāṣer the gazelles are driven into extensive enclosures. A wall about one and a half meters high, shaped like a figure eight, is built of stone without mortar. The lower loop is only half finished. Where the two loops meet, a narrow opening, *ṭenijje* (or *ṣeǰī*), is left. At several places portions of the wall enclosing the upper loop are a little lower than the rest of the wall. At each of these places a hole two or three meters deep is dug outside the enclosure. The flock of gazelles is cautiously driven into the lower uncompleted loop. This is soon accomplished, because the two walls are about

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a thousand paces distant one from the other. The gazelles at first advance quietly, but later on, becoming scared, they run along the two walls and try to penetrate as rapidly as possible through the narrow opening into the upper and completely closed loop. As soon as they run through, the narrow opening is blocked up and a greyhound, *slughi*, attacks the gazelles. The frightened animals run round the wall, jump across it where it is lowest, and fall into the pits that have been dug outside. It is said that the gazelles even dream of the narrow opening, *ṣejl*, through which they rush to certain destruction. If a Bedouin wishes to stop a gazelle in flight, he shouts: "A narrow opening is in front of thee, O gazelle! *aṣ-ṣejl jā ġazāl*," and the gazelle at once stops and looks round. If a Bedouin perceives a gazelle when he is undertaking an important task, he is afraid of bad luck, and shouts: "Gazelle, gazelle, let the misfortune vanish as well! *ġazāl ġazāl w-ḫarreq zēl*."

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SMALL ANIMALS

The *arnab*, hare, is found throughout the territory of the Rwala. In the sandy Nefūd it is pinkish-white; in the volcanic regions it is black; in al-Ḥamād it is grayish-yellow. Hence it cannot be distinguished from its surroundings. The male is called *ḫarar*, the female *'edene*, and the young *ḫuwwel*. The full-grown hare is not as large as the wild rabbit of Europe. Like the gazelle and antelope it quenches its thirst with dew only. If a man approaches it, it crouches close to the ground or hides behind a stone in a brushwood thicket and does not move even if the man walks right past it. If, however, it notices that the man is returning, it seeks safety by rushing madly away.

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The hare is said to boast: "I am he with the white lip in the plain with the dried-up plants, who satisfies two and makes the mouth of the third one water; *ana-l-arnab bīḍ'at al-ḫarma milbe' aṣ-ṣafā w-mlayyem aṣ-ṣāliṭ*," or "I am he who hides beneath a tiny shrub, whose fur gives pleasant warmth, and who is not seen except by the camel herdsmen; *ana ḫfēreti ḫafijje w-wbēreti ṣafijje w-lā jiāfni kūd rā'i al-belijje*." If the hare runs away, the Rwala shout after him: "Furry one, furry one, into the fire with him when he's caught! *wabra wabra w-ben-nār minṣabra*." If the hare shows himself to men hunting with falcons, they shout: "Thy appearance is a

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825 good omen to us, but we will show thee to the falcon; *'arejtina-l-ḫejr w-'arejnaš laš-šejr.*"

836 The *ḫanzir*, wild pig, lives only in Palmyrena and in the environs of al-Azraḳ, where it hides in the marshy thickets. The boar is called *ḫâl*, the sow *ḫâbe*, the sucking pig *ḫarnûṣ*. [262] Instead of *ḫanzir*, the Rwala use the word *ṭaḫzir*. The flesh of wild swine is generally eaten.

The *ṣejd aṭ-ṭar'a* is an herbivorous animal of the size of a six-months lamb, gray in color; its head is said to resemble that of a wether below and a human being above. It lives almost solely on the border of the Nefûd, and its flesh is very tasty.

The *wabr*, marmot, is found in the same mountains as the ibex.

The *wâs*, porcupine, is particularly abundant in the environs of al-Ḳa'ara, where the innumerable caves and rocky hollows of all sizes serve as its refuge. When wounded, it attacks a man by biting and scratching. Its flesh is very good.

• [224 The *ḫumṣoḳ*, hedgehog, is also hunted, as its flesh is very
825] tasty. Hedgehog skin is tied round the neck of timid camels. It is said that when they have worn it for at least a month, they cease to be scared.

The *ǧerdi* is a large variety of jerboa. It scrapes deep holes on the uplands and excavates passages into them in such a way that the water does not penetrate even during the heaviest rains. Its flesh is not particularly savory.

The *ǧarbû'* (or *jarbû'*), a smaller variety of jerboa, prefers to dig holes in plains with soft sandy soil and forms long and easily recognizable passages immediately below the surface. These passages are known as *neṣâḳa*. When it runs into its hole, it immediately stops up the entrance with a heap of clay, *ḫaṭ'a*, for fear of snakes. This heap of clay is
224 an unfailing sign that the *ǧarbû'* is in its passages. If the Bedouin wishes to hunt it, he thrusts stalks or branches of plants into the passage at several spots and waits until one or another of them moves. That shows him that the *ǧarbû'* is trying to crawl through, and he kills it with his stick or tramples on it. If he has no time to wait, he tramples on the passages until he drives the *ǧarbû'* out. In its terror the animal often penetrates the roof of the passage and escapes, if the Bedouin fails to reach it with the stick he throws. The
252 flesh of the *ǧarbû'* is very tasty, similar to that of chicken. The

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

are always led by their mother, while their father walks behind them and protects them from wolves, hyenas, and *nasr*. The ostrich has very bad hearing; on the other hand its sight is excellent. It is easiest to hunt near its nest. When there is no wind the spoor of the ostrich is very plain in the sand. The hunter follows it, hides behind every shrub, crawls on his stomach, and so draws near to the bird. If the male observes from a distance any suspicious movement of the shrub or the hunter, it flees with the whole flock, which cannot be overtaken in the sand even by the swiftest horse. Near the nest the hunter can fire at the birds he is stalking. The fat of the ostrich, known as *sihem*, is a remedy for various diseases.

The *ḥandera* is a pinkish bird about the size of a hen. It flies badly and runs in a clumsy manner. It is found solely in the Nefūd, especially on the precipitous slopes of the pits.

The *ḥafra* is larger than the *ḥubāra*. It flies very little. If attacked by the falcon, it lies on its back and defends itself with its claws.

The *ṣarīṣ* is a dark bird the size of a small duck. It lives only in pairs in al-Ḥamād. It has no sense of hearing.

The *hawwa* is half the size of the *ḥandera*. Two varieties live in al-Ḥamād, of which the darker and larger is the *ḥidri*.

The *ḥaṭa'*, sand grouse, is found in the interior of the desert only as long as the various natural reservoirs are filled with rain water. When these dry up, it migrates to the edge of the desert about a hundred kilometers distant from permanent water. The *ḥaṭa'*, *ḥaṭal* (see next page), and the pigeon are the only birds which regularly drink water after sunrise and before sunset. The *ḥaṭa'* never lays eggs near a watering place, but in a remote valley covered with grass and bushes. It digs a tiny hole alongside a shrub, and the female lays three or four eggs, gray in color with dark spots, the size of a pigeon's egg. The birds leave their nests only when flying to the watering place; otherwise they always keep close by them. In such valleys there are usually at least a thousand nests. When the young are hatched they run about like countless tiny chickens and search for seeds. The *ḥaṭa'* never flies alone, but always in flocks. If the flock does not contain more than ten birds, it is known as *firs*; otherwise as *raff*. The Bedouins express surprise that the *ḥaṭa'*, when flying to a watering place — even though it may be a hundred kilometers

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *umm ṭwejž*, the turtledove, lives only in the oases. 136
The *ḥzâri'* is found only in palm groves.
The *mkaṭṭa'* eats ripe dates.

The *umm sâlem* is a small ash-colored bird which always flies round camels. If it flies up to a height of ten or fifteen meters, it begins to choke and at once comes down again. Its voice is very pleasant. Once the *umm sâlem* came to the 539x ant and begged: "Give me supper for my children." The ant disposed of her by saying: "Depart! I am constantly attending to the harvest, but thou [illegible] singing; *ana hammi al-ḥaṣâjed w-enti hammeč al-ḳaṣâjed.*" The *umm sâlem* replied: "And yet my voice is often more precious than the whole of thee with thy ragged tail, *ana jowmen mn ajjâm ṭrubi jeswâč jâ mḥazûḳat aḍ-ḍnebi.*"

REPTILES

Of reptiles the Rwala are most interested in the following: 136
The *ẓabb*, also known as *abu ḥamad*. Many declare that it does not belong among the reptiles, because it has four feet of which it can make good use. It is a large lizard with seven vertebrae. It has five toes on each of its feet. Its tail is longer than its actual body. It lives on plants only and is fond of lying in the clefts between stones. The Bedouins eagerly pursue it. 224 If they catch it, they turn it over on its back in order to cut its throat. It then raises its forefeet to protect itself. The flesh of the dead lizard twitches for a long time. It is very tasty. Generally the Bedouins push the *ẓabb* into the sand and light a fire above it. After about an hour they rake the fire away, dig the *ẓabb* out, turn it over, push it back again, and make another fire over it.

The *ẓabb* was originally the chief of all reptiles, being 539x the first one who urged them to prayer and who taught 825 them how to bow down, while praying, and to kneel and touch the earth with their foreheads. When human beings began to increase in number, the *ẓabb* sent forth his spies into the territory inhabited by human beings, in order to find out what weapons the latter possessed and how war could be waged with them. The spies, who were the actual sons of *abu ḥamad*, informed him of what they had seen and heard, and he realized that war with human beings was not possible and that it would be best to hide from them. Accordingly he

Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala add to the last verse:

Jistâhel at-tumbâk miṯl eben haḏḏâl
alli jaṣurrah bimṭâni redûneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Haḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḏḏar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧnâd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *bâṭa*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwa'*, of a dagger, *šibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *naṣîb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṭ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *raṣâṣ*, and caps, *ḫubṣûn*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḫarn aṣ-ṣaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḫaṣṣa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks.

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *aṣ-ṣam'*, *aš-šâhâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *ṣam'*, an old English military gun, was the most

539x 3. O thou, whose donkeys have trampled down every fountain where they have drunk,
What is destroyed thou must repair with timber and stone.

The Rwejli warns the Ṣlubi not to change his vocation and urges him to return to his people.

[619] Verse 1. The Rwala call every Ṣlubi Abu-l-Ḥala, the father of the desert, i.e. the dweller in the barren desert. *Al-ḥala* is to the Bedouin any region where his camels cannot subsist in a particular year. But the Ṣlubi remains with his asses and a few goats even in such places. In the plural the Ṣlejb are not called Awlâd al-Ḥala, but Awlâd Ṛânem, owing to their belief that they all have the same progenitor, Ṛânem. The Ṣlubi has laid up sorrow in his heart because he will be disappointed. The word *kubb* is used of spilling dirty water or [224] casting aside a useless occupation. *Zanâniḥ* are oval pieces of antelope skin which the Ṣlejb tie over their knees and elbows when crawling after game. They usually cover themselves with the twigs of perennials, giving themselves the appearance of long bushes, and then crawl carefully on their elbows and knees to the herds of gazelles, of antelopes, and even of ostriches. [231] 2. The Ṣlejb keep many common dogs, which guard their flocks against the wolves and hyenas by day and night. 3. They never [312] camp near the large watering places, where they might meet with the Bedouins, whom they avoid as much as possible. However, they know every shallow well in channels filled with coarse sand. In the rainy season the water flows down into the rocky channels, forming after long rains a stream which fills the scorched channel for several days, until the surface water evaporates in the hot sun and only the remainder flows under the coarse sand, filling all the hollows and pits of the rocky bottom. These hollows are known to the Ṣlejb, who shovel away the sand and gravel, wall in the hollow so that it may not sink in, cover it with branches and turf, and then pile on sand, to keep out the sun and hide the water from strangers. When in need of water, they open these hollows, water their donkeys, fill their water bags, and carry them to their tents. The thirsty donkeys frequently trample down the water hole which they have just emptied, compelling the Ṣlubi to repair it before the coming of new rains, if his family and his flock are not to suffer from thirst.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER II

Autumn Stirrings

It is early November, the 2nd to be accurate, and I have ordered 132
Salim al Muzaiyin to move his camp out into the *barr*, preparatory to 361
my joining him. We have had a week's steady south wind, clouds are banking up in the West, and we have had distant thunder and lightning. Most of the tribes have left water and are scattering over the hinterland in search of suitable grazing grounds, for the promise of rain is near. All the tent families go off on their own and camp in twos and threes, well apart from their neighbours (a mile or so perhaps), yet within sound of rifle-shot, in case of an alarm, when all must come to the help of the person attacked.

The Badawin camped round Kuwait on the Shamiyah and Dasma 361
wells have already moved off, some to the Kabd region, some to 'Adan, some to the Huzaim and some to the Grain district. The Fidawiyah, under their Amir, Haif bin Hajraf, of the Sulaiman section of the 'Ajman, accompanied by Nahar and 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim,* stout old warriors both, have gone to the Humatiyat region beyond Manaqish and the Shaqq, 60 miles from Kuwait. They have 223
cunningly chosen their region because the *hubara* have arrived in the Dibdibba, and hunting with hawks is a favourite sport. The Amir, and every self-respecting young brave, possesses his hawk, a *hurr* or *shāhin* (*sakar*, *lagger* or *shāhin* falcon), and all go out as they get opportunity, and bring back game for their wives' cooking-pot. Some, especially the 'Awazim, like also to hunt hare and gazelle with 224
saluqis, and great is the excitement when venison is brought home. 251
The young hunters go far from their tents, and if they find that the gazelle meat will not keep, they spread the carcase out in the shape of a mat, having removed the ribs and larger bones, and

* Was one of the forty who helped Ibn Sa'ud to capture Riyadh, though not among the actual twenty-three who rushed Qasr 'Ajlan in the heart of the city.

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Bedouins MJ4

B 224 251 prepare the venison with salt into what they call *yellah*, a sort of biltong, slashing it into long slices to allow the salt to penetrate and to enable ribbon-like strips to be easily removed at home for food.

k 132 This is a season[1] for rejoicing, the rains are close at hand, there is a nip in the air of a morning and fires are in demand at night. Once again the desert comes to life after the long, weary, soul-killing heat of summer, the scorching suffocating duststorms, the need to stay close-camped near water, and the ever-present dread that your enemy knows where you are and by a sudden dash may carry off your camels, nay, all you possess, in one swift raid.

B 312 132 For water, the various tent dwellers send in camels to the nearest wells, often as far as 30 miles away, once in five, six or seven days. Neither camel, sheep nor man is very thirsty these days, so water is no longer the immediate necessity of life. As the first rains fall and grass begins to come up, water is less and less required by the live-stock, till finally in the full *rabi'* (spring) when grass is well up and succulent, only man requires it.

B 223 K 223 This is the season also when the Shaikhs of Kuwait, as well as all other rulers in Arabia, start going deep into the high desert in search of *hubara*. The practice of hunting on camel-back has gone. The motor car serves the purpose better. Great hunters, like His Highness Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh 'Ali al Khalifah and Shaikh Salim al Hamud, are out two or three times a week. They nearly always spend at least one night bivouacking in the blue (*khalla*) without tent or covering beyond their *'abbas*. It is unmanly and soft to take even a small shelter. The huntsman and falcon bearers (*khaddám*) are all of the Rashaida tribe, born Esaus all, with eyes like their own hawks, and with the uncanniest knowledge of the habits of the *hubara*. The courtly and religious Nazzal, famous over North and Central Arabia for his knowledge and eye for country, is there, so are Sa'ud bin Nimran, the lion-hearted and jovial; Addas, the hawk-eyed; Gharaiyib, the smeller of *hubara* from afar, and great raider of war days; Sa'ad, the tracker; Mirshid al Shammari, of the renowned Ibn Twala clan, and old Saif bin Ta'ami, companion of the great Mubarak in many a past raid.

Of hawks we have the famous "Dhiáb", "Kabrit", "Sultán" and

[1] [early November -- August]

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Joys of Cold Weather

Chap. III

there is a stir in the Badawin world. Suhail (Canopus) has also been* seen, low down in the southern horizon, which to the Badawin means the end of the dread summer, for man and beast then need less to drink. Even the blood grows cooler of a sudden.

A general cheerfulness now takes hold of the Badawin tent-dweller. He has safely weathered one more dread summer, the life-giving rains are coming and with them abundance once again. He joyfully packs up his belongings and by the 15th of October is ready to move. The end of the month sees him gone, rain or no rain. At first he does not go too far from water, for his camels, sheep and mares must still be watered frequently.

With the first fall of rain, however, he is gone on his great annual migration, or, to be more accurate, his grand circular tour. The various sections of the tribe now move together or follow each other from grazing ground to grazing ground, till they have systematically passed over and eaten down all the *'arfaj*, *nassi* and *hamdh* grasses that the rains have brought in their train. Should rains be delayed in a particular area, the tribe skip it and pass on to where the country has become green. The night lightning and the heavy bank of clouds seen of an evening far away on the horizon are their surest guides.

Certain areas are known to be nearly always good in autumn, and to these the shaikhs will usually take their own best camels with them.

This moving in the wake of the grazing is spread over November, December, January, February, March and April, till by May all nomad households are once more beginning to converge slowly on to water. It is a sad period, this having to go, so to speak, "home again" after the glorious annual holiday. During the migration months the tribal tents change ground about every ten days, both for sanitary reasons and because the grass has been eaten up—so the moves are slow, leisurely and pleasant. Nor are distances to the next camp great. It is a period of joy for all, women renew their winter garments, make *lahas*, wear their best frocks and amuse themselves among the flowers. The better-off men hawk the lesser bustard (*hubara*), hunt gazelle

* In Najd Canopus is usually seen between 1st September and 10th September. In Kuwait if the sky is clear it is seen any time after the 20th September, and at about 3.30 a.m., very low down in the south over the Bridal Gate.

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517 (*dhabi*) and generally lead a lazy gossiping life, fattening themselves
224 on fresh *leben*, camel's milk and dates. Should the tribe be at war,
262 then of course this utopian existence is at once changed, and the tribe
722 moves from ground to ground, concentrated closely and prepared
for all eventualities. The Badawin's wonderful methods for obtaining
[202] and passing on news, especially of an alarming nature, now come
into play. If danger is in the air, he knows it days and even weeks
before, and takes necessary precautions. It almost seems as if he were
able to smell danger. Then he gets out his rifle and burnishes it and
622 assembles his cartridges. The shaikh now, of course, leads the tribe on
its march to fresh grazing and selects every site for the tribal camp.
His word is law when the safety of the community is at stake.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SHAIKH AND HOW IT IS MAINTAINED

622 No tribal shaikh holds his position simply because his father was
157 the shaikh before him. In other words, the shaikhship does not neces-
183 sarily pass from father to eldest son. It does, however, remain in the
family, whether it be the shaikhship of a tribal section or that of all-
paramount shaikh, the leader of the whole tribe. For instance, the
shaikh of the Mutair tribe must always be chosen from the Al Dushan
or royal clan; but the heir apparent who wants to succeed his father
and become shaikh after him must prove:

that he has the necessary courage;
that he has powers of leadership;
that he has *hadh* or luck.

777 The Badawin has no use for a man having courage and leadership
622 in plenty if *hadh* is lacking. A lucky general is what the tribesman
167 wants in war, and, still more important, he wants a lucky shaikh in
peace, for to him the whole daily round and welfare of the tribe is
bound up in this word *hadh*. The great Bin Sa'ud, the present Lord
of Sa'udi Arabia, owes his greatness to his having been blessed with
a large quantity of *hadh*, or so says and believes every Badawin of
Arabia. He has other notable attributes, of course, but these cannot
be compared with the all-embracing Luck.

622 The shaikh cannot, on the other hand, say to the tribe that he

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CHAPTER XXVIII

Hawking

223 From the very earliest times hawking or falconry has been looked upon among Arabs as the sport of kings. It was probably introduced into Europe direct from Arabia, after the early Crusades, and certainly came into Spain with the Arab invaders. There is little doubt, I think, that the sport spread with Islam to Persia and even to far-off China, though the reverse process has been suggested by persons who have studied the subject.

Hawking is mentioned by the earliest Arab chroniclers, and many stories are told of how the ancient ruling house of Al Araiar, the hereditary shaikhs of the Bani Khalid in Hasa and Najd, encouraged the sport and preserved game for hawking's sake.

Northern and North-Eastern Arabia are to-day the home of the sport in the peninsula, for it is in this area that the first annual migra-
● [224] tion of the lesser bustard, or *hubara*, takes place. The *hubara* is the principal game hunted with hawks, though hare and even gazelle also give fair sport.

136 The *hubara* appears on the eastern and north-eastern seaboard of the Persian Gulf about October in each year, and birds continue to come till about April, when they gradually disappear again to cooler climes.

The local Arab says they come from the highlands of Persia, but more probably they come in the first place from Central Asia, and migrate south through Persia, to avoid the intense cold. Certainly Persia, Iraq, North-West India, Baluchistan and Eastern Arabia all see the migrating bustard.

A very few remain behind in Arabia each year and breed locally, but these are rare. I have myself seen a couple of *hubara* eggs (15th March, 1935) which were found 40 miles south of Kuwait.

223 From Zubair down to the Trucial Coast of Oman, the *hubara* season is looked forward to with the greatest keenness. Princes, Amirs, great shaikhs, petty shaikhs, and every tribesman who can scrape

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223 motion. The hawk is then hooded once more, and the *hubara* put away in a bag.

If other *hubara* come to the victim's rescue the hawk's work for the rest of the day is over. For the dark green slime exuded violently from the *hubara's* vent is of birdlime quality, and not only half blinds him but glues all his feathers together so that he cannot fly with any degree of comfort until he is washed all over with water and dried.

This extraordinary protective equipment of the *hubara* is of interest. The slimy substance is exuded with such force as to reach a distance of a yard or more.

If the *hubara* seeks safety in immobility, the well-trained hawk, knowing that its quarry is lying low somewhere in the vicinity, at once perches on a bush (the highest close by) and waits for the hunter to come up. The latter then walks up and down and round the hawk, as he would do if walking up partridge in a cabbage patch. As the *hubara* gets up the falconer shoots. Often half a dozen birds will be bagged by this method. All are terrified of moving so long as the hawk remains sitting on the bush, and will allow the sportsman to put his foot on them before getting up.

So wonderfully can the *hubara* crouch and camouflage itself in stony or pebbly ground that I have on many occasions been unable to see the bird I had marked down till I was within ten feet of it. My car has even passed within one yard of a crouching *hubara* without its rising (11th February, 1935).

If the falconer, whether on camel-back or in a car, thinks bustard are about, but are crouching low so as not to be noticed by the hawk, he will unhood his bird, hold him high up, and raise a slow shrill cry sounding like *'A-hoh—'A-hoh—'A-hoh*, and finishing up with a rapid fire of *Ha-Ha-Ha-Ha's*. The idea is to startle the crouching *hubara*, and make him raise or turn his head or show the slightest movement. The hawk will detect the movement, even if half a mile away, and speed from the falconer's hand after its quarry.

HUNTING GAZELLE WITH HAWKS

224 The Badawin goes in for this form of sport much more than the town Arab, purely from a desire for fresh meat. He often hawks

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CHAPTER XXIX

The Ṣalúqi

231 The Badawin, and especially those whose habitat is the eastern and north-eastern part of Arabia, all go in for keeping greyhounds, for hunting and sport, much in the same way as they train and keep hunting hawks and falcons. The pure-bred greyhound is called *salúqi* (pronounced *salúgi*, plural: *salag*), and a half-breed greyhound is known under the name of *lúgi*.

Great care is taken by the Badawin who owns a *salúqi* to see that his bitch is not covered by a common sheep-dog or stray *lúgi*. Hence when she is on heat (*tutlub*), she is either kept closely confined in the tent, or her hind leg is tied up by a leather thong to her collar. This is a somewhat uncomfortable position for the animal, which only finds rest in a lying down position.

231 224 The *salúqi* is kept primarily for hunting and is taught to run down hare and gazelle. The best of these hounds are capable of going out alone short distances from camp, killing and bringing back to their master any hare they can put up. I have in mind a beautiful grey *salúqi* bitch belonging to Shaikh Salim al Hamud al Subah of Kuwait, which used frequently to go hare-hunting on her own when her master was in camp, and two days out of six she would bring back game. She was an exception, however.

Ordinarily two or three youths will go out on foot with two or three *salúqis*, and will beat up likely stretches of ground for hare—the hounds being taught to work separately at intervals of twenty or thirty yards from each other. On putting up a hare they will run it down and break its back in best coursing style, or will run it to earth, when the master will come along and dig it out.

When hunting hares with *salúqis*, the huntsmen usually work on foot, but for gazelle-hunting camels are used. Their height enables the huntsman to spot a herd of gazelle from afar, and when the chase commences he can follow his hounds for miles, as they race after their game.

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Greyhound Types

Chap. XXIX

It is a curious fact that well-trained *salúqis* will rarely lose a gazelle 231
when once it is sighted. They gallop after it for miles until their 224
quarry, either from terror or exhaustion, collapses and lies down. The rest is then easy, for the hounds seize and hold it till the hunter comes up on his speeding camel, dismounts and cuts its throat. On most occasions, however, the gazelle gives his pursuers a run for their money before it is caught and killed. This cannot be said of the unsportsmanlike hunting down of gazelle with motor cars, so unfortunately practised in some parts of Arabia to-day. Here the unfortunate gazelle is pursued at great speed for a mile or so, and when the car containing the hunters catches up its terrified and exhausted victim, the latter is dropped in its tracks by a charge of buck or No. 1 shot, fired at point-blank range. I am glad to say this cruel form of sport, though it became common in Kuwait with the advent of the motor car, was frowned on by the present enlightened ruler, and so ceased to be popular as far back as 1934. In Iraq there is supposed to be a law forbidding the hunting of gazelle in motor cars, but I understand that both there and in Sa'udi Arabia this form of sport is still carried on.

To return to the *salúqi*. The Arabian *salúqi* proper must not be 231
confused with his cousin, the Persian greyhound, though whether in 438
origin he is a descendant of that animal I cannot say.

The Arabian species are two: (*a*) the entirely smooth-haired animal (commonly found among the Mutair tribe), with ears and tail like those of his English cousin, and (*b*) the smooth-haired animal with long silky hair on ears as well as on tail (common among the 'Awazim tribe).

The two types are entirely different, the predominating colours of the former being fawn, reddy brown or black, usually with black muzzles, and the latter with ruddy brown muzzles merging into the black head.

The common colours found in (*b*) type are white, French grey and pale fawn, the ears and tail being always of a lighter colour than the body. Occasionally a mottled grey and white animal is met with, but these most probably come down from the Muntafiq country on the lower Euphrates and are not true to type.

The Badawin *salúqi* tends to be small: he is definitely a good deal 231

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CHAPTER XLI

The Sulubba

The word *Sulubba* is a generic term. The singular of the name is *Sulubbi*, and the plural *Sulaib*. 565 619

Much has been written about this low-class tribe, or more properly community.

They are found all over the northern half of the Arabian Desert roughly from a line drawn east and west through Madina and Riyadh in the south, to another line drawn from Aleppo to Mosul.

In the south they are more despised and looked down on than in the north, and their worldly possessions are less.

Practically every tribe within the area described has a community [463] of Sulubba living with it, as they are found useful as menders of pots and pans, hunters and trackers.

Chief among the Sulubba's characteristics is their uncanny knowledge of the secret water-holes of the country they live in. They are [121] valued for this knowledge by the tribe which protects them, as it is a great asset in war, and most useful on long raids. Some Sulaib, for this reason, are nearly always taken with a raiding party.

Similarly a Sulubbi hunter is nearly always to be found in the [224] entourage of a shaikh, as he usually knows better than others where gazelle and ostrich are to be found.

The Sulubba are said to be Muslims, but few pray properly, and it [795] would probably be true to say that they possess no religion, except when it is diplomatic to appear to have one as in Najd and Kuwait.

The Sulubba men are in general a miserable fawning lot; they affect endearing and diminutive Arab terms of address, and are cringing in their manner.

Both men and women are good-looking above the average, especially the women, among whom there are often very pretty girls indeed. Their usually half-starved appearance is repellent, and gives colour to the Arab story that they eat offal and "animals they find dead".

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as others of inferior or non-Sharif Arab stock. It all depends where the camel-buyer has originated from before he took to the trade. For example the great house of Al Bassam are not only AQAILIS but are considered among the noblest in the land from the point of view of 'sharaf'."

APPENDIX XX

NOTE ON WORD "DÍYA"

K 104

and the various ways it is spelt according to context (see p. 528, Chapter XLII).

1. AL 'IDIYATU al QATIL, means settlement of a killing.
2. DÍATUN, e.g. the court orders that DÍATUN should be taken from the man doing the killing.
3. 'IDIATUN, e.g. "The accused shall pay to the injured party 'IDIATUN of so much" (Qadhis order).
4. The Quran says—"Wa inkan min qaum-in bain-a-kum wa bain-a-hum 'adawatun, fa diatun musallamatun illa ahliha".

APPENDIX XXI

(Ref. to Chapter XLI on Sulubba)

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On June 21, 1949, Amsha al Mohomed al Durwish (Mutair) told me that Bander al Duwish and other Shaikhs kept Sulubba hunters who went off on camels regularly to the Dahana sands to hunt gazelle in summer. They drank from the various "Duhul", and would bring back as many as thirty-five to forty sun-dried carcases of gazelle (jalla). Wooden poles and mats are set up to dry the meat on.

APPENDIX XXII

SOME FISH OF KUWAIT

K 136

(Caught off Masjan Island in a reed fish trap) (hadhara) April 1941. (See also Appendix [illegible] 592.)

*Sheem — Two dorsal fins—on lower lip half inch rough external surface—fork tail.

* Mentioned in Appendix X.

221 camps move to the Euphrates, or on to the main groups of wells around which cluster tented towns of hundreds of families, odd Sulubba families will remain far out in the desert, [312] drinking from some tiny water hole in a lonely ravine known only to the Sulubba themselves. There they will live almost the lives of wild animals, with only a few sheep or donkeys, hunting gazelle and often dressing in their skins.

224 [242] 290 463 The Sulubba alone knows the wild animal life of the desert intimately. As a gazelle hunter, his skill is incredible, and many live very largely on gazelle meat and dress in their skins. The Beduins often employ the Sulubba as guides in the desert or consult them regarding routes, grazing, or camping grounds.

433 231 Apart from hunting gazelle, and menial work for the Beduins, the Sulubba also live by grazing and breeding animals. Some of them are prosperous and own large flocks of sheep. They have a few camels, but their most distinctive possessions are the white asses. Probably the Sulubba originally bred asses rather than camels for riding purposes, because if they had any good camels the Beduins were likely to covet them. But since no Beduin would stoop to ride an ass, the Sulubba were left in undisputed possession. Some of these animals have marvellously swift paces, and are almost as capable of resisting thirst as is the camel.

721 198 During the last ten years, the desert belonging to Iraq, Syria, and Trans-Jordan has been brought under Government control. As a result the Beduins are no longer able to bully the Sulubba quite as unrestrainedly as before and the latter are learning to complain to the police when they are beaten or abused.

563 797 721 In 1919-22, the recrudescence of Wahhabism in central Arabia produced a tremendous outburst

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643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

353 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

181 157 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 628 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

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stained knife in one hand; with the other she pulled her neckerchief up to her eyes, to hide her features. But I had already recognized her. "Tuēma!" I called out delightedly. For a moment she showed only her laughing eyes; then she let the neckcloth drop from her face and held out both hands to me. I drew her to me and kissed her on the forehead.

Faris, still in the saddle, pretended to be greatly astonished. "Aziz," he exclaimed, with perfect dissimulation, "dost thou know this maiden?"

Taking up his jest, I shook my head. "No; but she looks very much like one I know."

But love's impatience cut short the little comedy. Faris slipped from his horse and embraced Tuēma, babbling his delight at meeting her so unexpectedly. Then he took one of her hands and laid it in mine, saying: "This is thy sister, O Aziz; and if she were not my betrothed, she might well be thine. Is it not so, Tuēma?" She nodded bashfully.

[583 •231] When Faris helped her to tie the buck on her mare's crupper, I noticed with surprise that the animal did not shy at the smell of blood. Faris had trained it, Tuēma explained. He had taken the mare on a raid and had only recently sent her to Tuēma's father as a bride-gift. She was a *mubajjala* and he had named her Sabah on account of her colour—a sorrel with a white blaze and white stockings on the forelegs. The beautiful beast whinnied softly and rubbed her forehead on Tuēma's shoulder. "She is coaxing you," said Faris.

With a few vigorous and dexterous strokes of her hunting-knife Tuēma severed head and neck from the

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the vicinity of a Bedouin camp. Moreover, there could be no better place for the enemy to ambush us: white lime rocks shut us in on one side, while the rest was a confusion of blackish glistening scree and bush-crowned clay tumuli.

Several of us helped Faris to unharness his *dhalul*, since it was clear that she would calve. She turned on her side. Faris looked at us crestfallen, as if expecting reproaches; but all merely laughed at this misadventure. There was not a harsh word, no cursing, no blaming of the innocent camel—only that calm and composure of the Bedouin that ever evokes my admiration.

Faris kept tenderly stroking his beloved *dhalul*, and when the moment had come, while I held down the animal's head, he and one of his slaves aided the delivery of the calf. It was as tall as a grown man. At first, I thought it was stillborn, but after its mother had licked it for some time, it gave signs of life. That night the baby camel could stand on its legs and was allowed to suckle; but toward morning it was led aside and killed. The poor mother wailed and moaned loudly for her offspring. But she quieted down when Faris came back to her. She kept nosing his arm and shoulder and sniffing the air. This aroused my curiosity and I went nearer. Faris had sewn a piece of the baby camel's hide on the sleeve and shoulder of his cloak. It was this that had soothed the mother. Later in the afternoon, before we remounted, she let herself be milked. She would still whimper from time to time, but instantly became quiet when Faris reached out his arm or pressed his shoulder to her nostrils.

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763 phine and bandages with me—but it was too late to help. I could do no more than ease his last hours by alleviating his pain. He could not have been over forty. Friends carried him presently the short distance to Ibn Jeneyb's 763 tent and laid him down there. Then a slave led up a 23 handsome riding-camel. It was touching to see how the intelligent animal seemed to sense that its master was dying. It caressed him repeatedly, and with large, anxious eyes circled round, touching the strange men with its slit lips and its soft silky nostrils.

The dying man was speaking to Ibn Jeneyb, his chieftain, when a severe hæmorrhage caused him to faint. When he came to again, he whispered some words to the slave; and before I could take in what was happening, the Negro, bending back the camel's head, killed it with a lightning plunge of his dagger into the jugular vein.

Other slaves immediately skinned the animal and spread out the hide, the bloody side up, before the tent. Then they undressed the dying man and laid him on it. His last wish had been to be buried in the skin of his cherished *dhalul*, and the thought that his wish was to be realized made him happy as he lay dying. But I was not the only one to regret the purposeless death of the splendid animal.

When, toward evening, the man had breathed his last, four or five of the watchers, his friends, got up, one after another, and lightly touched his forehead with their finger-tips. Ibn Jeneyb, who knelt beside the dead man, put his hand under his left armpit; after a while he called out: "In truth, he is cold!"

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224 rifle and cloak, and ran up to the ostrich struggling in its death throes. He whipped his knife from his belt and plunged it into the bird's throat close to the breastbone. Then he bent back the heavy wings and plucked the white display feathers, a foot long.

Ralib regarded the prey appraisingly. With his dagger he then skinned the bird, opened it, and with an expert eye carved out the best breast-pieces. Roasted, the meat tasted like that of a fat bustard and was tender enough; but to my taste the liver and the heart—the latter small for so large a bird—were better.

While we were galloping after the ostrich cock, I noticed that the hen had returned in a wide curve to the nesting place, and at her calls the chicks came out of hiding and let themselves be herded away by her. But three of the young, those which Faris had caught and bound, could not have got away. We vainly searched for them, however, and were on the point of giving up when we discovered them, half-hidden in the sand and still as mice.

● 231 When we resumed our forward march, Faris stowed the young ostriches in the saddlebag of his own camel. Throughout the long journey he fed them on fresh buds and shoots, but particularly on caterpillars. Wild and shy at first, hunger subdued them on the second day; and before a few weeks had passed, they would trustfully feed from our hands.

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saddlebags we carried one of our slaves, who had collapsed from exhaustion on the second day. 132

Faris had his fill of trouble with his young ostriches and their feeding. But in spite of the storm, he contrived to forage for them and always produced something—caterpillars, beetles, fresh grass and shoots, a lizard, bustard eggs. Several times a day he would direct a few spurts of milk from his *dhalul* (which had calved, as I mentioned) into the gaping mouths of the chicks. But for all his pains, the storm cost him the life of one of them. [231] •

On the third day of the storm, Faris fell ill. It was a sudden attack: first vomiting, followed by chills and fever. I kept constantly by his side, but he became alarmingly weak, until finally we had to arrange a saddlebag as a litter to carry him.

At night the storm abated somewhat, but there was no sign of a star. It was very dark and cold, and fine sand continued to blow.

On the fourth day the storm took on fresh fury. The wind howled more fiercely than ever. Our lungs were choked with dust. Worn out by the constant buffeting and sleepless nights, with aching joints, dead-tired, at the end of our strength, we groped our way forward. Two camels dropped and had to be abandoned. Their riders and loads had to be distributed among the other exhausted animals.

The worst of it was that Faris had become delirious. In the saddlebag of another camel, Dhadan, the slave who had fallen sick two days before, lay in a stupor, looking more dead than alive.

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233 but it took me more than two days to learn the knack of it—how to anchor your knees in the camel's hip-bones and then, by sprawling forward and using the woolly hump of the beast as a cushion for your stomach, to ride in amazing comfort. We guided the animals with our camel-sticks, tapping them lightly, now on one shoulder, now on the other. Thus we drifted slowly along, side by side, the animals feeding as they went and halting only occasionally; but we had to keep an ever-watchful eye on our troop of camels, which were always up to some trick or other.

231 In those three days I learnt much. I learnt to appreciate in all their significance the noises peculiar to a camel; to realise that in the loud diapason of its stomach rumblings and in the gurglings of its throat there lies a meaning too deep for words. Even its full-throated belching is an expression of its lordly thoughts. I learnt how to deal with the sharp thorns that pierce through leather footwear, and how to treat the sting of a bee which caused the camel's lip to swell to an enormous size. My companion also taught me how to plug the udder of a mother camel, to prevent dripping and the consequent loss of precious milk, and how the baby camel could be prevented from "drinking out of hours" from the mother's udder by means of a wooden peg, fastened to its nose. I learnt to tell from the tracks on the hard gravel soil whether the camels which had passed were saddle or pack animals, and I was taught the lore of age, sex, breed and many other mysteries.

231 751 I listened with bated breath as my companions explained to me that a blue bead tied to the hairy withers

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of a camel was a most effective charm against the evil eye. I was told of the great ticks, as large as stag beetles, found in the camel's pelt, and of the lovely blue-black crows which hop about undisturbed on its back, helping themselves with prying beaks to these ticks and other parasites, which lie snugly in the thick, matted hair.

The delight of watching the little baby camels made my three days of wandering worth while. What quaint, lovable creatures they are! How they enjoy licking and smelling each other! They sprawl awkwardly on their overlong legs in groups of five or six, and rub their long, slim necks against some strange mother, making her happy in the delusion that she has brought into the world such a large brood of dear, ridiculous creatures.

When the warm rain fell on the coats of the camels, large or small, they developed "marcel" waves, curls, and fringes, which would have delighted a fashionable ladies' *coiffeur*.

And when we sat down before a fire, with our backs to the rocks, and my companion chattered away, telling me story after story, it was amusing to see how the camels would press close up, and listen intently, as if they understood him. True, now and again, they would interrupt the story with a hearty belch and go on placidly chewing the cud of flowery herbage and thistle-fodder, to the accompaniment of a loud and discordant grinding of teeth. But that is the way of camels.

Every morning I awoke to see the sun rising or just risen through a perfect forest of legs, for all the world like stilts, or under an archway of long necks.

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XII

Camels, Women, Children—and Locusts

•231 OH, THESE CAMELS! They stamp and trample; they buck, they quarrel, they weep and take fright—yes! And they laugh; they are helpless, but ever and anon rebellious. They will run like a machine for hours, [492] and all at once stop or refuse to budge. Only with a rider in the saddle are they erect, proud animals, self-assured, noble, moving with elastic strides. With a dull herdsman seated on its hump, a camel too becomes dull, lazy and—gluttonous.

The camel is not merely a creature to ride. The nomad [262] makes use of it in many other ways. He cooks its wiry sinews and leathery muscles and eats them, though, even after boiling, the flesh is so tough that one's teeth are either blunted or loosened in the effort to chew it. The Arab drinks the camel's milk, and often in times of stress he will drink the turbid, sour fluid secreted in the [515] creature's stomach. On cold mornings the people warm their hands in the camel's urine and even wash their hair with it. It works deadly destruction on the parasites! The wool of the camel is collected and woven into [237] material for herdsmen's coats and for the garments of the women and children. The poor animals are loaded with incredible burdens; their dung provides fuel for

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

fires and their hides[1] are cut up for water-bags, belts, and sandals. 231 [281]

In the grey of one morning I noticed a woman moving amongst the resting animals. Whenever she saw a female camel get up, she would hurry and catch the urine, for which she was waiting, in a bowl she carried for the purpose. The camel's urine smells sweetly of herbs and aromatic plants, it must be remembered. Returning to her tent, one side of which was open, I saw her gather the loose tresses of her little daughter's hair in her hand and dip them into this much-prized hair-wash. She then combed, parted and braided the damp black hair into the usual lovelocks. Again I saw her return to the camels; but suddenly she sat down. A moment later she rose again, threw away her bowl, and hurried back toward her tent, but collapsed before she had gone far. I sprang up and ran to her. 515 302

She said never a word as I tried to help her to her feet; she only withdrew her arms from my hold and cowered on the ground. Then I noticed that she was in labour. As there was no adult within hearing, I called to the woman's little girls to bring bedding and sheepskins. With these I made a couch for her, right among the camels, sent the children back to the tent, and planted myself as a screen before the woman with a sheepskin held over her. Thus she gave birth to her first son. 844

Presently her husband arrived and two slaves of Faris's. The father picked up the newly born babe, and the three men ran to a camel, kicked it in the hip to make it rise, and with their right hands continued to massage the beast's right flank until it let down urine. With this

1 - [Of Camels -- Analyst]

k: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala did not fear war. Were they not strong and undefeated for one hundred and thirty-seven years? 703
As yet, they had no suspicion of Ibn Meheyd's activities, but he had, to all intents and purposes, united eight other tribes with his Fid'an. They only lacked a suitable pretext. Nature, however, helped them meanwhile by wearing out the powerful and high-spirited Ruala.

Hot winds swept over the Hamad and the Syrian steppe—but never a drop of rain. Unusual heat brooded over North Arabia, so that everything withered. The Ruala pushed onwards faster and faster and lengthened the day's marches. From one horizon to the other the vast herds covered the wilderness. It was almost as if the herders had lost all control over the starving and thirsty animals. Every morning, like clouds of locusts, the camels overflowed the desert on a front of fifteen to over twenty miles. Small, shrivelled herbs were their only nourishment and the small amount of moisture in the plants was all that saved them from dying of thirst. 731x 221x

There was something gigantic and exalting in this unexampled struggle of man and beast for very existence against the pitiless forces of Nature. Those who were unequal to the struggle quietly succumbed. The countless herds moved slowly over the boundless plains, which here and there still showed faint touches of forage, more grey than green. To my amazement, I discovered that the fat, brick-red hairy caterpillars which, in spite of the drought, were to be found on every stalk and flower, not only helped to nourish hundreds of thousands of desert fowl, bustards, and gazelles, but also our camels and horses. Troops of gazelles were in flight from death in the wilderness, striving with a last effort to reach the dis- [136 231]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XVIII

The Land of Promise

EVERY EVENING THE Ruala occupied new pastures—such as they were—farther north. The drought in each camp was terrible. Long since I had given up the luxury of wiping my face in the morning with a moistened face-rag. In the Amir's household Mnahi was charged with rationing the water supply. He knew nothing of liquid measures, but he soon devised one for his purpose. He put a pebble, which he always kept handy, into a small wooden bowl and, for each of us tent-mates, poured over it just enough water to cover it. It was precious little.

As with the water, so with the milk. Camels which, on good pasture, used to give between four and five quarts of milk a day, now gave less than one. To save this little for themselves and their horses, the Ruala had to kill the new-born camel calves. The herds were a sorry sight—emaciated, jaded, covered with dust.

I was talking with the *shiyukhs* about certain grazing lands northeast of us when Faris, who had overheard our conversation, said to me: "Let us go and explore Abu Rijmeyn and the farther hills and take a look at the pasture, so as to reassure our people." We decided then and there to journey into that promising, but forbidden, land.

This reconnaissance, which we made by motor—Faris,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

●231

Mother Camel
Camels in Arabia Are Handsome and Clean Creatures

following page 144 (b).

●231

Baby Camel
Note the Large Eyes and Long Lashes

following page 144 (c).

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721
522 hand and foot. This was a terrible indignity to such proud lads, who set great store by their six or eight "horns", as the Arabs call these tresses.

721
233 It was nearly midday when we reached the depression in which the horses were grazing. It was a lovely scene, the sky was blue, the brilliant spring sun warm and pleasant, and the air was filled with the sweet smell of the fresh herbage. The horses and camels ranged about, browsing quietly. The sleepy herders were totally unaware of our presence until our camel-riders suddenly appeared over the lip of the depression. Then they awoke to a realization of what was happening. I was rather loath to disturb their *dolce far niente;* above all was I sorry for the Saba horses, which were to be so suddenly driven from their delectable pasture.

The mares raised their heads inquisitively as the herders, rudely awakened from their siesta, sprang to their feet and yelled warnings one to the other. A few of them were successful in loosening the woollen shackles of their horses, and, leaping on their backs, made their escape. They were but a handful, however, and of these two or three were eventually captured.

The horses of the Saba became restive as the Ruala horsemen galloped about them, but, shackled by the forelegs, they could only hobble round helplessly.

721
●[231] At last our people cut out some twenty horses, including Falha, the brown mare of our search. Falha was shackled with iron links instead of the usual woollen ropes. Amir Fuaz had brought with him a couple of files in anticipation of such an eventuality. His delight on seeing Falha again was obvious; she was worth more

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 falcons have such sight and still fewer such spirit. It is well that he seeks a mate. God grant that one day we may find his brood."

The call of the wild had lured Suhayl away, and he had obeyed the impulse of his blood.

224 With loud cries the Bedouins urged their mares forward, again racing each other. For today, however, though it was still early, the chase was over; for the [231] heat of the sun is considered harmful to both greyhounds and falcons.

Amir Fuaz gave the order to rally, and we all proceeded to the previously appointed camping-place, where shortly after the pack-camels arrived with water-skins. In a straight line we were, at the most, seven miles from the main Ruala camp, but in our criss-cross riding we had covered nearly thrice that distance.

When fuel had been collected, coffee was made and hares and bustards roasted. From all quarters riders came in on breathless horses. Groups of men clustered round the small fires. The camel-riders of our beater-corps trickled in, bringing an abundance of game—pintail grouse, bustards, hares, foxes, badgers, gazelles. All the carcasses were ranged on the ground near Amir Fuaz and the other *shiyukhs*.

The thirsty mares were watered only after they had rested awhile, but the panting and tired greyhounds had [223] water splashed into their mouths immediately. The falconers placed their hawks in cooking-vessels, partly filled with water, wherein the dusty birds fluffed and preened their feathers.

Huntsmen lay at ease, sipping coffee and talking.

231, 232, 233, 492, 539

[General information about horses and camels will be found in category 231. Specific information about breeding, diseases and veterinary science will be found in category 232, about herding and pasturing in 233. Specific information pertaining to the use of camels and horses in transportation, associated practices and descriptions of gear will be found in category 492. For native texts applying to camels see category 116, pp. 340-346, 358-368; to horses, pp. 383-388.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

In the inner desert

the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the spring. The angel Ğibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ğibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ğibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arz alli mâ tinwasem mâ terabbe' muḥtije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Akejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the skin of another young one, and dragged it likewise into the gully. (A young camel of this kind is called *bawr*. If a strong she-camel, which gives milk long and abundantly, gives birth to a weak male cub, the owner removes it from its mother, kills it, and ties a portion of its skin around the neck and throat of another young camel. The mother of the animal which has been killed sniffs at the skin, thinks that this is her cub, and lets it suck. Thus she does not lose her milk with fretting, while the mother of the living camel continues to treat it in the same way. Thus both she-camels adopt the cub, both feed it, and the owner can milk both of them.) As soon as the she-camels noticed that their cub was being removed by the wolf, they fled after it and also ran into the gully, where the Bedouin tied them up and drove them as a welcome booty into his camp. His comrade, the wolf, not venturing into the camp, hid himself in a rocky cleft near by and waited for the Bedouin to bring him something. This, however, the latter forgot to do. After two days the wolf began to howl: "*'Aû 'aû 'awweni*, give me something to eat!" The Bedouin immediately killed one of the she-camels, brought the intestines, the throat, and the forelegs beyond the encampment for the wolf, and, having explained the whole affair in the chief's tent, he announced that he would punish anybody who harmed his comrade, the wolf. In this encampment there was a youth who was learning to shoot. Catching sight of the wolf, he forgot the threat, took aim, and shot it. The Bedouin avenged his brother, the wolf, and all the elders said that he was in the right. The Bedouin exclaimed: "I have fraternized with the wolf. Oh, woe is me! My other brother did not leave this brother. *Taḥâwajt ana w-dîben serḥân jâ wejja ḥawijje mâ ḥalla ḥawijje.*"

The *sib* is a cross between a wolf and a female hyena. It lives in the environs of the well of aš-Šiżiż and attacks a man even when not provoked.

The *żarbûl*, badger, is an animal smaller than a dog with a grayish-yellow back, a black belly, a dog's head, teeth similar to those of a human being, and a long tail. Its skin has a characteristic smell. It lives in dens, which it digs for itself, and devours jerboas and ordinary mice, lizards, chameleons, etc. Its flesh is eaten. If a Bedouin sees that a *żarbûl* has hidden in its den, he shouts: "Run away, badger! run away, badger! *kurr aż-żarbûl kurr aż-żarbûl.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *aṭlaṭ*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳafa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ksûr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb šala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebûneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *žabbelû al-bejt ǧâna-l-hawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *rwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *rwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *rwâḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *rwâḳ*! *šawre'û al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *rwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *îdên w-riǧlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *mâ huna anǧas min al-čalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'ejš*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *sâǧ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampment during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 ● [825]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD

231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs
492 *emsaw* (or *emṣa'û*) *al-wted*." The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḫuḍû al-'amed*; spread the tent out, *eṣfeṭû al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *eṭwû al-bejt*." With the large tents the ropes which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *daraǧow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *krâṭ* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesâme* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *nawwaḫow al-ba'îr*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ṭawwarow al-ba'îr*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ǧindib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *maẓhûr* (pl., *meẓâhîr*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *salaf*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are tied to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *raḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *raḥala ǧajjede*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

MEATS

262 231 Meat is not a usual food but a luxury, like bread. The Rwala eat hardly any other meat than camel's flesh. If they wish to slaughter a camel, they make it kneel down, *jenawweḫûnaha*, tie all its legs, press its head to the ground, and the butcher shouts: "Lay its head on one side! *rudd râsha*." He then thrusts a sharp dagger into its throat, *manḥar*, and cuts it through to the right and left. The camel trembles and makes a gurgling noise, *tirta'ed*, and the blood flows either into a vessel or upon the ground. The Bedouins cut off the tail of the slaughtered camel, cut through the skin on its back from the roots of the tail across the hump as far as the nape, *râreb*, and then flay it, *jasleḫûnaha*. When the skin has been removed, they cut off the front legs, then the neck and the hind legs, and open the belly. The only things which are thrown away are the contents of the stomach and the intestines, *farṭ*, all the rest being cleansed and made use of. Pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered camel are sent as gifts to close friends and acquaintances. The most tasty parts are the flesh from the *ṣerâjed*, or two sides near the hump, and from the *rijâši*, or between the hump and the tail. The flesh of the forelegs is also very tasty; likewise that of the *mnêḥer*, or two sides of the throat where it joins the breast. From the chiefs the slaves and the blacksmiths always receive the flesh either from one of the hind legs or from the ribs, and the head with the throat.

252 The flesh is either boiled or baked. For boiling, *ṭabḫ*, the flesh, together with the bones, is hacked into small pieces, thrown into a kettle, covered with water, salted, and placed on three stones above the fire. When it has boiled, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take out the meat! *onẓow allaḥm*." They take out the separate pieces with a large wooden spoon, *meḫšâḳa* or *miswâṭ*, place them on a *ḳarwa* or *ṣaḥn* covered with *'ejš*, boiled wheat, let them cool a little, pour on them a thick gravy, *ṣafja*, skimmed from the top, and carry them to the guests, *jeḳalleṭûneh*. The rest of the gravy, *mraḳa*, they mix with *'ejš* for household use or for the less esteemed guests.

Mišwi is the name given to the salted meat baked either on a bulging iron sheet, *sâǧ*, on a slab, or else in red-hot ashes.

Habîṭ is meat roasted in fat and served on bread.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831* 539* The pure-blooded bird knows how to trot both in defense and attack before he is able to use his reason.

10. I said, 'Ah! What a word has reached my heart, which has rebelled,
For my soul's mate has given me to drink snake poison.'
11. But since the day when she beckoned twice to me with her fingers
The full moon [of my bliss] has reached its zenith.

The poet was an unknown Šarâri; the narrator, Mas'ûd aṣ-Ṣbejḥi, who accompanied me on my journey toward the oasis of Tejma'. The poet wakes up towards the end of the night between the twelfth and the eighteenth days of the lunar month; noticing lightning above the high hills shutting in the horizon, he asks his comrade to saddle the she-camels, and both then ride as fast as possible over the plain. The fast gait of his animal he compares to the mad gallop of a terrified ostrich and thinks of his sweetheart, who caused him much grief at first but later much gladness.

Verse 3. *Zôr* is the spot in the middle of the lower part of the breast, on which the kneeling camel leans against the ground. When kneeling, the shins of the forelegs touch the *zôr*. To "remove the *zôr* from the shins of the forelegs" means to induce the camel to rise and start. 4. *Rekârîž ḳâ'i* are plains [133] covered with coarse sand, where mirages may often be observed, mostly at noon. *Raḳrûḳa* is a plain covered with weather-worn débris; *ḥamâd*, a plain covered with hard gravel and much [825] flint. 5. *Šeḏa'* means any kind of a spook; it is frequently seen by the animal alone and is supposed to be especially fond of the taste of brains. 9. *Ṭard* are the movements of attack [231] and defense of a horse in a fight. It takes some time to train a horse to the *ṭard*, while a pure-blooded male ostrich knows it long before he can use his reason, *ḳabl ǧâ'i*. 10. *Šerîč arrûḥ* is a sweetheart. 11. The poet's soul was comforted when his beloved gave him the longed-for sign.

In Praise of a Sweetheart's Kinsmen

Hala hala ǧâ 'arab farḥân
ǧâ marḥaba bḏâbel ar-rîži
w-ahl az-zêne mâ hom šerdân
ḥamâǧeten lil-mesâwîži

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved. 831x 539x

Wa' šejb 'ajni, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' šejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart," are sayings used in misfortune.

Jâ râčeb alli ḏemîllaha zên
ḳamran ejdâha šarârijje
jâ manweti-lli haleh meǯfin
w-illa ṛaribeh naṣa ḥajjeh.

O thou who ridest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarâri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

Ḏemîl or *derhem* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḳamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarârât breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes. In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *meǯfin*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, *ahl*. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṣa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṣa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*). [492 231] 484 221 233

Jâ mdaḥraǧ ḥuf li 'ala-š-ša'ejle
čarreb li al-heǯên beššâdi
al-'afw mâ-ḳšarč lejle
ḥaššejt ṣanâdîl al-fwâdi
w-ašči leč jâ ḥajje jâ dwejle
w-ašûf ḥajjâneč ḳaffaw ṛâdi.

831*
539*

1. *Jâ wenneti wennet ḫalûǧ eben rûmi*
   alli farreḳat ʿan maḍbaḥ waladha idêha
2. *ǧâha želîl al-mejz jerkoẓ bešûmi*
   ḳaṣṣam ǧnûbaḥ min šefâteh ʿalejha
3. *waʿ ṭejreti ṛadat w-ana-ṣiḥ w-awmi*
   ażdaʿ laha-š-šawlâḥ mâ fâd bîha
4. *amsejt arawčîb nâbijât ar-rǧûmi*
   ṛadat w-ḳalbi ḥazinen ʿalejha
5. *ḳalbi ʿalejha jâ-bn ʿablân jowmi*
   awmât ʿawd al-ḳejš jowmi ʿalejha.

1. This is my lament, the lament for Eben Rûmi's unhappy she-camel,
   Who spread out her two front legs over the spot where her young was killed.
2. A brute with a club came a-running
   And broke her ribs, instead of speaking to her kindly.
3. Ah! my little she-falcon has lost her way, and I shout [and signal to her,
   Wave a cloth, but all in vain.
4. Yesterday I climbed some great stone heaps on the hills,
   But she has lost her way, and now my heart for her is grieving.
5. My heart, O son of ʿAblân! beckons to her;
   As a plant in a stream bends, so it bends to her.

The poet was Nimr eben ʿAdwân; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭṭî. Nimr mourns the loss of his wife.

831*
539*
231

1. *Ḫalûǧ* is a she-camel whose calf is killed immediately after birth and who notices it. Eben Rûmi was a Christian who used to bring to the tribes camping on the slopes of the Ḥawrân sugar, coffee, and clothing material, taking in exchange camels, which he sold to the farmers again for plowing and threshing. Once he acquired a pregnant she-camel which bore a calf on the road. Instead of hauling it aside and there killing it before the mother rose to her feet, he left it lying where it fell and shattered its head with a stone while the mother was still standing and licking it. The dead calf he then threw into a gully near by, but the distracted old animal remained standing over the spot splashed with the blood of her offspring, moaning and refusing to move. The infuriated Eben Rûmi now began to beat her savagely; he broke some of her ribs and would have killed her too, if the Rwala warriors had not chased him away. In 1915, on my

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in a great number of raids, bringing back much booty from them. In his last raid he was shot down from this she-camel. The animal saved herself by flight and was inherited by the dead chief's brother, who, however, did not go out on a raid for a whole year. Owing to this the she-camel became so fat that her humps began to hang over to one side. Want soon made itself felt in the tent. The woman was obliged to cook, and there was neither wheat nor *ḏera'*, millet; she had to sew shirts for both herself and her husband, and there was no linen nor any camels to exchange for these necessities. Naturally the woman pined for her fallen hero, and so it came about one evening that, as she was grinding the wheat begged from some neighbors, she happened to observe with more attention than usual both the fat she-camel and her own dilapidated dress; in fear of still greater misery she composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

831x
539x

Verse 1. *Zowl* is the outside appearance, contour, or shape. *Ḥalâja'* is the manner of acting, behavior, speech, and movements. 2. *Lâ* stands in place of *lâ tab'ad*, meaning "Oh, mayest thou not go away! Oh, hadst thou not left me!" 4. and 5. *Heǧen* is a poetical expression for *rečâjeb*, meaning riding camels. The husband did not remain at home. Between one and three o'clock in the afternoon the heat is at its highest. The rider who wishes to keep his she-camel in good condition should let her rest during that time, *ḳâjile*, otherwise the animal degenerates and becomes incapable of bearing young. 6. *Ḳaṭa'-hom ḳaf'* signifies "looted them completely, took everything from them, leaving neither camels nor tents." 8. *Mubramât al-faṭâjel*, twisted or woven fuses: this phrase indicates that the poem dates from the time when rifles with flint locks were still in use in battle.

[132
231] ●

1. *Jâ râčebeṉ min fowḳ ḥorren ǯemâli*
   mâ jilḥaḳ al-miṭ'âb 'âli mṯûneh
2. *ḥorren za'zâ' muṭarrjen lil-eǧǧâli*
   jeṭir low ḥw bar-ṛasan jinča'ûneh
3. *naṭṭejt ana riǧmen ṭawîl w-'âli*
   we-dmû' 'ajni čal-ṛadar sajjalûneh
4. *badejt aṣaṣṣeṣ ṣâḥb illi zaha' li*
   w-ndîed al-ba"âr mâ jiḏakrûneh
5. *abu ḥrûneṉ miṭl ṭajj al-ḥebâli*
   w-al-ǧigle riǯ al-hlî low ṭalabûneh

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way from the Šammar territory westwards, one of my she-camels gave birth to a calf. At the same moment one of my companions pressed her head to the ground, while another pulled the calf to a neighboring rock crevice, where he killed it. But its bleat, weak as it was, did not escape its mother; the moment she rose she began to smell over the ground, found the scent, and followed it to the crevice. She was unable to enter it or to see her calf, but remained standing before the opening, uttering heart-rending moans. When we finally drove her away, she went along with the others; but every day, at short intervals from sunrise to a late hour at night, she gave vent to her grief. After a few days this became unbearable and even dangerous, as it might have been heard by our enemies, thus exposing us to their attack. In vain did we try to calm the animal; at last we tied up her snout with a rope, but even then she uttered muffled moaning sounds. 3. *Šawlâḥ* is the piece of cloth waved about by a falconer when he desires to coax the falcon back. 5. *Ḳejš* are the smaller depressions in river beds, where the perennial called *'ûd al-ḳejš* thrives.

831x 539x 231●

831x 539x

1. *Sâr al-ḳaiam jâ 'aḳâb bel-ḥeber sâra*
   bizejzaf al-ḳurṭâs jâ muḥğeti sâr
2. *a'wi 'awa sirḥân lejl w-nâhâra*
   w-aḥenn ḥanîn aṭ-ṭilb ṭâwi 'ala-d-dâr
3. *jâ 'aḳâb lâ w-alli mdîr an-nahâra*
   meğri safinat nûḥ birebb al-abḥâr
4. *en ğamma'û jâ 'aḳâb kill al-'aḏâra*
   min saḥr neğd il-bâb tûnis il-as-singâr
5. *low ğann banât aṣ-ṣlejb fowḳ aš-šihâra*
   wa-m'awrağen biḥdûdehen naḳš al-wabâr
6. *w-en ğann banât al-bedw fowḳ al-ebkâra*
   w-'ala-l-hawâdeğ dellelen kill ḫawwâr
7. *w-en ğann banât al-ḥaẓar miṯl al-amâra*
   mutadallelât bel-ṛawa' teḳel nawwâr
8. *w-en ğann banât at-turk ṣaffen tebâra*
   malbûsehen jâ 'aḳâb min ṛali-l-as'âr
9. *w-en ğann banât al-kufr hom w-an-naṣâra*
   w-jeḳâl jâ nimr aš-šeži ṭobb w-eḫtâr
10. *arîd ani maẓnûn 'ajni ḫejâra*
    aṣ-ṣâḥeb alli farr 'aḳli ma'eh w-ṭâr

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12. She is clear white, pink, and bordered with red,
And her glory exceeds the beauty of Joseph.
13. No untruth I speak, nor is it a fable,
For, after all, I am no maker of stories.
14. He who will revile me must have less wisdom than a bull or she-ass,
For easier it is to persuade a bull which when bidden turns.
15. By Allâh! I shall not find her even among the houris.
Therefore, to describe what has passed away is of no help.
16. By Allâh himself! with her death my life is destroyed;
Hence wise is moderation for the sake of Allâh, who knows all secrets.

This poem, composed by the poet Nimr eben 'Adwân, was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm, who learned it from his mother, who hailed from the Sirḥân tribe.

Verse 1. *Ḳalam* is a pen cut from stout reed. *Zejzaf* or *nâ'em* means "smooth, soft." 2. *Ṯilb* is a she-camel, old, toothless, and therefore very emaciated. *Ṯâwi* denotes such a beast which can kneel but on account of its weakness cannot rise again. Sometimes a feeble she-camel of this kind is left behind on the camping ground; the poor beast tries to get up, but every time sinks down again uttering bitter moans. Her deep sighs are heard far around. She longs for her companions whom she is not to see again, and is afraid of the wolves. 4. *'Aḏâra* is the name for all young women, whether virgins or not. A virgin is called *bikr*; a female who has lost her virginity, *mâḫûḍa*. Singâr is a mountain ridge southwest of Mosul. 5. The daughters of the Ṣlejb excel by their perfect shapes. *Šihâra* is the name given by the Ṣlejb to their pure-blooded asses, which they often cross with the wild asses. The Ṣlejb women are often elaborately tattooed on their cheeks. 6. *Hawâdeǧ*, quiverings, shakings, the poetical term for *žetab*, means "large richly colored litters which rock freely." *Ḫawwâr* signifies a camel of the inner desert, inured to thirst, whereas a *ǧûdi* is a camel from districts with plenty of water. A *ǧûdi* is stronger, but a *ḫawwâr* will endure more fatigue. 9. *Ṭobb* denotes "come near," "step into the center." 12. The cheeks are clear white and pink and red at the edges. According to the story, Joseph, the son of the patriarch Jacob, was very handsome. 13. *Ḳamâra* is a story pleasant to hear but fictitious. A *bejṭâr* is a blacksmith, who beside swinging the ham-

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[484] and when to prepare their supper. If a hostile troop or i
539* traces are discovered, such a thing as cooking a meal is n
831* to be thought of. 3. *Jowm al-ğehal* refers to those momen
when, blinded by passion, one acts regardless of the co
sequences; such a person is called *ğâhel*.

Unrequited and Thwarted Love

Jâ ḥmûd wa' 'âreẓni šâbi
ṭard al-hawa' ğizt ana minneh
akûd waẓẓâḥ an-nijâbi
haḏâk minni w-ana minneh.

O Ḥmûd, alas, my gray hair is a hindrance to me.
Enough now in amorous contests;
Only she with the white teeth,
She is my love and I am hers.

Mâ-bṛi 'aširi walad ḳowbân
miṯl as-sluḳi jelobbi le
jâ leḥjeten minḳa' aṣ-ṣîbân
w-al-ḳaml w-er'ú ženâdîleh.

I will have no lazy glutton for lover of mine,
Who would cling to me always like a *sluḳi*.
Oh, that chin beard of his, basin for nits
And lice; and only look at his big head!

Ḳowbân or *'efen* is a fat loafer who likes to eat an
sleep but is no lover of raids. *Slûḳi* (or *sluḳi*) is a greyhoun
[231] While other dogs are not allowed to enter the tent at all, th
greyhound indulges himself both on the rugs and in the be
and will not stir from his master and mistress, eagerly wai
ing for a mouthful to be thrown to him.

Šowḳi jâ 'uwejd aṣ-ṣam'a
wa' mžejjilen beš-šîḥa
hâḏi 'elûmak teğîni
w-allâh ani mustarîḥa
edd edd mâ tšûfak 'ejni
jâ hâreb 'ala-ṣ-ṣîḥa.

Oh, that lover of mine! that little stalk of *ṣam'a*,
Ah! in *šîḥ* plants he hides at noon.

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The poet, Ṣaḳḳâr, a native of the settlement of al-Kubejsa, was a peddler among the branch of the Šammar tribe camping between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris. The chief Fâres of the reigning family Âl Ǧarba' was his protector. The name of the chief's father was Ṣfûḳ, his mother's name 'Amša. Both father and son hated the Turkish strangers intensely on account of the wrongs they had to suffer from the governor at Mosul. In the poem cited above Ṣaḳḳâr praises himself and extols Fâres. The narrators were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 3. *Howza,* instead of *hezz,* shake or nod. The hoofs of some she-camels are covered with too fine a skin. When such an animal walks for any length of time on rocky roads, especially in volcanic regions strewn with sharp pieces of lava, the hoof skin becomes covered with callous spots or scars so that blood flows at every step. In speaking of a camel in this condition the Rwala use the verb *ḥafat,* meaning "she has become calloused or scarred, she walks barefoot." To save his animal from loss of blood, the rider cuts out from a tough camel hide pieces of the size of the hoof, and stitches them, *jirḳa'*, under the scarred hoof. The she-camel tries to rid herself of the uncomfortable sole by rubbing it against rocks and often cuts the stitches, which must be repaired at once, causing the rider much fatigue and delay (see my *The Northern Ḥeǧâz,* New York, 1926, pp. 194-196). 4. Al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb are valleys heading in the northeastern part of the desert of al-Ḥamâd. 5. *'Ûd al-leǧâwi* is a stick made from an almond shoot. 7. Ṣalfîẓ is a son of Fâres. *'Awḳ ar-rudûm* is a poetical term. *Rudûm* here signifies she-camels so fat that they can hardly move. 9. Fâres lived in perpetual discord with the Turkish Government, refusing to recognize its claims, crushing them as would a millwheel. 11. Ḏijâb eben Ṛânem was famous for his bravery, *farse,* generosity, *karam,* and judgment, *'aḳel.* These three qualities gained for him the title *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa,* meaning "famous for his great sagacity," or, possibly, "gentleman." 12. A rider in the desert at night cannot guide himself by stars which change their place. The pole star, being almost stationary, is the traveler's safest guide. 14. *Ṣwâẓe'* are meteors which crush everything upon which they fall.

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9. If thou reachest such countries,
With glad tidings begin and our greetings add.
10. Say: "From you a hunting falcon with a firm resolve came,
Like the star Canopus, which cannot be hidden.
11. Countries both settled and desert he explored
With mind acute, of distress unafraid.
12. Chief Mûsa, of whom are none but glad tidings,
Over ancient events holds sway.
13. To another like him no chaste beauty ever gave birth
And of all Bedouin chiefs none equals him.
14. A ruler he is, vizier, all things knowing,
And none is his equal except, perhaps, Abu Zejd the fabulous.
15. What fair examples his generous hand gives,
Like one who spends and fears no losses.
16. With smiling mouth, of will indomitable,
He excels all consuls, can offer advice in the hardest cases.
17. A reckless lion he, with only contempt for rascals;
Armor stout he has which the oppressed would desire for themselves.
18. If the Lord helps and his aim succeeds
He will return to you with tidings important,
19. With reports of Bedouins, the dwellers in the settlements and nomads, too, who breed goats and sheep,
Of the lands of the Rwala and Fed'ân and the 'Amârât
20. Of the regions of Neǧd, of valleys vast, [land,
Of the Ṣawwân country and the land of the Ḥwêṭât.
21. By these deeds he has gained for himself
A treasure of fame and a sea of knowledge and noble qualities."

This poem was composed by Prince an-Nûri eben Hazzâ eben Šaʿlân with the assistance of his clerk Ǧwâd, who recited it to me.

Verse 2. The Šurârât raise the best riding camels. 3. It was not for sale even if a hundred she-camels of the common breed were offered in exchange. 5. *Miraka* (pl., *mijâreč*) is a leather cushion stuffed with wool or camel's hair, which hangs from the front knob of the saddle, covering the camel's neck and serving as a foot rest to the rider. These cushions are sometimes richly ornamented and cost as much as £T10 ($45).

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539x therefore acquainted Fejḥân with the result of his search but could not convince him, Fejḥân's opinion being that ʿAbdallâh either had no taste for his errand or feared the revenge of the girl's betrothed because he had found her another lover. ʿAbdallâh answered by this poem in which he tells of his journey from the settlement of Nefi to Fejḥân, describes his she-camels, reproaches Fejḥân for having cheated him on the delivery of other she-camels as well as for suspecting him of fear and weakness. Finally he tells him to look for another girl, whom he may find in his very neighborhood.

539x Verse 1. *Eʿrâben* means a descent universally acknowledged. 2. The Šarârât are famous as raisers of pure-bred riding camels. 4. Their shoulder blades are gray and they have white spots below their belts, *šib al-ṛawâreb w-al-maḥâžeb emšibât*, because they are on the road all the time. The shoulder blades rub against the cushion on which the rider rests one foot while the other foot touches the *maḥâžeb*, the spot covered by the breast girth, which holds the saddle behind the forelegs on the breastbone. The she-camels alluded to have had no young as yet, therefore the herdsman has not needed to close their teats with sharp clamps to prevent their young from sucking at will. 5. A good camel will utter no sound while being saddled; this is very important at night or in a dangerous territory. On a forced march a camel is expected to listen well and to observe the country in all directions so that she can, by quick breathing, arching her spine, or by a motion of the neck, call the rider's attention to any possible danger. 6. Kabšân is an extensive ridge in the ʿAtejbe territory. If the *niǧm at-twejbeʿ*, Aldebaran, due about the middle of December, is accompanied by copious rain, the waters of this rain irrigate all the basins and in Neǧd produce luxuriant grass, and perennials spring up there as if by magic. 8. After exhausting marches the she-camels are given at least three months' rest; to this repose they are fully entitled, as their riders often require them to traverse by day and night regions where there is neither good pasture nor sufficient water. When these three months have expired, the riders are justified in setting out on a new trip. *Ḥarâjem* (sing., *ḥarîme*) are defiles or passages between steep slopes. 9. *Râʿi nefi* signifies here the inhabitant par excellence, or the lord of the oasis of Nefi; *râʿi-l-ǧowf* means an inhabitant of the oasis of al-Ǧowf. One may often hear *"râʿi mâred," "râʿi ḳna," "he*

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is an inhabitant of the Mâred fort" or "of the settlement of Ḳna," *"râ'i-l-ḳerije*, he is a settler." 10. 'Abdallâh eben Ḥasan eben 'Askar was the lord of another settlement. The Bedouin she-camels are easily scared by the shade and the rustling of palm groves, as well as by the high walls enclosing them. 14. *Ṛabb as-sera'* or *'oḳb al-bârḥa* means after yesterday. The well-fed she-camels on yesterday's march were still a little lazy, for their bellies were full and much of their food not yet digested. As they found no pasture on their whole trip from Nefi to Eben 'Askar and all they got in his house was a little dry grass, they digested all that was in their stomachs and emptied their bowels, which caused their loins to sink in. 16. The black Bedouin tents stood in the basin, while the she-camels were approaching across the plain. When they were in sight, the Bedouins sent out a rider to meet them and find out who they were and whither bound, also to inquire about the camping places of their friends. 17. Eben Ruḥmân was chief of a small kin of the Dowšân clan. *Zeml at-ṯḫât* or *zeml at-ṭḳâl* is a camel able to carry heavy loads (more than three quintals). 18. The Dowšân belong to the 'Elwa division of the Mṭejr but are often at war with the other Mṭejr, as they will not submit to the head chief. 20. Fejḥân eben Ża'ed eben Zrejbân, the Dowšân chief who ordered the search for the beauty (21), offered 'Abdallâh the assistance of a large number of his tribesmen mounted on she-camels, but cheated him in this. *'Arâwi m'arrât* are she-camels on which the riders sit only on a piece of cloth fastened between the hump and hips. 23. *An-neğâjer msawwât* was explained to me by Mḥammad to mean the same thing as *al-ešidde*, riding saddles, while Ḥmâr thought that it signified *ḥalâwa*, reward or gratuity given to the herdsmen. *Al-ḥerz terz* means, according to Ḥmâr, the bargaining for the pay to be given to the hired camel riders, while Mḥammad understood it to be the total expense of the expedition. *Râ' aṣ-ṣûf* is a seller of fancy bags for horse and camel saddles. 24. Before he could use these she-camels he had to have good saddles, *ḥašab*, bags, *ṣûf*, water bags, *ğlûd*, and arms for their riders, *âlât*. The riders too had many wishes and were insatiable in their demands. 25. Their stopping and shaking the little sticks used in guiding their camels signified that they threatened to leave if 'Abdallâh would not grant all their demands. The rattans were sold by the dealer in bags. 26. 'Abdallâh relates in a sarcastic manner that he

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ments of the oasis of al-Ğowf of Eben ʿAli, Prince of Ḥâjel. He was not comfortable there. Although al-Ğowf is protected against both the north and west winds, Muḥammad complained of the severe cold and wished to return to Ḥâjel. He meant to make the trip on his old but tried she-camel; in three days he would reach Ğubba, a settlement lying about 230 kilometers south-southeast on the road to Ḥâjel; he would leave Ğubba after midnight and on the fourth day reach Ḥâjel about supper time. Thus he meant to cover the distance of 320 kilometers in four days and half a night. It should be born in mind that this route extended for about 280 kilometers over sand drifts and that therefore he had to sleep out two nights.

Verse 1. *Ğarhadij*, destroyer, is said of sleep because it tends to weaken a man and to make him feel wretched. 4. *Šbâṭ* corresponds to our February. A north wind makes not only the inhabitants of al-Ğowf but also those of Ḥâjel shiver with cold, as I myself have experienced. Muḥammad exaggerates in order to give more than due praise to Ḥâjel. 5. *Al-munâdi*, the crier, the commander, was the prince of Ḥâjel, to whom the settlements of al-Ğowf belonged. The prince could summon his governor to Ḥâjel. 6. In the neighborhood of al-Ğowf there is no camel pasture. What grass and perennials grow there are cut by the settlers and dried for hay that they may have fodder for their own cattle and for the animals of their guests and also to sell to the trade caravans. It is necessary to drive the camels fifteen kilometers out before even a sparse pasturage is found. Any of the settlers who possesses a good she-camel places it under the care of a reliable Bedouin camping with his clan in the district of al-Ğowf and sends for it a few days before he desires to depart. Mul ammad's she-camel was grazing with the herd of the Âl Wejlân Bedouins. A spirited, well-rested she-camel often streches her neck backwards, catches the rider's dress with her lips, and touches him with her head. 7. From ʿOmân thoroughbred camels are imported. Every tribe, every clan brands its camels with marks commonly called *wasm*. Each brand again has a name of its own. The brand of Muḥammad's camel is called *merzel*, owing to its resemblance to a spindle. 8 means that the camel's neck is very long. 9. When kneeling, the she-camel's front knees are extended far forward; her shoulders are drawn back and nearly reach the breastbone,

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Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârû* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Teḳel,* [231] instead of the correct *teḳûl*, "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Muwaffeḳîn al-ḥejr*, has the same meaning as *šâjefîn al-ḥejr*, perceiving luck. *Ṣullû* for *waṣṣelû* or *ṣelû*, "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Ṛowš*, or *'ejâl*, indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [H15] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣandûḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjeẓû*, *waẓẓefû*, *waẓfû* or *ta'awwaḳû*, mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṛaljûn* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. *"Ḥûfû 'alejhen"* [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarâmîš al-ḥala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wâlmât*. 8. The road from al-Ǧowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem saba'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjde is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifeẓ tribe.

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539x

Verse 1. *Mawlâji*, my Lord, is Allâh, by whom the fate of every man is foreordained. 2. The Ṣlejb come in contact with the Bedouins when they camp in the inner desert, and thus the poet's relatives had the opportunity of seeing the horse which he, as a *fedawi*, was now to ride. 3. *Ḥalfât* are she-camels which are milked after giving birth to young. *'Aššâjer* is the name given to the same she-camels, when, after ten or twelve months, they are led to the male camel and become pregnant again. Then they cease to give milk. When a she-camel becomes pregnant, she is called *'ašra*; if she remains barren, *ḥâjel*. On the return from the pasture a good herdsman constantly shouts a certain phrase in order to direct his camels, so that they will not wander astray with others. 4. *Fenna* are the various methods and feints used in throwing spears, which the Ṣlubi desires to learn. *Aṭ-ṭamâmiḥ* are married women dissatisfied with their husbands and longing for better and braver men. The favorite of such women surpasses all others in bravery, but our Ṣlubi means to stand fast even when the favorite becomes afraid and flees.

[231]

A Bedouin Warns the Ṣlubi Against Changing His Vocation

Our Ṣlubi spoke like a true Rwejli, but his comrade, a Rwejli serving with Eben Ġandal, answered in this manner:

1. *Jâ-bu-l-ḥala ḥaṭṭejt bel-ḳalb wenne*
   kubb al-ḥejâla jâ msawwi-z-zanâniḥ
2. *kârak bwejten bel-ḥala lâ tzel 'anneh*
   wa-ĕlâb ǧiddak kaṭeran at-tanâbiḥ
3. *jâ-lli ḥamîrak kill ressen waṭanneh*
   tarfa ḥadâmeh bel-ḥašab w-aṣ-ṣalâfiḥ.

1. O dweller in the barren desert! thou hast laid up sorrow
   in thy heart.
   Do thou no longer ride a horse, O thou maker of leather
   patches for elbow and knees!
2. Thy work is in the small tent in the barren desert, so
   leave neither it
   Nor the dogs inherited from thy grandfather, the dogs
   who always bark.

173 to kill every *zerḳa* calf found in the camp. Again led by the traveler, the Bedouins now surrounded the place to which the Jews had fled and robbed them of the she-camels still in their possession. Since that time the Jews have kept no camels, satisfying their needs with sheep and goats but still hoping that the she-camels will return to them. They never tire of making leather buckets for drawing water as well as leather troughs; they fill them with water every Friday and, rapping on them, expect the camels to appear, but in vain, *raǧw al-jehûd min al-bel.*

CAMELS OF DIFFERENT AGES AND KINDS

231 *Bel*", a feminine noun, means camels in general. This word is never used in speaking of particular animals. "*Al-bel wuḫiḍat*, the camels were captured," is a common saying. Camels belonging to a certain clan or kin are designated by the words *ṭarš* or *debeš*. For "your camels were captured" the expression is "*ṭaršкom*" or "*debaškom wuḫiḍ*," for "an attack was made on them," "*ṣîr 'alejh.*" "*Debaškom wên waǧah*" means "whither are your camels gone?"

Ba'îr is the common name for a camel, regardless of sex. The sentence: "Your camel is lost, *lekom ba'îren ṣâdi*," implies that one animal was lost, without stating whether a he- or she-camel is meant. Up to ten heads the plural is *ba'îrât* or *ba'rîn*; a larger, unspecified number is *abâ'er.*

Ġemal is the word for a camel between its sixth and twentieth year. A plural of this word is never formed. "How many grown camels (males) have you?" is expressed by the

* Of the names given by the Rwala to the various parts of a camel's body (Fig. 35) I noted down:

1. *'aju*
2. *'arnâna*
3. *ḥaâm*
4. *borṭom*
5. *ǧamm*
incisors: *ṭrnâ'e*; eye-teeth: *nâbân*
6. *bi'ir*
7. *ḥanaḳîn*
8. *laḥje*
9. *ḥeḍâḍ*
10. *ḥeǧr, ḥase'*
11. *idn*
12. *fâ'ân*
13. *ḥâma*
14. *mosen*
15. *'rîba*
16. *dkajjeḳ ar-ṛkuba*
17. *ṣâreb, ḥetf*
18. *sanâm*
19. *ǧerwa, rds as-sanâm*
20. *menâeb*
21. *daffa'*
22. *ǧamb*
23. *sulb*
24. *ẓilwe*
25. *mardeṭa*
26. *'urâḳ*
27. *faḫaḍ*
28. *ḏêl*
root of the tail: *'okrat aḏ-ḏêl*
29. *ḥrbîb*
30. *ṭafne*
31. *'arḳûb*
32. *aḏḳ*
33. *berǧûm*
34. *mafraḳ az-zanâ'*
35. *ẓufr*
36. *ferseṭ*
37. *sirr*
38. *obṭa*
39. *zôr*
40. *ḳâ'*
41. *'aṣâa*
42. *rukba*
43. *ǧrâ'*
44. *ḫaff*
45. *raḍâṣ*
46. *manḫar, maǧbaḥ*
47. *ôlfâer*
posteriors: *'arâra, ṭeja*
sexual organ: *ḥejî*
testicles: *ḫoṣîân*
sexual organ of a she-camel: *eabba*
udder: *dejd*
teats: *ḫfûr.*

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short sentence *"čam ǧemal ʿendakom,"* the answer being: 231
"We have four or nine grown camels, ʿendana arbaʿa la tisʿa zwâmel." Thus instead of the plural of *ǧemal* a different word, *zwâmel*, is used. A herd of grown camels (males) is

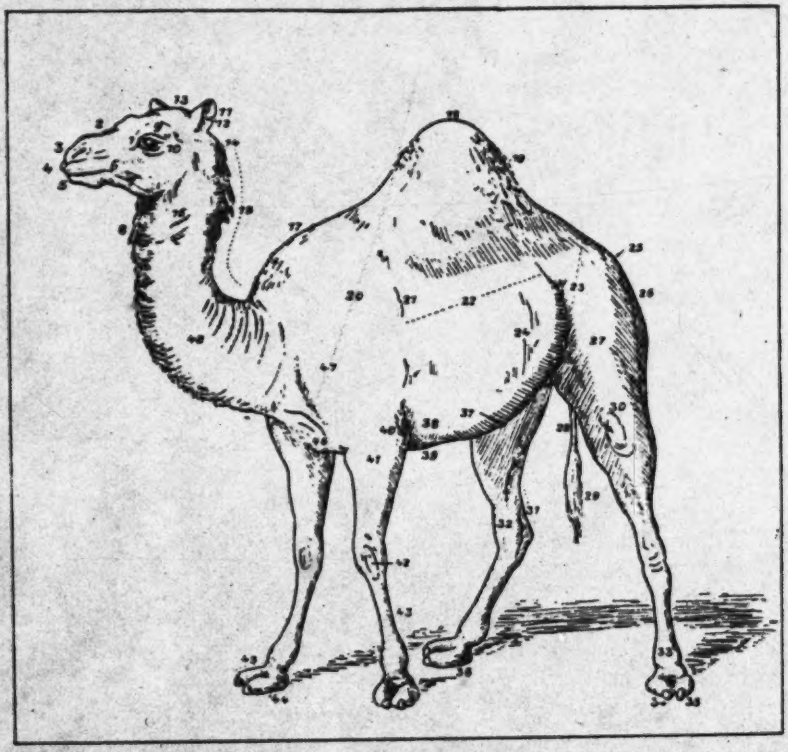

FIG. 35—Diagram of a camel.

never called *raʿijjet al-ǧemal*, but always *raʿijjet az-zeml*. *Zemâjel* are male or female camels that carry loads, if they do not number more than ten.

Nâḳa (pl., *nijâḳ*) is used only in speaking of a grown she-camel — that is from her fifth year onwards. In the year in which the *nâḳa* bears a calf she is known as *ḫalfa*, the next year when again led to the bull she is called *ʿašra* (pl., *ʿašâjer*). When seen to be big with young, she is referred to as *lḳaḥa* (pronounced *ʿḳaḥḥa*). A sterile *nâḳa* is called *ḥâjel* (pl., *ḥîl*).

539x 3. O thou, whose donkeys have trampled down every fountain where they have drunk,
What is destroyed thou must repair with timber and stone.

The Rwejli warns the Ṣlubi not to change his vocation and urges him to return to his people.

[619] Verse 1. The Rwala call every Ṣlubi Abu-l-Ḫala, the father of the desert, i.e. the dweller in the barren desert. *Al-ḫala* is to the Bedouin any region where his camels cannot subsist in a particular year. But the Ṣlubi remains with his asses and a few goats even in such places. In the plural the Ṣlejb are not called Awlâd al-Ḫala, but Awlâd Ṛânem, owing to their belief that they all have the same progenitor, Ṛânem. The Ṣlubi has laid up sorrow in his heart because he will be disappointed. The word *kubb* is used of spilling dirty water or [224] casting aside a useless occupation. *Zanânîḥ* are oval pieces of antelope skin which the Ṣlejb tie over their knees and elbows when crawling after game. They usually cover themselves with the twigs of perennials, giving themselves the appearance of long bushes, and then crawl carefully on their elbows and knees to the herds of gazelles, of antelopes, and even of ostriches. [231] 2. The Ṣlejb keep many common dogs, which guard their flocks [312] against the wolves and hyenas by day and night. 3. They never camp near the large watering places, where they might meet with the Bedouins, whom they avoid as much as possible. However, they know every shallow well in channels filled with coarse sand. In the rainy season the water flows down into the rocky channels, forming after long rains a stream which fills the scorched channel for several days, until the surface water evaporates in the hot sun and only the remainder flows under the coarse sand, filling all the hollows and pits of the rocky bottom. These hollows are known to the Ṣlejb, who shovel away the sand and gravel, wall in the hollow so that it may not sink in, cover it with branches and turf, and then pile on sand, to keep out the sun and hide the water from strangers. When in need of water, they open these hollows, water their donkeys, fill their water bags, and carry them to their tents. The thirsty donkeys frequently trample down the water hole which they have just emptied, compelling the Ṣlubi to repair it before the coming of new rains, if his family and his flock are not to suffer from thirst.

231 A *ruḥûl* (pl., *raḥâjel*) is a *nâḳa* which can be used for both riding and carrying lighter loads.

Ḏelûl means solely a riding camel regardless of sex, although the idea of a she-camel predominates. No plural is made from this word, *rčâb* being used for ten or less, while a larger number is expressed by the word *ǧejš*. This may refer, however, to the riding camels and their riders also.

232 Camels are divided into the thoroughbreds, *ḥorr*, and the common kind, *ʿaži*. A camel is considered a thoroughbred only when, on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, it springs from a thoroughbred sire and a thoroughbred dam. If the mother was covered in the absence of trustworthy witnesses, then her calf is not recognized as thoroughbred, as in such a case it is uncertain whether its sire was of pure blood, *mâ jinʿaref abûh aṣleh mâ hw maẓbûṭ*. If a well-shaped she-camel of the common sort is covered by a thoroughbred bull and the same is done with her female descendants, then a she-camel sprung from this line is recognized as a thoroughbred, *ḥorr*, in the fifth, and the male camel in the ninth, generation, *jarǧaʿ ḥorr ʿala tisʿa*. The best camel breeds are the *ʿomânijje, šarârijje, htejmijje*, and *tîhijje*, indicating the place of their origin: ʿOmân, and the territories of the Šarârât, Htejm, and Tijâha respectively.

231 A stud camel is called *hedûde*. The rutting period is the coldest season of the year, from December 11 to January 21. A rutting camel, *jehîž, hâž az-zeml, hadîr, jehadder* or *jehâder*, is very restless, kicks, hits out with its head, bites, murmurs, and froths at the mouth, *jezabbed* or *taṭlaʿ derîteh* (sic). The question is frequently heard among the Bedouins: "When are you going to lead in your she-camels? *mata theddûn babâ-ʿerkom*," the answer generally being: "We are waiting for a favorable sign on this or that day, *natna al-waǧbet al-flânijje wa-nhedd*." On Monday, Thursday, and Saturday they do not like to lead their she-camels to the bull, for these days are considered the most suitable for undertaking raids, and the Bedouins fear lest with the she-camels the enemy should capture also their young begotten on these days. Therefore they prefer Friday and Sunday, but only with such animals as are unmistakably ready. A she-camel in that condition, *mujasser*, kneels down every little while, is loath to rise, murmurs, *tarṛi*, and as soon as she hears the murmur of a rutting male even breaks her fetters, runs to the bull, kneels, spreads out her

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

hind legs, *tefaḫḫeǧ*, and urinates. No charge is made for leading in, *ẓrâb*, the animal. On the seventh day the she-camel is brought to the camel again. If she refuses to kneel, holds her neck arched, *teʿaǧǧed*, neither lifts her tail, *tešâwel*, nor murmurs, it is certain that the seed, *menn*, has acted. Then she is called pregnant, *ʿašarat;* up to the forty-fifth day she is known as *meʿšer*, after that as *lḳaḥa*. 231

She-camels big with young must be watched carefully lest they pasture on injurious plants. The most dangerous plant in this respect is the *kurb*. If a pregnant animal eats much of it a miscarriage, *aṣʿadat*, is sure to follow; she is then called *ṣaʿûd*. Such a camel can be milked only when a calf is standing close by. In the last month of her pregnancy the camel is called *mûṭi* (pl., *mwâṭi*). Then it is again necessary to watch her because of her natural impulse to run away to some deep gully or to hide, *tenzaʿ* or *nazaʿat*, among crags or sand drifts, there to bear her young. If not found soon by her owner or herdsmen, the calf generally perishes by falling a prey to wild beasts. The place where a camel should parturiate is in front of the tent.

A she-camel carries her young at least twelve months, bears it in February or March, and nurses it a whole year. During the suckling time she is called *ḥalfa*. For the first ninety days the calf is fed on milk only, *jemuṣṣ leben*, which it can have whenever it wishes. During this period it is called *ḥwâr* (pl., *ḥirân*). Beginning with the season of *al-ḳêẓ* (June-October), during which it is allowed to suck only three times a day and learns to graze, it is known as *maḫlûl* (pl., *maḫâlîl*). At the first appearance of fresh grass the calf is weaned and is then called *mafrûd* or *mefarrad* (pl., *mafârîd*). Thus a camel is in its second year by the time it is called *mafrûd*.

In its third year the camel is called either *ḥeżż* (fem., *ḥeżże;* pl., *ḥeḳâjeż* or *ḥeḳeḳa*), or *ḥâši*, or *leži* (fem., *ležijje;* pl., *ležjân*), meaning "meeting," as it will meet its little brother or sister which its mother is going to bear in the beginning of the third year.

In the fourth year it is called *ǧeḏʿ* (fem., *ǧeḏʿa;* pl., *ǧeḏʿân* or *ǧill*).

In the fifth year, when it is known as *ṭeni* (fem., *ṭenijje;* pl., *ṭenjân*), meaning "changing [teeth]," it grows new incisors.

In her sixth year the she-camel is called *rubʿ* (pl., *rubʿân*) and can be covered by the bull for the first time. The next

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231 three years of the she-camel's life are called *ğlûs*, the different years being known as the first *ğils*, *awwal ğils*, the second and the third *ğils*. In her tenth year a she-camel is known as *nuṣûf* (without a plural), and this name she retains to her twentieth year; from then until her death she is a *fâṭer* (pl., *fuṭṭar*).

Young she-camels between their first and eighth year of age are commonly called *bakra* (pl., *abkâr*); between the sixth and tenth year, *fetijje* (pl., *fetât*).

Young male camels for the first six years, until their eye-teeth, *nîbân*, become fully developed, are called *ḳa'ûd* (pl. *ža'dân*).

From his sixth to his twentieth year the camel is called *ğemal* (pl., *zeml*, *zwâmel* or *zemâjel*) and from his twentieth year to his last day, *herš* (pl., *hereša*).

A good she-camel has small ears pointed like a spear blade, *eḏânaha miṯl al-eḥrâb*; eyes shining like red coals *'ajûnaha miṯl al-ḥalâṣa*; a neck arched like the stalk of a date bunch, *rukubatha miṯl al-ğerîda*; the shoulders are muscular, *'aẓûdaha mubramât*; both the breastbone and hoof small, *zowraha w-ḫaffaha ṣaṛîr*; the shoulder blades bulging *nâbijet al-menčeb*; the axillae, *obṭaha*, the lower rib borders *ṭafḥ aẓ-ẓlû'*, and the chest, *ğifšer*, are broad; the thighs finely shaped, *zênat al-fḫûḏ*; she is narrow in the loins, *ẓâmerat aẓ-ẓulb*, and the hump is exactly above the abdomen, *senâmaha markûz fowḳ sirraha*. A hard and therefore erect neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and a bulging hip covered with flesh are likewise signs of the good qualities which a she-camel should have.

The camels are variously colored, the Bedouins having a special name for each shade.

[825] They dislike white animals with some black hairs, *zerḳa*. Calves of this color are generally killed. Those that are not killed are sold to the settlers but never used for breeding.

Pure white is the most favored of all. A white she-camel is called *waẓḥa*. Up to ten heads the plural, *wuẓuḥ*, is used; for a larger, indefinite number, *maṛâṭir*. If the brows and the tail of a she-camel are also pure white, her name is *waẓḥa rḫama*, but if she has black hairs there she is called *waẓḥa mukaḥḥala*, and if she is creamy white all over, *waẓḥa ṛaṭra*. A white she-camel with a shade of pink color is known as *šaḳḥa* (pl., *šiḳḥ*); if of rose tinge, *šaḳḥa' mṛara'*.

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A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥaǧla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra zṛaba'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damûn*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra ḍṛama'*. 231

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabsa'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet al-ḳhawa*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ša'la* (pl., *ši'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ṛurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *meǧehmât*; for larger numbers, *meǧâhîm* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuǧîhah*. For example: Ṭâfḥa, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', 'Aǧla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awǧa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêẓa, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḫejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabša, Ṭamša, 'Ejda, Ǧerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc. [552]

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*. [422]

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuzuḥ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâtîr*. A herd of white she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâtîr* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâtîr* are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years. Then it is called *al-'eli*, it is talked of in the whole desert, and the bravery of the clan that owns it is praised by all, 825 231 422 471 231 556

231 since it is universally known that the enemy always tries
556 first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'arf w-nowmâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *maṛâtîr* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when [237] too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

233 The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *hešle* (pl., *hšel*); a larger one, *ra'ijje* (pl., *ra'âja*) or *ḳaṭî'a* (pl., *ḳaṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zowd*. A little herd owned by a small familly is called *ḏwejd*.

233 Each herd has its own herdsman, *râ'i al-bel*, who is hired
463 for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meğîdijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely
465 six *meğîdijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either a *maḫlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥežž*. It is also his duty to
554 help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

233 In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeẓaḥḥîhen*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *maḏrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ada*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeğḏeb lehen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'ada*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jefalli*) *bel-ba'rîn jamm al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṭ-ṭarî as-sâreḥ*, usually form a single line,

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233 stray beast to come back to its place. Often the lost she-camel joins another herd, goes with it to the camp, moans when she does not hear the familiar voice of the herdsman, and moves towards him as soon as his ditty catches her ear. In case the stray animal is not in the camp, the owner and his friends mount their horses and ride out the same evening to hunt for it. If it is not found, they return the next day before noon, saddle their female riding camels, and the search begins anew. During their absence a member of the owner's kin rides up and down the camp every evening shouting: "Who has seen such and such a she-camel?" If someone happens to have seen her, the usual answer is: "O thou who hast lost a she-camel, know that she is at So-and-So's." No one would ever keep such knowledge to himself. A stray or lost she-camel is called *ḏâheba*, the man who has lost her, *meḏheb*.

[789] Although sucking, young camels are constantly threatened with danger from many beasts of prey, mainly wolves, the herdsman cannot always watch them, especially in a rocky territory or sandy desert, full of drifts and pits. However, in order to preserve them he draws a circle around them with his staff or a sharp stone and says: "The circle of Solomon, son of David, is between us and thee [wild beast]! If thou breakest it, Allâh will break thee! *ḫoṭṭa slejmân eben dâûd bênana w-bênak w-en ḳaṭaʿtaha ḳaṭaʿak allâh.*" This circle is also called *leǧâm*.

VALUE AND USES OF CAMELS

231 511 438 Without camels the Bedouins could not live in the desert. The she-camels give them milk all the year round; this forms the principal, and in many families the only, food for months. With the money received from the sale of camels they buy clothes, arms, and grain for both themselves and their horses. The camels they usually sell to the *fellâḥîn* or to the merchants who import in caravans the various goods needed in the towns and settlements situated far from the sea or from railways; some camels are also sold for meat in Egypt and Irak. The *fellâḥîn* use the camels in plowing, hauling, and threshing, for raising water, and for bringing their various products to the market. Fat she-camels more than twenty years old are bought for their flesh by the ʿAḳejl.

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In 1909 the price of a

maḫlûl	was 10 to 12	*meǧidijjât*	($ 9.00– 10.80)	435
mafrûd	15 „ 20	„	($13.50– 18.00)	
ḥeẓẓe	18 „ 28	„	($16.20– 25.20)	
ǧeḏ'	30 „ 40	„	($27.00– 36.00)	
ṭeni	40 „ 60	„	($36.00– 54.00)	
rub'	60 „ 80	„	($54.00– 72.00)	
good riding camel	85 „200	„	($76.50–180.00).	

The prices fluctuate according to supply and demand; the price of fat old she-camels varies in accordance with the price of cotton in Egypt. If the *fellâḥin* in that country have had a profitable year, they do not stint themselves in camel meat.

For camel's hair the Bedouins get but little. The largest quantity of hair and the longest is given by male camels up to their seventh, and by she-camels to their ninth, year. The older the animal the thinner its hair, the old ones being almost entirely bald on the shanks, belly, and both sides of the neck. Toward the end of April and in May camel's hair is gathered by girls, *al-bel ṭarr wabarha*, who make it into saddle bags, blankets, and sacks. 237

The camel is ridden by the Bedouin on lengthy marches. Indeed, such marches are always made on camels, never on horses. The she-camel is more enduring than the male, persisting longer without abundant pasture or water and not weakening even in the rutting time, whereas the males in the month of February are exhausted to such a degree that they cannot rise from the ground. 492

The most highly valued are those riding she-camels which can eat their fill while on the march without stopping or deviating from their course. An animal of this kind is called *ḥanîč*.

Hedijje is the term applied to a she-camel which grazes only near her resting rider and will not go far enough to lose sight of him.

A female riding camel who is loath to part from her young or herd moans grievously, *taḥenn 'an welef*, for several days and is called *milâf*. But often the murmuring becomes a habit lasting for months. Day after day, and often at night as well, the rolling murmur is heard at regular intervals. It will not cease unless the animal's mouth is tied with a cord, but even then a subdued sound is heard. No sooner is the 231

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231 cord untied than the murmuring starts again, *tarṛi*, in which case nothing remains but to kill the poor brute, or to sell it so that it may torment some one else. The Bedouin prays Allâh to free him from such a she-camel, which he calls *rarrâja*.

492 There are four habits sure to make even the strongest and most enduring she-camel fiercely hated, *ḫubṭ aṭ-ṭaba'*: *ḫrûd*, shying and starting to run away the moment the rider dismounts; *'atûk*, refusing to be guided by either the heel, stick, or rein; *'aǧla'*, when on the march running from plant to plant smelling but not eating any; and finally the habit of kneeling suddenly when on the march and throwing off her rider. A camel that does this is called *ḫallâja*. A she-camel with any of these bad habits is called *dûmijje*, guilty of death, [432] because she may cause her rider's death. The purchaser of a female riding camel in which one of these habits is found within twenty days, can return her, and his money must be repaid in full.

CAMEL SADDLES

The supports of a camel saddle (Fig. 37) are four stout boards about 70 centimeters long and each fashioned in such a way as to form an obtuse angle on the outside about the middle. Above this point a hole 4 by 1 centimeters is cut through each board. The boards are placed together in pairs and fastened with strong nails. Wooden stakes, *dḫâš* (sing., *daḫaš*), 30 centimeters long by 4 wide by 1 thick, are driven through the two openings and project 8 centimeters on each side. The upper portions of the united boards are turned into the shape of cones with knobs at the top. Each knob, *rás* (*a*), has a diameter of about 8 centimeters; the cone, *ṛaṣâle* (*b*), below the knob measures 11 centimeters, and just above the obtuse angle 32 centimeters, in circumference. The lower parts of the boards are fashioned like shovels, *ṣlâf* (*c*), about 27 centimeters long by 1 thick, 20 centimeters wide at the top and 22 at the bottom. The inner sides of each pair of "shovels" form a sharp angle.

These two pairs of united boards form the front and hind parts of the saddle and are connected by four crosspieces (*d* and *h*) called *'aṣṣîa*, *mesâlîb*, or *'aṣâṣel*. Two of these are straight, 48 centimeters long by 1 thick and 8 wide at one end but

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CHAPTER XII

HORSES

The Bedouins assert that no horses were created by Allâh in Arabia. According to their tradition they brought their first horses from the land of the settlers whom they raided. In the inner desert the horses have no place and would perish, did not the Bedouins look after them better than they look after their own children. A runaway horse cannot live long in the desert, while a camel will persist even without a man. Horses are of no economic value but serve merely as weapons for the getting of booty and influence. For this reason they are called *al-murnijât*, the enriching. It is said that the mares' bellies contain treasures and their backs help to win power, *al-ḫejl buṭûnahen kanz wa-ẓhûrahen 'azz*; for they give their owner colts which can be turned into money at any time, and it is much easier to make or repel an attack on horseback than when mounted on camels. The more horses a tribe has, the more feared it is by its neighbors and the greater its power. But successes gained on horseback are not lasting. The defeated neighbors unite for revenge, and soon both the riders and horses are annihilated. Hence the saying: "The horse reins are snakes, and death dwells on their backs; *al-ḫejl ersânahen ḥajâja wa-ẓhûrahen manâja*."

HORSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

The Rwala classify horses[10] as common ones, *kdiš* (pl., *kudš*), and thoroughbreds, *asîl* (pl., *aṣâjel*). The common horses are not kept in the desert. Of the thoroughbreds they raise for the

[10] The different parts of the horse (Fig. 49) are called:

1. 'arnûna	12. ḫajrat al-'aja	24. aṣlâb
2. mânjar	13. ẓfun	25. faḫad
3. ḥarṭum	14. garṣât al-ẓfun	26. ja'ar
4. 'ilwa	15. fâ'ûs	27. 'urṭâb
5. mâlâbeen	16. ma'âref	28. ḥrâ'
6. ḥawâ	17. rujûba	29. dajd, ubbar: ḫâr, tenin
7. warîd	18. ḥâwil	30. awrta, sirr
8. ḥâlba: in the middle of	19. ahâkir	31. baṭn
9. ḥanjar	20. gahr	32. ḥanâ
10. maskûna' al-'aja	21. mgaṣṣaṣ	33. kâkûla
11. 'aja	22. ḥajja'	34. kâ'
	23. 'alwat aṣ-ẓâl	35. mašṭam

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232 most part mares of the following breeds: 1. *khejle*, 2. *ṣaḳlâwijje ʒudrânijje*, 3. *dhama*, 4. *maʿnaḳijje*, and 5. *ǧilfe*. However, the following are also recognized as thoroughbreds: 6. *ḥamdânijje*, 7. *ʿobejjet ummu ǧrejs*, 8. *ṣwêtijje*, and 9. *amm ʿarḳûb*. The *khejlet al-ʿaǧûz* breed is supposed to be the oldest, from which all others have descended. The stallions of any of the above-named breeds can be admitted to cover, but the colt always bears the name of its dam's breed.

A thoroughbred mare is called *faras*, the plural being expressed by the word *ḫejl*, and as, with but few exceptions, only mares are bred, the word *faras* has come to mean horses regardless of sex, the rider being known as a *fâres*; the plural, *fursân*, is rarely heard, *ṣanam* or *ḫejl* being used instead.

•231 Each horse and mare bears certain marks indicating its value. These marks are called *sijâse*, and whoever understands them, *jesûs sijâsetha*, decides whether a mare is good or not. A good mare has long ears, legs, and neck; the croup, the root of the tail, and the coronet, *žên*, are short. The nostrils and eyes are large and the distance between the foreknees, *faḥǧâ bên riǧlejha*, broad and spacious. The forehead should bulge forward, *ǧebhatha nâṭṭa'*, the breast should be arched, and the forelock, mane, and hair of the tail should be thick, *ʿelematha w-ʿačwaha*.

Curling hair from the navel to the udder is called *dumejṭir*. Two curls one above the other, between the eyes are *saʿdên*; *hejčelên* are curls on the right and left side of the neck, and *zibdet aṣ-ṣaḳf* are curls on either side of the sexual organ. All these curly spots of hair, *fatâjel*, are signs of good qualities in the mare.

On the *dhama*, *maʿnaḳijje*, and *ǧilfe* breeds the Rwala love to see white spots called *nišân* (pl., *nijâšin*) either on the forehead or legs. A small round spot on the forehead is a *naǧme*; a long one a *ṣurra*; if it extends to the upper lip it is a *šedaḥ*. A white spot on the leg is a *ḥaǧela*. A mare with short white spots on both hind legs and on the left foreleg is known as *meḥaǧǧelat aṭ-ṭalâṭe muṭleḳat al-jemîn*. If there

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30. *ʿafejne*
31. *rukbe*
32. *ǧrf*
33. *mḫaddade*
40. *šfa*
41. *ḫâfer*
42. *gadr*
43. *warid*
44. *silleme, salme*

45. *rasan*
marwaṭ, posteriors.
pubes, sexual organ of the mare
saḳf, labia of the sexual organ of the mare
ḥaṣâṣa, testicles
ʒeʒe } sexual organ of
zubb } the stallion

a. *ʿafejna*
b. *ukejra*
c. *mḫaddade*
d. *šfa*
e. *maḫaṭṭ aš-šaʿr*
f. *ḫâfer*
f1. *ʿafejat al-ḫâfer*, the inner fleshy part
g. *ḥdr'*, horseshoe.

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is such a short white spot on the mare's right foreleg, the leg is called *jad al-kâteb*; if only on the left hind leg, *al-merčebe*; spots on both hind legs only are known as *sirwâl*. 231

Ḳâẓât are mares which bite the bridle tightly when running. They must, therefore, breathe carefully and can run much longer than mares with open jaws.

Signs of bad qualities are: a curly spot above the nostrils, *ḳabr*; one at about the middle of the neck in front, *šaḳḳ al-ǧejb*; such spots (known as *trabijjât*) on the lower part of the thighs, *ṭafne*; and similar spots above the heart. Other unfavorable signs are: a white spot on the lower lip, *'aẓẓ an-nâǧed*; a white spot on the left foreleg only, *naḳḳâlt al-čefan*; a white spot on the left fore- and right hind leg, *ǧebrâṣ*; and finally such spots on both forelegs only, *žejd*.

To destroy or at least to moderate the unfavorable significance of these marks, *sijâsât an-nijâšin*, the owner of the mare lays a black goat on her shoulder blades, kills it, and lets the blood run down over the mare. This is called *naṭṭâḥ aš-ša'ûr*.

The Rwala prefer a pure white mare without any other color or shade. Such a mare is called *ṣafra'*. The chiefs appear on mares of this color at all the local festivities, *aṣ-ṣifr markûb al-amâra len-naẓâra*, but never use them on their raids, as pure white objects are visible both by day and night at a great distance.

A *zerḳa'* (Fig. 50) is a white mare with many fine black hairs. If the dark shade predominates, it is a *zerḳa' nîlijje*; if it is reddish in places, *zerḳa' rabša'*.

A dark brown mare is called *ḥamra'* (Fig. 51); if without any white spots, *ḥamra' talsa'*; if there is a white spot on one of the legs, *ḥamra mḥaǧǧela*, and *ḥamra mḥammasa* if the color reminds one of roasted coffee.

A light yellow mare is called *šaḳra'*. If she shines like gold, *šaḳra' ǧhûb*; one with all her legs white up to the knees is *šaḳra' mḫawwaṣa*.

A dark colored or black mare is known as *dḥama'* and as *dḥama' ṛurâbijje* if she has the bluish luster characteristic of a raven.

The Rwala imagine that the speed of a horse can be guessed from its color; they also say that the *šaḳra'* mare will not be overtaken by one of any other color, if the gallop be not of long duration. The *šaḳra'* is the fastest but not the most enduring of the mares. The palm for this quality belongs to

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231 the *ḥamra'*, which can gallop or trot all day without sinking from exhaustion.

BREEDING OF HORSES

232 The large clans have, as a rule, only one stud horse; this they never keep in the camp together with other horses but intrust it to the care of a specially selected slave, who pitches his tent in some gully beyond the camp, from where the stud horse can see no mares. To prevent the horse from catching sight of some runaway mare the slave hangs a full nose bag over its head early in the morning, leaving it on until evening and only taking it off while the animal is being watered. No more than two mares a day are covered, *šabbûh* or *'allûh*, by the stud horse, one in the morning, *naṭṭ*, and the other in the evening, *ḫaṣm*. When a mare is in heat, *mu'ṭi*, she must be led in as soon as possible; otherwise her heat might pass, *ekṭafat*. The owner of the stallion asks the owner of the mare whether he wants a morning or evening cover, *naṭṭ walla' ḫaṣm*, or both. If he decides for both, no other mare will be led in that day. For one cover the charge is one or two *meğîdijjât* ($0.90—1.80) and is called *mohr al-ḥṣân*.

The period of twenty-five days after the mare's covering is called *'edijet aš-šba'*. After that time she is led to the stud horse again, *je'arreẓha*. If she kicks out against or repulses him, it is judged that she has conceived, *aḳẓabat*; she is then known as *lḳaḥa* and has to be well nursed and fed so as to avoid a miscarriage, *ṭaraḥat* or *ramat*. In the last month before foaling the mare is called *muḥres*. When she has foaled, *afradat* or *waledat*, she is known as *raṛûs*. If a male colt is born, it is simply buried in sand or thrown into a gully so that the mother may not be weakened needlessly. The birth of a filly is the cause of rejoicing to all the owner's family and of congratulations from both his kin and acquaintances, just as if a boy had been born. Such a *raṛûs* mare is then wrapped up in blankets, taken to the tent on cold nights, and gets better food than the owner himself; for a whole year thereafter no one would think of saddling and riding her, in order that the quantity of her milk may not be reduced and that the filly may be well nourished. The filly also gets camel's milk both in the evening and morning, and often the owner and his family go to bed without supper so that the mare and her young may

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231 The word *rumaka* is applied both to a mare and to a woman who is neither too young nor too old. One may ask: *"Hi bint,* is she a virgin still?" and receive the answer: *"Lâ w-allâh hi rumaka zêne,* no, she is a pretty woman in her best

FIG. 50—A *zerḳa'* mare.

age." *"Has-surba ma'aha ḥoṣon,* are there stallions with this troop?" *"Lillâh killehen rumak mâ beha ḥṣân;* no, only grown mares; not a stallion among them."

Ḥṣân (pl., *ḥoṣn*) is a stallion between its fifth and twentieth years; after that time it is called *'awd.*

422 231 There is hardly a mare that is owned by one man only. As a rule she belongs to two men or even more, *šerîče bel-faras,* who share anything she may give, *tetaḥâšer al-beḥût bejn aš-šerîčên.* If a mare is bought by two Bedouins on the understanding that her colts also will be their common property, the deal is called *bî' ḥeğra.* If the agreement is that the mare will belong to one but the first and second colt to the other, it is a *bî' meṭâni* deal. When a man buys a mare for himself alone without any other agreement, a *bî' meḳalfa'* is spoken of, though only

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a city man or a European buys in that manner—never a son of the desert. 422 231

The mare owned by two men is called *mărbaṭ*; the part owner who takes care of her is *râ'i-l-marbaṭ*. He is responsible

FIG. 51—A *ḥamra'* mare.

for her health and must give compensation should the animal die or miscarry owing to his negligence. If the partners want to annul, *jetaḳâṣarûn*, their agreement, they go to the chief's tent and declare it before witnesses, so that they cannot blame each other afterwards, whatever may happen. A partner can also be compelled to give up his rights, *muḳâṣara*, if the other or others desire it or have to sell the mare. For instance, the chief may be satisfied that the man who insists on breaking the agreement is unable in any way either to provide himself with new camels, to procure the amount needed to buy a bride for his son, or to buy weapons demanded by the avenger for blood that has been shed. Possibly the chief may be convinced that the part owner would not get as much for the mare from his own people as a stranger or a European offers him. Under 231 422 425

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such circumstances the chief might well decide to sell the animal in question himself and to give the unwilling part owner one half of the proceeds. The latter also is privileged himself to buy out the other's share in the mare at the figure offered by the stranger. The price paid for a mare is called *sijâḳ*.

EQUIPMENT, USE, AND VALUE OF HORSES

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The word for a horse saddle (Figs. 52, 53, 54) is *meršeḥa*; "Saddle the horses! *meršeḥû-l-ḥejl*." The saddle consists of a leather or quilted, woolen cushion, *žerijje* (Fig. 52*a*), sewn to a cloth cover, *libbâde* (*d*), and firmly fastened to the saddle. The saddle is also supplied with girth and stirrups; *b*, *râs al-bedd*; *c*, *karbûz*; *e*, *ḫrûǧ al-meršeḥa*; *f*, *ḥelâḳ*; *g*, *ḥzâm*; *h*, *bṭâne*; *j*, *zamḥa*; *k*, *bzîm*; *l*, *rukb*.

The rein is very simple; the bridle proper, *ʿanân* (Figs. 55, 57, pp. 392-393) with an iron ring, *ʿaẓeda* (*a*), is but rarely used.

The forelegs of a mare are nearly always fettered with an iron chain called *ḥadîd* (Fig. 56, p. 392). "*Ṣakk al-ḥadîd ʿala-l-faraṣ*," means "he fettered his mare's legs"; "*Ḥaddedû-l-ḥejl*, put fetters on the horses!" The single parts of the shackles are as follows: *a*, *ʿarejža*; *b*, *ḳṣuba*; *c*, *sinsile*. They are closed or opened by a key which is usually in the care of the owner's wife, daughter, or sister. It is also the duty of these women to harness the mare, especially when an alarm cry is given. Then the rein is thrown over her head and the bridle put in the mouth, *saffafatha* (or *ṣaʿaṭatha*) *al-ʿanân*, or *alǧamatha*. "*Saklab aw zabb beẓahr al-mohra w-dafaʿaha*" means: "the rider throws himself into the saddle of the mare and rides off."

The Bedouin never undertakes a long trip on a mare but always on a camel. Only when he pays a visit to a neighboring camp, or rides out to meet a dear guest, or repulses an attack, or assails the enemy's herds will he use a horse.

With a rider on her back the mare will walk with a light, long pace, *teḳudd ḳadda*. When defiling before their prince or commander, *ʿarṣa*, on a festive occasion or in time of danger, the Bedouins hold their mares up short so that they leap forward, rise on their hind legs, back slightly, and then leap forward again. This performance is called *heḏeba* or *tehaḏḏob*. In a mock battle, *leʿeb al-ḥejl*, or during a man-to-man fight, *ṭrâd*, the mares will spring in the same manner. Mares gallop

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CARE, DISEASES, AND NAMES OF HORSES

231 Nothing causes the Bedouin so much labor and trouble as a mare. It is easier to raise and bring up five children than a single filly, as the children require especial care only in their first two years but the care of a mare has no end. It is necessary to provide her with food and drink, to protect her against heat and cold, to guard her from disease and robbers, also to quarrel with the other part owners, etc. It is the business of the women and slaves to feed the mare and care for her — all the Bedouin man will do is to give orders. As soon as he rises in the morning he shouts: "Wake up the mare! *ruddow nafs al-faras*," and his wife or his daughter hastens to fill the food bag with barley and hang it over the mare's head. Towards evening, before the sun touches the horizon, he again calls out: "Hang it on the mare! *'alležow 'ala-l-faras*," and it is his wife once more who has to fill the bag and put it on the animal. At noon the master commands: "Water the mare!" and the wife pours water from the large leather bag — which she must often carry on her back home from the well — into a bowl and holds it before the resting mare. The animal is led to the well only if this is in the middle of the camp and there are no signs of danger. No mare can be without water for longer than twenty-four hours. The whole camp may suffer from thirst, *râs az-zma'*, and the children cry for a drop of water, but the master, unmoved, will pour the last remnants of water into a dish and set it before the pampered mare. Frequently some spirited mare shies, *šâšat*, causing the others also to shy, *šawwašat al-ḫejl*, and all to run out from the camp, but the Bedouin sits undisturbed, leaving the women to hurry after the animals, calm them, and bring them back home.

The shoes worn by the horses are flat and thin and have a small hole in the center, *ḥda'*. Without a shoe, *ḥafjâne*, it is impossible for a mare to walk on gravel for any length of time, as its sharpness injures the hoof.

232 The most frequent diseases to which a horse is subject are:

Misma: inflammation of the muscles of the back; cured by a mixture of *beleḥt al-ḫejl* and *feliti* drugs (sold by the Kubejsi) and of coffee or melted butter, which mixture is poured into the nostrils, *jeṣa"eṭûnah*.

Mwalli: inflammation of the bowels accompanied by diarrhea; this is cured by burning around the navel with a red-hot iron.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Ẓeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ṛanameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *aḍlah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Ẓeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḍahna 'alejhom:* 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛarrabna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ǧezîre. Some time later the wounded man, *alli moṣṭijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *aṣ-ṣâṭi*, who, as it was the time of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 516 the while. The *saḥâba* is always followed by rain. 8. *Nisrijje* is a dry, icy wind of high velocity, a gale. When caught in it, the rider places his right hand in his left and his left hand in his right sleeve, pressing them to his breast to keep his cloak from being opened by the wind and urging his animal on with heels only. 9. He sits in the same posture when a heavy rain, accompanied by a piercing wind, beats against his face. *Nisnâs* is a light, moist wind which cuts the face and penetrates the clothes to the bones. 10. *Mutîn al-ʿalâbi* is one who, disliking to bend his neck or to salute, is full of conceit. *Aṭ-ṭîne* or *bejt aṭ-ṭîne* is a hut built of large unbaked bricks. 11. *Šahâlîl* are the single date-covered twigs of the date bunch, called *ǧenw*. The settlement of Ǧubba lies north-northwest of Ḳnaʾ in the Nefûd. 12. The host paints on both sides of the necks of the she-camels belonging to his guests a thick line with the blood of the animal which he has killed for them. Men seeing these marks ask the host's name, and thus his praise extends to all parts. The head of an animal is never set before the guests but given to the poor.

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Aṭ'an la'ajni bakṙaten miš'âf
waẓha' tezedd ḥwâraha
min fowḳ šaḳra čannaha-l-ḥaṭṭâf
w-mu'askaran mismâraha.

I will stab to protect my she-camel with long thick
hair on the hump
Pure white, guiding her young by low murmurs;
I will stab from the back of a sorrel resembling a wild
Whose shoe nails are bent inward. [beast

[231] *Bakra* is a she-camel not yet eight years old. The humps of she-camels which have never carried loads or riding saddles are covered with long thick hair. They also grow very fat. *Waẓha'*, a pure white she-camel, is the most prized among the Rwala. *Ḥwâr* is the name given to a sucking camel calf. The careful mother looks back at her young incessantly and warns it by low and short murmurs not to go far away and get lost, *tezeddeh*. *Ḥaṭṭâf* is either a wild beast or a good hunting hound which attacks its prey without being urged. The warrior is mounted on a sorrel which also
[492] starts in pursuit of the enemy of her own accord. Nothing will hold her back, except perhaps the sharp pieces of basalt and lava, which may injure her feet. But no such danger threatens the mare of our rider, as her shoes are well nailed on. The nail passes through the horn of the hoof and is then bent inward, *mu'askarnn mismâraha*, to prevent its loosening and falling out.

Šiḳhan ta'âwed lar-ruḥûl
jowm aṣ-ṣabi dawda laha
tišrah 'ala-lli jiṭ'anûn
jowm al-ǧanab jibra' laha.

White she-camels of reddish hue accustomed to carry
As soon as the lad cries *'daw'* [loads
Begin to yearn for those who can stab,
Knowing that the protecting troop will soon join them

233 *Ruḥûl* means the she-camels carrying smaller loads, especially the tent and its furniture, on the march. They are usually good tempered and will obey the youth whenever he urges them in a quiet voice to turn or to stop. The lad, *ṣabi*, either sits on one of them or walks behind and cries: "*Daw*, O So-

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and-So," calling the animals by their different names. This call is termed *daw* or *dawda*; the youth *jedôdi*. He urges them in this manner especially when there is danger of a hostile attack, in order to keep his herd quiet, for otherwise they would shy, throw off their loads, and run away. The older and, therefore, calmer animals understand at once that danger threatens them, and stop and wait till joined, *jibra' laha*, by their protecting troop, *ǧanab*.

Jâ nâjiman 'an fâṭereh
maǧhûl 'ajneh bes-sahr
ḥalûbeteh rukûbeteh
ǧelûbeteh jowm ad-dahr.

Oh, he who sleeps unmindful of his old she-camel!
In his heedlessness he keeps not his eye awake
Over his camel which he milks, which he can ride,
And sell, too, when want threatens him.

Nâjem 'an has the same meaning as *sâhi 'an*. The watchman sleeps carelessly beside his camels. The word *maǧhûl* or *ǧâhel* is used of a lad from fourteen to eighteen years old, who, from thoughtlessness, makes all kinds of mistakes. *Jowm ad-dahr*, or *jowm al-maḥal*, or *jowm al-ṛolla*, mean the period of want and misery caused by light and irregular rains. At such times the younger camels cannot even sufficiently nurse their sucking young and give no milk for use of the owner's family, thus compelling him to sell the old camels in order to buy barley or wheat for himself and his children.

Jâ nâjeme nowm al-fahad
lâ teẖ'edûn an-nâjeme
a'ṭû-l-'aššâjer ḥaḳḳehen
w-ar-rûḥ mâ hi dâjeme.

Oh, do not awaken this sleeping one
Who sleeps the light sleep of the panther;
Let pregnant camels have their right
And [remember that] the soul will not remain [in the body] forever.

'Aišra', a camel big with young, sleeps lightly, is easily frightened, and just as easily shies. Frightened camels run as long as possible and will not stop until completely exhausted.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539K 231 Often they run all day and all night, many of them miscarrying in consequence. In our song the defenders of the camels are called upon to repel the hostile attack quickly and effectively, so that not even one single she-camel may awaken. The pregnant camel is entitled to protection, as she is willing to give her protector both her calf and her milk. Her protector should not be afraid of losing his life. The human soul will not remain forever in the human body. A man must die, even though he always stay at home in his bed and never take part in a fight.

Jâ haǧmeten ʿendah ḥarrâs
w-al-mowt ʿend-arkânaha
w-mâ ḳaṭaʿna ʿendah min râs
mâ derhamen ḥirânaha.

Oh, the herd sleeping far from the camp under their guard's care!
Death is circling around them from all sides.
How many heads we cut off there
[So quickly that] not even the suckling calves started to trot.

539K *Haǧme* signifies a herd spending the night far from the camp; it is also called *ʿazîb*. *Haǧǧamna* is equivalent to *mraḥna*, we spent the night. *Arkân* are the four corners of the world. *Min râs* is pronounced *mir râs*. *Derham* is the camel trot. The men guarding the camels repelled a bloody attack so quickly that even the timorous calves were not alarmed and did not run away.

Al-ʿalja taraʿ bel-ḫaṭar
w-ar-riǧl fowḳ al-maʿlebe
ḥenna čemaʾ sejlen nḥadar
naff al-ʿaḍaʾ bel-meǧnibeh.

Our camels are grazing amidst danger;
[Alien] feet already touch [their] necks,
But we, we are like a torrent which swiftly rolls
And carries away all that it gathers up between its banks.

Al-ʿAlja is the name given by the Rwala to their herds, especially the white ones. He who succeeds in mounting it

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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15. Woe to their chief for his reign! Long has it endured in his kin,
And he might peacefully rest in the irrigated depressions.
16. Thou hast begun a war with a tribe that can strike thee from afar,
As even the hardest iron yields when thou takest pains to bore it.
17. The chief, Aḫu Dinja, is accustomed to heroic deeds,
And the bone he grinds will change into flour.
18. As soon as the rutting she-camels dashed out, Sbejbeḫ fled, not to return,
And like an ʿOmân camel forgot all prudence.
19. Al-Jâḳîn, too, hurried, though longing for our supplies.
And in his flight loosened both rope and rein.
20. On war tents they trod, O Ǧdê'! when fleeing
From our face, just as the followers of the leader with the wild poppy-red tarbush.

The poet was Menzel eben Durmi; the reciter, ʿAwde al-Kwéčbi, aided by Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. Muḥammad eben Smejr was a dangerous enemy, *firz nedd*; tenacious in executing his plans, *lowlab miftâḥ*; of indomitable will, *râʿ al-ǧerʿa*; and greatly devoted to the Turkish Government. Unable to defeat the Rwala, he asked for Turkish help. This was given him by the commander of the Turkish garrison in Syria, who sent him a cavalry corps composed of regular troops and of Druse, Turcoman, and Kurdish volunteers. To avoid the threatening danger the Rwala asked some chiefs who were friendly both with Muḥammad and themselves to intercede, but they accomplished nothing. Then they sent imploring letters, *jetadaḫḫelûn ʿalejh*, which Muḥammad answered with the threat that he would not become their friend before he had crushed them with help of the military. Fearing Muḥammad's strength, some of the Rwala's allies deserted them at this moment. Driven to desperation, the Rwala now sent their herds in charge of their wives and children to the inner desert, *šarraḳow*, mounted their camels, surprised Muḥammad and his Turkish auxiliaries, cut off their return into the settled territory, and drove them into the desert, where many of them perished either by arms or thirst.

539* 231

Verse 1. The male camel is wiry, but the she-camel more enduring. Sunk-in loins are a sign of exhaustion in a camel.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

One in that condition cannot be frightened. The fatter a camel, the more spirited and nervous it is. *Muṭrašâni* is a camel used mostly on shorter journeys. 2. Muḥammad eben Smejr lost his honor, therefore he should lose his beard too. To shave a man's beard is the greatest punishment among the Rwala. *Eḥsân* or *ḥsâni* is a razor used in shaving. *jeḥasseno*. 4. Ṭwîl al-Feľġ, the High Mountain Covered With Snow, here means Hermon, inhabited chiefly by the Druses. 5. *Zaḥḥâd, 'ajjâf*, or *za'lân min roll* are men who cannot show their hatred. *Al-man'* means pardoning an enemy who yields. The pardoned enemy, *mani'*, may remain in the tent until he has an opportunity to return home. Muḥammad and Ḥasan Pasha, the commander of the Turkish soldiers, declared that every Rwejl — even if he had yielded — should be slain. 6. The *awlâd meġles* were members of the Ša'lân reigning kin. They with their servants and slaves were the first to attack the Ešâġe'a Muḥammad's allies, whose war cry was: *"Râ' al-ġed'a ana-ben me'ġel; O* protector of Ġed'a, I am Eben Me'ġel!" 8. *Suâd* denotes a definite course. *Mâ beha suâd* means either that the Ešâġe'a were compelled to change their direction or that their counter attack did not meet with success. Eben Ḥaġġâġ and Ḥamâmde are kins of the Weld 'Ali, subject to Muḥammad eben Smejr. 9. Awlâd Ġam'ân was the name given to Da'mân, Nṣejr, and Šlâš, the three heroes of the Ša'lân kin. The Kurdish volunteers wore red waistcoats and red tunics. 10. *Makrûra* is a rifle of the original make, not an imitation. *Ṣowb beṣmâd*, direction to the goal; *ṣâmed ṣowb* signifies a marksman who hits his target, *mâ jiḥṭi*. 13. *Mowteh ḥakîk*: as if a sacrifice, *ḥakîka*, had been brought for him; his death is atoned for. In the opinion of the Rwala fallen warriors are allotted wide pastures in Paradise by Allâh. 14. *Ṭurṭumâni* is a derisive name for the Turks, Turcomans, and Kurds, whose languages the Rwala do not understand. 17. Aš-Šejḫ Aḥu Dinja alludes to Nâjef aḥu Dinja, the first of the Ša'lân family to rule the Rwala. 18. The camels of the attacking Rwala were so spirited that they neighed as if rutting and dashed at the enemies as if they were camels for whom they were craving. Sbejbeḫ was the commander of the regular cavalry. 19. 'Aġel al-Jâkîn, an officer subordinate to Sbejbeḫ, wanted to ambush the camels carrying grain and other foodstuffs to the Rwala before their return to the inner desert. A horse usually has two halters, one without a bridle, which holds the rope for

231, 232, 233, 492, 539

[General information about horses and camels will be found in category 231. Specific information about breeding, diseases and veterinary science will be found in category 232, about herding and pasturing in 233. Specific information pertaining to the use of camels and horses in transportation, associated practices and descriptions of gear will be found in category 492. For native texts applying to camels see category 116, pp. 340-346, 358-368; to horses, pp. 383-388.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

8. The bridge of her nose glistens like the blade of an Indian sword;
   To pearls and corals her teeth I compare.
9. Oh, her spittle! Like viper-wine it is used,
   For it heals one bitten by a snake as soon as he drinks of it.
10. Oh, the neck of my darling! like that of a gazelle
    Or the white antelope which men hunt on horseback.
11. Her breasts are adorned by tattooing with gems precious and costly.
    Which neither the wealth of Persia nor of Syria could buy.
12. Her breasts, they are apples, — alas, for my loss that has bereft me of reason! —
    A china cup set on a tray.
13. Her arms glisten as a silver pot,
    And her little finger is a burnished gold stick.
14. How slender is she! I think not she has yet born children.
    To a sprig of wild cherry I liken her, as it sways in the air.
15. O ye who hear this voice, have mercy on me!
    O Moslems! will you not pity one dead?
16. Bring here my mistress, set her before me
    [illegible] whom I die.
17. Oh, may he who reviles me have no kin,
    Or become a captive seized by unbelievers.

The poet was Nimr eben 'Adwân; the reciter, Ğwâd al-'Âni. The poet sits on a steep stone pile, laments, and describes the beauty of his dead sweetheart, with whom he wishes to be buried. Verse 1. *Ḥorr šemâli* is a camel recognized as pure-blooded by the tribes camping in al-Belḳa' and the Ḥawrân districts, whereas the tribes living farther east and south deny this, declaring it is by no means certain that both of its parents were thoroughbreds. 3. *Riğm* is an artificial pile of stones. Such piles are usually found on the most prominent hills and serve as shelters for the watchers or spies, who, lying down at their post, may observe the whole country around. *Radîr* is a hollow in a channel where the rain water remains even when the stream had dried up. 5. *Ṣalab* is a feather from the hips of an ostrich, used as an ornament or bouquet. 9. *Dâbb* is any poisonous snake of some length; short ones are known as *efʿi*. 11. The breasts are often covered with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

12. She is clear white, pink, and bordered with red,
And her glory exceeds the beauty of Joseph.
13. No untruth I speak, nor is it a fable,
For, after all, I am no maker of stories.
14. He who will revile me must have less wisdom than a bull or she-ass,
For easier it is to persuade a bull which when bidden turns.
15. By Allâh! I shall not find her even among the houris.
Therefore, to describe what has passed away is of no help.
16. By Allâh himself! with her death my life is destroyed;
Hence wise is moderation for the sake of Allâh, who knows all secrets.

831x
539x

This poem, composed by the poet Nimr eben 'Adwân, was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm, who learned it from his mother, who hailed from the Sirḥân tribe.

Verse 1. *Ḳalam* is a pen cut from stout reed. *Zejzaf* or *nâ'em* means "smooth, soft." 2. *Ṯilb* is a she-camel, old, toothless, and therefore very emaciated. *Ṯâwi* denotes such a beast which can kneel but on account of its weakness cannot rise again. Sometimes a feeble she-camel of this kind is left behind on the camping ground; the poor beast tries to get up, but every time sinks down again uttering bitter moans. Her deep sighs are heard far around. She longs for her companions whom she is not to see again, and is afraid of the wolves. 4. *'Aḏâra* is the name for all young women, whether virgins or not. A virgin is called *bikr*; a female who has lost her virginity, *mâḥûḍa*. Singâr is a mountain ridge southwest of Mosul. 5. The daughters of the Ṣlejb excel by their perfect shapes. *Šihâra* is the name given by the Ṣlejb to their pure-blooded asses, which they often cross with the wild asses. The Ṣlejb women are often elaborately tattooed on their cheeks. 6. *Hawâdeǧ*, quiverings, shakings, the poetical term for *ẖetab*, means "large richly colored litters which rock freely." *Ḥawwâr* signifies a camel of the inner desert, inured to thirst, whereas a *ǧûdi* is a camel from districts with plenty of water. A *ǧûdi* is stronger, but a *ḥawwâr* will endure more fatigue. 9. *Ṭobb* denotes "come near," "step into the center." 12. The cheeks are clear white and pink and red at the edges. According to the story, Joseph, the son of the patriarch Jacob, was very handsome. 13. *Ḳamâra* is a story pleasant to hear but fictitious. A *bejjâr* is a blackamith, who beside swinging the ham-

[551] [232] [304] [231]

539x 3. Even wert thou sprung of Turkoman stallions, thou wouldst not be used to breed,
Ay, even if thou hailedst from the manure heaps on Sâǧûr or from those who grew up there.
4. O al-Hebdâni! O thou who with poems adornest thyself!
Turki swallowed a single mouthful and nobody wished him good digestion.
5. Abu Nawwâf will surprise thee mounted on a mare with narrow high hoofs
And the Âḍân and Šijâb troops with him.

Meḥde al-Hebdâni, a poet from the Fed'ân tribe, had assailed the Rwala in a poem beginning with the words:

'Endi leben ša'lân ḥmûlen ta'abba,
For Eben Ša'lân I have a good load [of reproaches].

These reproaches are answered by Muḥammad âl Mhelhel in our poem. Meḥde was the son of a man who joined the Fed'ân, there married a Fed'ân woman, and not long after the wedding left again. Slanderous tongues claimed that Meḥde was not the son of the man whom his mother had wedded; others said that his father was not a Bedouin and as such was not permitted to marry a Bedouin woman, and that he had disappeared through fear of being killed, should it become known that he had deceived the kin of his wife. Muḥammad advises him, therefore, to make sure of his descent rather than meddle with the affairs of the free Bedouins.

Verse 2. Because his descent is uncertain and he himself a coward, it would be best for him if he should deprive his little sons of their health, *saḥḥem*. *Howš* is the excitement, bravery, which takes hold of men when fighting, *taḥâwašown* (or *taḥârabown*). *"Hebb"* is said in anger, instead of *"eḫs"* or *"o'ḳob"* meaning "Shame!" "Away!" *Lejt howšak jehabbe* means, according to the explanation given me by the poet: "May thy courage awaken." Others, however, maintained that the words signify: "May thy courage be spat upon; may it be gone; away with thy courage!" The Fed'ân tribe camps for nearly six months amongst the settlers who invite gypsies to their weddings for merrymaking. 3. In the neighborhood of the river Sâǧûr, where the Fed'ân also encamp, the pure blood of horses is not of much importance, a mare being admitted to any kind of a stallion. But even there Meḥde could not

231 A *ruḥûl* (pl., *raḥâjel*) is a *nâḳa* which can be used for both riding and carrying lighter loads.

Delûl means solely a riding camel regardless of sex, although the idea of a she-camel predominates. No plural is made from this word, *rŏûb* being used for ten or less, while a larger number is expressed by the word *ǧejš*. This may refer, however, to the riding camels and their riders also.

●232 Camels are divided into the thoroughbreds, *ḥorr*, and the common kind, *'aźi*. A camel is considered a thoroughbred only when, on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, it springs from a thoroughbred sire and a thoroughbred dam. If the mother was covered in the absence of trustworthy witnesses, then her calf is not recognized as thoroughbred, as in such a case it is uncertain whether its sire was of pure blood, *mâ jin'aref abûh aṣleh mâ hw maźbût*. If a well-shaped she-camel of the common sort is covered by a thoroughbred bull and the same is done with her female descendants, then a she-camel sprung from this line is recognized as a thoroughbred, *ḥorr*, in the fifth, and the male camel in the ninth, generation, *jarǧa' ḥorr 'ala tis'a*. The best camel breeds are the *'omânijje, šarârijje, ḥtejmijje*, and *tihijje*, indicating the place of their origin: 'Omân, and the territories of the Šarârât, Htejm, and Tijâha respectively.

231 A stud camel is called *hedûde*. The rutting period is the coldest season of the year, from December 11 to January 21. A rutting camel, *jehîž, hâž az-zeml, hadîr, jehadder* or *jehâder*, is very restless, kicks, hits out with its head, bites, murmurs, and froths at the mouth, *jezabbed* or *taṭla' deriteh* (sic). The question is frequently heard among the Bedouins: "When are you going to lead in your she-camels? *mata theddûn babâ-'erkom*," the answer generally being: "We are waiting for a favorable sign on this or that day, *natna al-waǧbet al-flânijje wa-shedd*." On Monday, Thursday, and Saturday they do not like to lead their she-camels to the bull, for these days are considered the most suitable for undertaking raids, and the Bedouins fear lest with the she-camels the enemy should capture also their young begotten on these days. Therefore they prefer Friday and Sunday, but only with such animals as are unmistakably ready. A she-camel in that condition, *mujasser*, kneels down every little while, is loath to rise, murmurs, *tarŷi*, and as soon as she hears the murmur of a rutting male even breaks her fetters, runs to the bull, kneels, spreads out her

ridden long, *'asîfe*, but also old camels. 4. Owing to this treatment his own camel has lost all the fat of her hump, *šaḥam*, as well as her spirits, which made her touch with head and lips the second rider, *mlâfaḥ lar-radîf*, who was sitting bareback and had tickled her slightly.

To save his animal's strength the rider lets her rest a little before sunrise and after sunset; this is called *šofratên*.

A tired camel is known as *mutlajješe*. If so exhausted that she cannot rise with the rider any more, she is called *ṭâwije*; she has, they say, used up all the marrow of her bones, *mâ bâži beha muḫḫ*. Then she needs a rest of at least three months and a good pasture in order to recover completely.

DRINKING FROM A CAMEL'S PAUNCH

There is hardly an adult Rwejli who has not on some occasion drunk water from the camel's paunch. If the raiders are tormented with thirst, they kill a few camels, cut out their paunches, *čarš*, which are full of water, let the water settle, and then drink it. Mežḥem eben Ǧandal attacked the Šarârât in the al-Ḥunfa territory and captured large herds of camels just returning from pasture. Being short of water himself and fearing lest the pursuing Šarârât would occupy the nearest wells, he had about fifty camels with the biggest bellies killed and the water bags refilled with the water from their stomachs; then he steered clear of the wells and returned to his people, who were encamped in an-Nukra south of Damascus and about 1000 kilometers from al-Ḥunfa, without suffering any loss (see above, pp. 94f.).

DISEASES OF CAMELS

The camels suffer from many diseases, the majority of which are due to inflammation of the bowels and joints. As it is impossible for me to define the various ailments with any sort of precision I quote them exactly as they were explained to me.

Ḥmâr: inflammation of the bowels of young camels; incurable.

Ḳadda: inflammation of the brain of young camels; incurable.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Lowa': inflammation of the bowels of grown camels; treated by burning three times with a red-hot iron around the abdomen.

Šowka: inflammation of the bowels and constipation; treated by burning three times around the kidneys.

Roššš: inflammation of the bowels causing diarrhea; treated by burning seven times on the abdomen.

Čalba: stomach ulcers; treated by burning on the back.

Ṭejr: muscular paralysis; incurable.

Ẓal': inflammation of the joints, as follows:

Ṣabba': general inflammation of the joints; treated by burning around the particular joints;

Mowah: inflamed and swollen legs; treated by piercing the swollen places with a small sharp peg, *ḥlâl*.

Ṯifen: inflammation of the lower thigh accompanied by swelling; treated like *mowah*.

Raṣâṣ: inflammation of the hoof; treated by piercing the fore part of the hoof.

Arčâb: inflammation of the whole of the hind leg; incurable.

Ǧerad: inflammation of the shin bone of the foreleg; treated by a light singeing with burning *naṣi* plants or dry *ḥemri* grass.

Niṣam: inflammation of the knee; incurable.

Mal': inflammation of the fore shoulder; incurable.

Fatk: inflammation of the armpit; treated by burning.

Bhûẓ: inflammation of both forelegs above the knees; treated by burning.

Ničab: inflammation of the whole foreleg; treated by burning all round.

Farṣ: swelling of the *ṛâreb*, withers; treated by burning three times.

Rekab: swelling of the knee; treated by piercing.

Ḥajja: ulcer above the stomach; treated by burning three times.

Ačla: ulcer on the shoulder blade; treated by burning three times.

Ḥâfra: ulcer inside the head which then breaks through into the jaw; incurable.

Nâsûb: ulcer on the back; incurable.

Ṭâlâ': ulcer on the breast; incurable.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

●232 *Sarar*: ulcer on the breastbone; treated by burning with sulphur.

Ḳaṣar: contraction of the back; treated by burning.

If a riding or pack saddle does not fit well on the hump or sides of the back, there appear on the galled spots blisters called *lhûd*, which disappear if the galled animal is not used for several days for either riding or carrying loads; otherwise putrefaction sets in. This condition is called *dabar*.

When a camel accustomed to walking only on sand or small gravel must walk for some time through a volcanic area, the skin under her hoofs becomes bruised and bleeds, *ḥafa'*.

Rhaṣa' is a camel in whose hoof either a thorn or sharp stone has stuck.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XII

HORSES

The Bedouins assert that no horses were created by Allâh in Arabia. According to their tradition they brought their first horses from the land of the settlers whom they raided. In the inner desert the horses have no place and would perish, did not the Bedouins look after them better than they look after their own children. A runaway horse cannot live long in the desert, while a camel will persist even without a man. Horses are of no economic value but serve merely as weapons for the getting of booty and influence. For this reason they are called *al-murnijât*, the enriching. It is said that the mares' bellies contain treasures and their backs help to win power, *al-ḫejl buṭûnahen kanz wa-ẓhûrahen 'azz*; for they give their owner colts which can be turned into money at any time, and it is much easier to make or repel an attack on horseback than when mounted on camels. The more horses a tribe has, the more feared it is by its neighbors and the greater its power. But successes gained on horseback are not lasting. The defeated neighbors unite for revenge, and soon both the riders and horses are annihilated. Hence the saying: "The horse reins are snakes, and death dwells on their backs; *al-ḫejl ʿersânahen ḥajûja wa-ẓhûrahen manâja.*"

HORSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

The Rwala classify horses[10] as common ones, *kdîš* (pl., *kudš*), and thoroughbreds, *aṣîl* (pl., *aṣâjel*). The common horses are not kept in the desert. Of the thoroughbreds they raise for the

[10] The different parts of the horse (Fig. 49) are called:

1. *'arnâna*
2. *minḫar*
3. *borṭom*
4. *'eiena*
5. *mâkikam*
6. *ḫanak*
7. *warîde*
8. *ǧobha*: in the middle, *aš'ad*
9. *ḫuppa*
10. *maklâme' al-'aja*
11. *'aja*
12. *ḫeǧrat al-'aja*
13. *iǧen*
14. *garṣûr al-iǧen*
15. *fâ'ida*
16. *ma'dref*
17. *ruḳuba*
18. *ḥdreš*
19. *abdîkar*
20. *gahr*
21. *mgawwaṭ*
22. *ḫaja'*
23. *'akrat aǧ-ǧêl*
24. *sebîb*
25. *faḫad*
26. *ṭafne*
27. *'arḳûb*
28. *krd'*
29. *dejd*, udder; *ʿṭûr*, teats
30. *surra, sirr*
31. *baṭn*
32. *ǧamb*
33. *ḥâbla*
34. *kâ'*
35. *maḥṣan*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

232 most part mares of the following breeds: 1. *kḥejle*, 2. *ṣaklâwijje žudrânijje*, 3. *dhama*, 4. *ma'naḳijje*, and 5. *ǧilfe*. However, the following are also recognized as thoroughbreds: 6. *ḥamdânijje*, 7. *'obejjet ummu ǧreje*, 8. *ṣwêtijje*, and 9. *amm 'arḳûb*. The *kḥejlet al-'aǧûz* breed is supposed to be the oldest, from which all others have descended. The stallions of any of the above-named breeds can be admitted to cover, but the colt always bears the name of its dam's breed.

A thoroughbred mare is called *faras*, the plural being expressed by the word *ḥejl*, and as, with but few exceptions, only mares are bred, the word *faras* has come to mean horses regardless of sex, the rider being known as a *fâres*; the plural, *fursân*, is rarely heard, *ṣanam* or *ḥejl* being used instead.

231 Each horse and mare bears certain marks indicating its value. These marks are called *sijâse*, and whoever understands them, *jesûs sijâsetha*, decides whether a mare is good or not. A good mare has long ears, legs, and neck; the croup, the root of the tail, and the coronet, *žên*, are short. The nostrils and eyes are large and the distance between the foreknees, *faḥǧa bên riǧlejha*, broad and spacious. The forehead should bulge forward, *ǧebhatha nâṭṭa'*, the breast should be arched, and the forelock, mane, and hair of the tail should be thick, *'elematha w-'ačwaha*.

Curling hair from the navel to the udder is called *dumejṭir*. Two curls one above the other, between the eyes are *sa'dên*; *ḥejčelên* are curls on the right and left side of the neck, and *zibdet aṣ-ṣaḳf* are curls on either side of the sexual organ. All these curly spots of hair, *fatâjel*, are signs of good qualities in the mare.

On the *dhama*, *ma'naḳijje*, and *ǧilfe* breeds the Rwala love to see white spots called *nišân* (pl., *nijâšin*) either on the forehead or legs. A small round spot on the forehead is a *naǧme*; a long one a *ṣurra*; if it extends to the upper lip it is a *žedaḥ*. A white spot on the leg is a *ḥaǧela*. A mare with short white spots on both hind legs and on the left foreleg is known as *meḥaǧǧelat aṭ-ṭalâṭe muṭleḳat al-jemîn*. If there

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36. *'afejne*
37. *rukbe*
38. *ǧrê'*
39. *mḫaddede*
40. *žên*
41. *ḥâfer*
42. *ǧadr*
43. *ṣadr*
44. *silleme, rukme*

45. *raṣan*
marwaṭ, posteriors.
pubus, sexual organ of the mare
saḳf, labia of the sexual organ of the mare
ḫeṣâṣ, testicles
ḫeje } sexual organ of
zaḳḳ } the stallion

a. *'aǧome*
b. *nḫejre*
c. *mḫaddede*
d. *žên*
e. *marwaṭ aš-še'r*
f. *ḥâfer*
f1. *'afejat al-ḥâfer*, the inner fleshy part
g. *ḥâfe'*, horseshoe.

231 the *ḥamra'*, which can gallop or trot all day without sinking from exhaustion.

BREEDING OF HORSES

232 The large clans have, as a rule, only one stud horse; this they never keep in the camp together with other horses but intrust it to the care of a specially selected slave, who pitches his tent in some gully beyond the camp, from where the stud horse can see no mares. To prevent the horse from catching sight of some runaway mare the slave hangs a full nose bag over its head early in the morning, leaving it on until evening and only taking it off while the animal is being watered. No more than two mares a day are covered, *šabbûh* or *'allûh*, by the stud horse, one in the morning, *naṭṭ*, and the other in the evening, *ḥaṣm*. When a mare is in heat, *mu'ṭi*, she must be led in as soon as possible; otherwise her heat might pass, *ekṭafat*. The owner of the stallion asks the owner of the mare whether he wants a morning or evening cover, *naṭṭ walla' ḥaṣm*, or both. If he decides for both, no other mare will be led in that day. For one cover the charge is one or two *meǧîdijjât* ($0.90—1.80) and is called *mohr al-ḥṣân*.

The period of twenty-five days after the mare's covering is called *'edijet aš-šba'*. After that time she is led to the stud horse again, *je'arreẓha*. If she kicks out against or repulses him, it is judged that she has conceived, *aḳẓabat*; she is then known as *lḳaḥa* and has to be well nursed and fed so as to avoid a miscarriage, *ṭaraḥat* or *ramat*. In the last month before foaling the mare is called *muḥres*. When she has foaled, *afradat* or *wa'edat*, she is known as *raṭûs*. If a male colt is born, it is simply buried in sand or thrown into a gully so that the mother may not be weakened needlessly. The birth of a filly is the cause of rejoicing to all the owner's family and of congratulations from both his kin and acquaintances, just as if a boy had been born. Such a *raṭûs* mare is then wrapped up in blankets, taken to the tent on cold nights, and gets better food than the owner himself; for a whole year thereafter no one would think of saddling and riding her, in order that the quantity of her milk may not be reduced and that the filly may be well nourished. The filly also gets camel's milk both in the evening and morning, and often the owner and his family go to bed without supper so that the mare and her young may

Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

ave sufficient food and milk. The ears of the new-born filly 232
re tied together with a silk thread to make them grow close
ogether and symmetrically; they also shorten the root of its
ail to make the mare when grown-up carry it upright in a

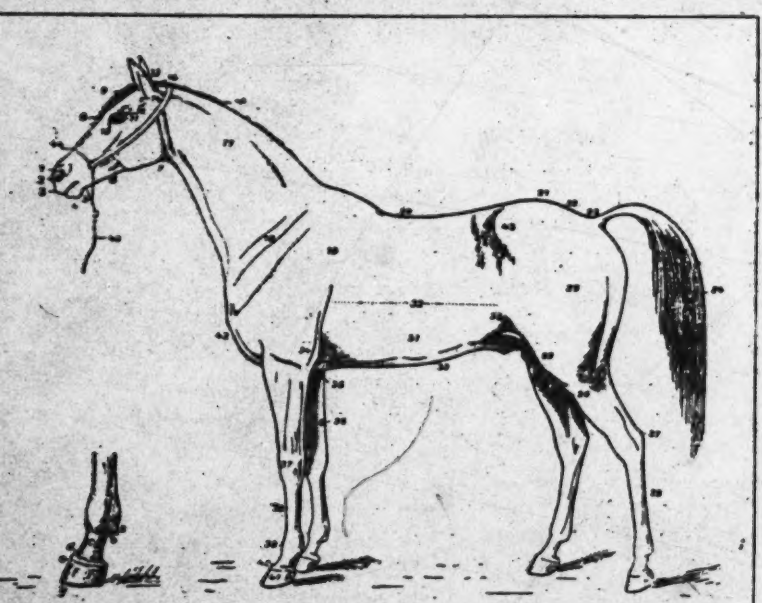

FIG. 49—Diagram of a horse.

allop; they blow into its nostrils to widen them; shout the
ame it has received into its ears, and even smear the filly
ith tar to protect it from the effect of noisome smells

n its	first	year	the	filly	is	called	*felw*
„	second	„	„	„	„	„	*howli*
„	third	„	„	„	„	„	*ǧeda'*
„	fourth	„	„	„	„	„	*ṯenijje*
„	fifth	„	„	„	„	„	*rbâ'ijje*
„	sixth	„	„	„	„	„	*ẖâreḥ* or *awwal* (first) *ḳarḥ*
„	seventh	„	„	„	„	„	*ṯâni* (second) *ḳarḥ*, etc.

After the fifteenth *ḳarḥ*, i. e. beginning with her twenty-
rst year, a mare is called *'awda*; between her first and tenth
ears she is a *mohra* (pl., *mohâr*).

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CARE, DISEASES, AND NAMES OF HORSES

231 Nothing causes the Bedouin so much labor and trouble as a mare. It is easier to raise and bring up five children than a single filly, as the children require especial care only in their first two years but the care of a mare has no end. It is necessary to provide her with food and drink, to protect her against heat and cold, to guard her from disease and robbers, also to quarrel with the other part owners, etc. It is the business of the women and slaves to feed the mare and care for her — all the Bedouin man will do is to give orders. As soon as he rises in the morning he shouts: "Wake up the mare! *ruddow nafs al-faras*," and his wife or his daughter hastens to fill the food bag with barley and hang it over the mare's head. Towards evening, before the sun touches the horizon, he again calls out: "Hang it on the mare! *'alležow 'ala-l-faras*," and it is his wife once more who has to fill the bag and put it on the animal. At noon the master commands: "Water the mare!" and the wife pours water from the large leather bag — which she must often carry on her back home from the well — into a bowl and holds it before the resting mare. The animal is led to the well only if this is in the middle of the camp and there are no signs of danger. No mare can be without water for longer than twenty-four hours. The whole camp may suffer from thirst, *râs aẓ-ẓma'*, and the children cry for a drop of water, but the master, unmoved, will pour the last remnants of water into a dish and set it before the pampered mare. Frequently some spirited mare shies, *šâšat*, causing the others also to shy, *šawwašat al-ḫejl*, and all to run out from the camp, but the Bedouin sits undisturbed, leaving the women to hurry after the animals, calm them, and bring them back home.

The shoes worn by the horses are flat and thin and have a small hole in the center, *ḥda'*. Without a shoe, *ḥafjâne*, it is impossible for a mare to walk on gravel for any length of time, as its sharpness injures the hoof.

• 232 The most frequent diseases to which a horse is subject are:

Misma: inflammation of the muscles of the back; cured by a mixture of *beleḥt al-ḫejl* and *feliti* drugs (sold by the Kubejsi) and of coffee or melted butter, which mixture is poured into the nostrils, *jeṣa"eṭûnah*.

Mwalli: inflammation of the bowels accompanied by diarrhea; this is cured by burning around the navel with a red-hot iron.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Zerd: ulcers under the chin; cured by burning the nape of the neck. 232

Ḳâreṣ: a swelling of the belly; cured by smearing the shaved belly with a mixture of grape syrup, alum, and pepper.

Saḳwa: glanders; cured by inhaling the smoke of *šîḥ*.

Šûhâr, mšowhar: festering wounds on the back; cured by burning the root of the tail.

Ğerab: mange; cured by burning the diseased spot and rubbing in oil.

Lwêṛef: ulcers in the vagina; cured by smearing with sulphur and butter.

Ḥamrâ: inflammation of the ankle. This arises generally when the exhausted mare has fed heavily and been watered immediately afterwards; it is cured by burning around the breast and by piercing the skin on the shaved ankle.

Ẓufr: cataract of the eye; cured by dropping a mixture of rust, soot, and milk into the eye as well as by burning around the eye.

Every mare is given a name expressing her real or imagined qualities or those which her master would like her to possess. 552 A favorite mare of Prince an-Nûri was called Dîba, She Wolf; of his son Nawwâf, Sadḥa, Lioness; other mares of the prince were named: Farḥa, Joy; Frejḥa, Little Joy; Sa'da, Good Luck; Nowma, Sleepy; Falḥa, Bringing Good Luck; Ṛarra, White Fronted; Smejḥa, The Little Gentle; Šîḥa, Cautious; 'Awna, Helper; Mṛîẓa, Provoking; and 'Ejda, Snappy. It happens often that a youth names the young mare which he has received from his father after the girl he loves, to remind himself of his sweetheart every time he calls his mare.

SONGS RELATING TO MARES

The Bedouin also thinks of his mare in his songs and poems. 539x

Jâ šowḳ jâ bajjeẓ al-ṛarra
w-al-jowm wên ente jâ mâli
nahağt w-ažef ma' al-ğarra
w-lâ min ṣiddîžen w-lâ wâli.

O sweetheart! O thou with a white spot on thy forehead!
And today, where art thou, treasure of mine?
I followed thy footprints, every little while halting,
And yet I found neither the mistress true nor my dear mare.

Ir. Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

slate-blue rocks seemed to deepen rather than to relieve its sombreness.

One morning I let Mnahi go on his shooting alone and instead attached myself to a herder.[1] The camels in his charge were grazing a good way off and he came to camp only once every three days.

It was a stony tract, and all day long the camels roamed to and fro in search of feed among the boulders, which were sometimes as high as one's head. About noon we collected the herd and led it into the shade of some loftier rocks. There the herder and I stretched ourselves full length on the ground, and in lazy contentment, half asleep, we passed the warmest hours. But when the sky was clouded over, we had to keep on the move to avoid getting chilly, halting only shortly before the sun went down to draw milk for our supper into a wooden bowl.

The plants among the rocks were in bloom, with fragrant white, violet, and red flowers. Some of them imparted to the milk of our camels a peculiar but very delightful flavour, reminiscent of sweet sage or camomile or some aromatic herb. It had not the bitter taste of the milk produced in some regions, nor the watery, salty "variety" of the Wadi Sirhan. Even the camel-thorn bursts into bloom here at the base of the Jabal Tawil, and the stunted acacias shed a sweet fragrance. At times our small herd was powdered all over with pollen of a blue and yellow tint.

My herder companion was a bright, merry lad. Instead of sitting on his camel in normal fashion, he had the knack of sprawling for hours on end behind its hump, hanging on like a leech. I tried to imitate him,

1-[In a Rwala camp near the Jabal Tawil--Analyst

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

233 but it took me more than two days to learn the knack of it—how to anchor your knees in the camel's hip-bones and then, by sprawling forward and using the woolly hump of the beast as a cushion for your stomach, to ride in amazing comfort. We guided the animals with our camel-sticks, tapping them lightly, now on one shoulder, now on the other. Thus we drifted slowly along, side by side, the animals feeding as they went and halting only occasionally; but we had to keep an ever-watchful eye on our troop of camels, which were always up to some trick or other.

231 In those three days I learnt much. I learnt to appreciate in all their significance the noises peculiar to a camel; to realise that in the loud diapason of its stomach rumblings and in the gurglings of its throat there lies a meaning too deep for words. Even its full-throated belching is an expression of its lordly thoughts. I learnt how to deal with the sharp thorns that pierce through leather footwear, and how to treat the sting of a bee which caused the camel's lip to swell to an enormous size. My companion also taught me how to plug the udder of a mother camel, to prevent dripping and the consequent loss of precious milk, and how the baby camel could be prevented from "drinking out of hours" from the mother's udder by means of a wooden peg, fastened to its nose. I learnt to tell from the tracks on the hard gravel soil whether the camels which had passed were saddle or pack animals, and I was taught the lore of age, sex, breed and many other mysteries.

231 751 I listened with bated breath as my companions explained to me that a blue bead tied to the hairy withers

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

"No longer sad, for Allah will no longer shut us out from the blessings of His heaven." 731[x]

At this moment we saw Amir Fuaz with his mounted bodyguard ride past. They saw us also and came over and sat down in the tent.

In the course of the conversation, Faris said to the young Amir: "Let Aziz and me travel to thy enemies and treat with them. If they give in and share their pastureland with us, the French will then make no objections." [648]

With some anger the young Amir fixed his eyes on Faris and cried: "We shall act, but no longer treat with them. We shall take what we want of our enemy's pasturage. Without forage there can be no camels, and without camels no life for us. Hast thou not perceived that?" [233]

"I understand," said Faris, in his gentle way. "Is it then no longer a custom with us that one may beg his life, even of the enemy when compelled by need? Truly the path of peace is shorter than the long road on which lurks destruction." [577]

Fuaz did not answer—and all the others in the tent held their peace. Suddenly, however, the young Prince got up, strode over to the slave who was watering his mare from a goatskin, mounted and rode away.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721
522 hand and foot. This was a terrible indignity to such proud lads, who set great store by their six or eight "horns", as the Arabs call these tresses.

721 It was nearly midday when we reached the depression
● 233 in which the horses were grazing. It was a lovely scene, the sky was blue, the brilliant spring sun warm and pleasant, and the air was filled with the sweet smell of the fresh herbage. The horses and camels ranged about, browsing quietly. The sleepy herders were totally unaware of our presence until our camel-riders suddenly appeared over the lip of the depression. Then they awoke to a realization of what was happening. I was rather loath to disturb their *dolce far niente;* above all was I sorry for the Saba horses, which were to be so suddenly driven from their delectable pasture.

The mares raised their heads inquisitively as the herders, rudely awakened from their siesta, sprang to their feet and yelled warnings one to the other. A few of them were successful in loosening the woollen shackles of their horses, and, leaping on their backs, made their escape. They were but a handful, however, and of these two or three were eventually captured.

The horses of the Saba became restive as the Ruala horsemen galloped about them, but, shackled by the forelegs, they could only hobble round helplessly.

721 At last our people cut out some twenty horses, includ-
[231] ing Falha, the brown mare of our search. Falha was shackled with iron links instead of the usual woollen ropes. Amir Fuaz had brought with him a couple of files in anticipation of such an eventuality. His delight on seeing Falha again was obvious; she was worth more

2: Musil MD4 Rwala MD4

231, 232, 233, 492, 539

[General information about horses and camels will be found in category 231. Specific information about breeding, diseases and veterinary science will be found in category 232, about herding and pasturing in 233. Specific information pertaining to the use of camels and horses in transportation, associated practices and descriptions of gear will be found in category 492. For native texts applying to camels see category 116, pp. 340-346, 358-368; to horses, pp. 383-388.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

In the inner desert

132 the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is
805 therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the
821 spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes
132 neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

132 If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the
137 autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arṣ alli mâ tinwasem mâ terabbe' muḫṭije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater
511 and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels
231 nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they
511 can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good
[233] pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every
315 one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *ʿarab*, or those who dwell in
101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
829 the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase is used: "*ʿArabna raḥalow, ʿarabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *ʿarab al-ẓebîla* are members of the same tribe. *ʿArab ad-dîra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *ʿorbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *ʿOrbân ʿala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Dmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-ʿarab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn annak min al-ʿarab mâr min ajj al-ʿorbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḳarâwne*
221 (the individual is known as *ḳarwâni*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *raʿw* (or *raʿijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *raʿw* or *raʿijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *šwâja* (or *šûjân*). The
233 *šwâja* have two things black, *leḥom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ jeḥarreẓûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *jeḥarreẓûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeḍarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'ı̂'* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'idîn aṣ-ṣa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-c'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

[1] [The Šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

sounds of anger and irritation, *ṣebîḥ*. A *dammâm* is a large drum, to the notes of which the inhabitants of villages by the Euphrates make merry all night. 3. The Dahâmše belong to the 'Amârât tribe. Originally they are said to have dwelt in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar. From there they were led forth by their chief, Ǧḍê' eben Ḥaḍḍâl, together with the Ṣḳûr and Selka, and by swift marches advanced to the borders of the lower Euphrates. The kindred of Ṛannâm, *rab' ṛannâm*, who set out with them at the same time, returned before long to Ḥajbar, not being able to keep pace with them. The Ṛannâm were engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep, while the others bred camels. The flocks of goats and sheep cannot endure the long and swift marches which are performed by the herds of camels. The poet alludes to the feat of the Dahâmše and at the same time recalls that none of the numerous tribes encamping by the Euphrates and engaged almost exclusively in the breeding of goats and sheep could outstrip the former. All the tribes are compelled to send them gifts annually, if they do not wish to be the victims of their raids. 5. A *belka'* is a pliant sword or saber of Persian workmanship, covered with gray and dark strips and patches. 'Azzâm was the name of the Ǧḍê''s sword. 6. Dâûd was a craftsman of Jewish origin, who made the best wire corselets and chain armor.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved.

Wa' šejb 'ajni, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' šejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart." are sayings used in misfortune.

Jâ râčeb alli ḏemîlaha zên
ḳamran ejdêha šarârijje
jâ manweti-lli halch mežfin
w-illa ṛarîben naṣa ḥajjeh.

O thou who ridest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarâri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

Ḏemîl or *derhem* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḳamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarârât breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes. In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *mežfin*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, *ahl*. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṣa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṣa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*).

Jâ mdaḥraǧ ḥuf li 'ala-š-ša'ejle
čarreb li al-heǧên bešdâdi
al-'aſw mâ-ḳšarč lejle
ḥaššejt ṣanâdîž al-ſwâdi
w-ašči lečˇ jâ-ḥajje jâ dwejle
w-ašûf ḥajjâneč ḳaffaw ṛâdi.

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Oh, she who often rides a docile camel,
She gives me no sign with her stick!
Who is here that still remembers my sweet friend?
Who has looked for, who has found her?
See, she stays far beyond the camp with a small herd;
To that pasture I hastened at a trot.
Ah, but I found only a desert,
And the howling of wolves made me flee.

Not finding his sweetheart on the new camping grounds, the lover inquires and searches for her. She used to ride in a litter on a *humejla'*, docile camel of low stature, and to signal to her lover with a stick with which she guided her animal. A *ḏwejd* is a small herd owned by one family. When
●[233] the son who usually cares for the herd goes out on a raid the herd falls to the care of the daughter. A *'azîb* is a pasture at such a distance from the camp that the camels must spend at least three or four nights away and do not come to water or to the camp till the fifth day. *Mzerfel*, like *ḏowmal*, signifies the fast trot of a camel. *Fela'* is a pasture with good grass and perennials.

Šiddû min az-zemel, 'aljân
šêl al-lahad mâ jedânihi
w-al-ḥokm ḥokm eben ša'lân
maḳrûden jâ-lli terâğihi.

Saddle the pack camels called 'Aljân,
Who will not accept a galling load.
As for the command, the command belongs to Eben [Ša'lân;
Crushed be he who would oppose him!

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Zemel is the name given to the pack camels, always males, which carry the tent, supplies, and whole equipment of the chief. In the war cry of the Rwala all the herds are called 'Alja', which is here applied to the camels in the word 'Aljân. *Lahda* (pl., *luhûd*) are the callous spots or blisters on the camel's back and flanks caused by the heavy, unequally distributed load or by uneven saddles whether for freight, *hedâğe*, or for riding, *šdâd*. If these callous spots disappear, well and good; if they become blisters and open, suppurating sores, *dabra* (pl., *dabar*), are the consequence. The camels owned by the Rwala will not bear packs that hurt them, and the ruling Eben Ša'lân kin will not bear opposition.

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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539x

Jâ rab'aten binjat
ḥiddat 'arâwiha
w-rawwaḥat zerfât
jerǧa-l-'aša bîha
teḥûfaha mnîfe
jefraḥ biṭârîha.

Oh, the men's compartment, it was put up
And its rope ends stretched taut.
For their night's rest the fleet-footed mares returned,
And each rider hopes to get his supper in the tent.
It is being prepared by Mnîfe,
The thought of whom makes them all glad.

Rab'a is the men's compartment in the tent of a chief; also, the whole tent. *'Arâwi* are loops, or more properly the single bow knots of the tent ropes, which can be loosened or tightened according to the strength of the wind. *Rawwaḥat zerfât* are the slaves, servants, and other youths, who ride out on horseback in the evening to defend the returning herds against a possible attack. The word *rawwaḥ* always implies a night's lodging. [233]

Jâ ḫajji jâ 'azweten li
ṭarîḥakom lâ jaẓâmi
w-silâḥakom mustaǧilli
jaḳṣom ṗalîb al-'aẓâmi
'aduwwakom mustamelli
'ajjet 'ujûneh tanâmi.

Little brother of mine, of the same descent as I,
One thrown from his horse by thee suffers not long,
For renowned are thy arms,
Which cut in twain the backbones.
Thine enemy is shaken with fright,
And his eye refuses to close in sleep.

The maiden praises the bravery of her lover, who is closely related to her. The words *'azweten li*, if spoken quickly, sound like *'azwet elli*, because the *en* tends to double the following syllable, *li*. *'Azwe* denotes kinship on the father's side. *Min ejn ja'za' flân* means "from whom does he hail, to what kin does So-and-So belong?" "*Ja'za' min âl flân*, he hails from such-and-such a kin." *Ṭarîḥ* signifies a warrior rolling on the ground, thus thrown from his saddle.

ments of the oasis of al-Ǧowf of Eben ʿAli, Prince of Ḥâjel. He was not comfortable there. Although al-Ǧowf is protected against both the north and west winds, Muḥammad complained of the severe cold and wished to return to Ḥâjel. He meant to make the trip on his old but tried she-camel; in three days he would reach Ǧubba, a settlement lying about 230 kilometers south-southeast on the road to Ḥâjel; he would leave Ǧubba after midnight and on the fourth day reach Ḥâjel about supper time. Thus he meant to cover the distance of 320 kilometers in four days and half a night. It should be born in mind that this route extended for about 280 kilometers over sand drifts and that therefore he had to sleep out two nights.

[813] Verse 1. *Ǧarhadij*, destroyer, is said of sleep because it tends to weaken a man and to make him feel wretched. 4. *Šbâṭ* corresponds to our February. A north wind makes not only the inhabitants of al-Ǧowf but also those of Ḥâjel shiver with cold, as I myself have experienced. Muḥammad exaggerates in order to give more than due praise to Ḥâjel. 5. *Al-munâdi*, the crier, the commander, was the prince of Ḥâjel, to whom the settlements of al-Ǧowf belonged. The prince [233] could summon his governor to Ḥâjel. 6. In the neighborhood of al-Ǧowf there is no camel pasture. What grass and perennials grow there are cut by the settlers and dried for hay that they may have fodder for their own cattle and for the animals of their guests and also to sell to the trade caravans. It is necessary to drive the camels fifteen kilometers out before even a sparse pasturage is found. Any of the settlers who possesses a good she-camel places it under the care of a reliable Bedouin camping with his clan in the district of al-Ǧowf and sends for it a few days before he desires to depart. Muḥammad's she-camel was grazing with the herd of the Âl Wejlân Bedouins. A spirited, well-rested she-camel often stretches her neck backwards, catches the rider's dress with her lips, and touches him with her head. 7. From ʿOmân thoroughbred camels are imported. Every tribe, every clan brands its camels with marks commonly called *wasm*. Each brand again has a name of its own. The brand of Muḥammad's camel is called *merzel*, owing to its resemblance to a spindle. 8 means that the camel's neck is very long. 9. When kneeling, the she-camel's front knees are extended far forward; her shoulders are drawn back and nearly reach the breastbone,

since it is universally known that the enemy always tries first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'arf w-nowmâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *maṛâtîr* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *hešle* (pl., *hšel*); a larger one, *ra'ijje* (pl., *ra'âja*) or *ḳaṭ'a* (pl., *ḳaṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zowd*. A little herd owned by a small family is called *ḏwejd*.

Each herd has its own herdsman, *râ'i al-bel*, who is hired for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meǧîdijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely six *meǧîdijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either a *maḥlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥežž*. It is also his duty to help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeẓaḥḥîhen*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *maḏrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ada*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeǧḏeb lehen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'ada*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jefalli*) *bel-ba'rîn jamm al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṣ-ṣarḥ as-sâreḥ*, usually form a single line,

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

mǧowdalât, keeping in the path trodden by camels for centuries past; it is very seldom, and then only in a level plain where the grass is fresh, that they move side by side, *mitfaršât*. Once on the pasture grounds, the she-camels graze together, *merta'ât ḫwâlêhen*. The herdsman sits down in some higher place the better to overlook his herd, sings, carves something, or seeks edible plants and bulbs. About noon when the heat is at its highest, *ḥakmat* (or *sankarat* or *ḳajjalat*) *al-žâ'ile*, the she-camels leave off grazing, kneel down, *jebarreken* or *mubarrečât*, and chew their cuds till two or three o'clock. Then they rise again and graze till supper time, *je'aššen*, when the herdsman turns them in the direction of the camp and drives them back, reaching the tent at sunset. At that time all the youths and slaves ride out from the camp, on horseback and in small groups, *zerfât*, to protect the returning herds from a possible attack. 233

When satiated the she-camels move very slowly, stopping every little while. The herdsman mounts the leading animal, *ḳa'ada*, and rides at the head of his herd, urging it to greater speed with a short drawling song, *ješâje'*. The ditty sung by the herdsman to keep the returning herd together is called *mešjâ'*. Every herdsman has a song of his own, which differs from those used by others in the words as well as in the cadences of the tone and the length of the syllables. Were it not for this singing, the camels of the same herd would never keep together, but would get lost among the thousands of animals returning home after sunset. On arriving at his tent the herdsman remains sitting on his she-camel, which he halts; he keeps on singing the *mešjâ'* while he waits for the whole herd to come in. Then, dismounting, he takes the cords handed to him by the host, makes each animal kneel down in the place allotted to it, *jemarreḫhen bel-mrâḥ*, fetters its left leg above the knee, *je'aššelhen*, eats his supper, and lies down among the herd, so as to watch it at night also. Next morning before sunrise he unties the cords again, *jeṭalleṯhen*, and, having counted them, gives them back to the host. The milking of the she-camels is done by the owner himself or by a slave or servant. After the milking the host, or anyone bidden by him, drives them a short distance from the tent, where they graze till the dew has evaporated. [533]

The best camel pasture consists of plants called *ḥamṛ*, among which the Rwala count the following perennials: *arṭa*, 233 137

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233 137 *orejnbe, ḥenwa, roṛol, rimṭ, rûṭe, zrejže, ša'rân, šnân, ṭḥama, ẓamrân, 'aǧram, 'arâd, ṛaẓrâf, ṛaẓa', firs, flêfla, ḳaṭaf, ḳaẓḳâẓ, kalša, mḥarût, mwâṣal, nejtûl, heǧîn.*

WATERING OF CAMELS

233 As to the right time for watering the camels the pasturing ground and the season of the year are the deciding factors. When grazing on the salt *ḥamẓ* plants exclusively they can hold out no longer than four or five days without water. If their food consists of dry plants, *ṭenn*, like some dry grasses called *ḥemri* or the perennials known as *naṣi* and *soboṭ*, they can endure from six to fifteen days. In the time of *rabî'*, when they eat nothing but fresh, juicy grasses, they will not touch water for even as long as thirty days. In the hot season, *al-ḳêẓ*, when the Bedouins encamp in the settled territories, the herds are driven to the watering places every day.

A thirsty she-camel murmurs pitiably, *taḥenn*, refuses to graze, her eyes overflow with tears, *tedâma' 'ajûnaha*, every little while she makes an attempt to urinate, and her loins sink in more and more. On seeing the camel herds in this condition the traveler inquires of the herdsmen: "How long have the camels thirsted? *ẓma' al-bel wušu*," the answer being: "They have thirsted four, five, seven, eight, and even fifteen days; *rib' ḥems semḥ ṭemân laḥadd ḥamsta'aš*."

The watering of camels is described by various words. *Hadad* is used when the camels leave the pasture, are watered, and return all in one day; *ḥamîr*, when they reach the watering place in one day, spend the night there, and return to their pasture on the following day; *ḳarab*, when the camels going to be watered spend the first night far from their pasture, reach the water the following noon, stay there over night, approach the tents on the third day, and do not return till the fourth day from the time when they set out.

When the Bedouins move and encamp towards evening by some water they let their herds drink at night, calling this *nazelna bel-ḥemle*. If they camp far from the water, it is *menda'*; *nazelna bel-menda'*. If the camp is situated near a watering place, but with no pasture in the whole neighborhood, the herdsmen drive their animals a long distance from the camp, to which they return only when it is necessary to water them. They camp by the water, but the herds spend

233 some nights far out alone; *nazalow al-ǧaw w-je'azzebûn jâḥe-ḏûn ḥems aw semḥ.* A traveler who does not see the herds in a camp where he has stopped for the night is told when asking about them: "The camels sleep out in the loneliness guarded by our warriors, *al-bel 'azîb w-ǧenabha ra'ah.*"

233 312 The watering of camels is done either at the wells or at rain ponds. If there is nobody at the well, it is called *firže*; if surrounded by a throng, the saying is: *"Hal-želîb 'alejh 'ark*, at this well there is a crowd (or noise)." A man called *ṛarrâf* crawls into the well and fills the leather bucket, *delw*, which is let down to him. The full bucket is pulled up by another man, *mattâḥ*, who empties it into a leather trough, *ḥowṛ*, and lets the emptied bucket down the well again, *fajjaṛha bel-bîr*. The larger the bucket and the deeper the well, the more men pull the rope, *jesnûn* or *sannâjîn*. Often also the rope is tied to the saddle of a camel which is then made to pull.

FIG. 36—A water hoist, *maḳâm*.

406 In case the Rwala want to draw water from a deep well for some time they put up a water hoist, *na'ûr* or *maḳâm* (Fig. 36), over it. This consists of two stout poles, *'amûdên*, made fast in the ground in such a way that they lean over the well. In holes bored through these poles an iron rod, *muḫṭar*, is then fitted, with a wooden roller, *maḥâle*, over which runs the rope, *rša'*, holding the *delw*. "Put up the hoist" is expressed by a Rwejli with the words: *"Erḳeṣ an-na'ûr"* or *"raff an-na'ûr* (or *maḳâm*)."

312 Watering from an *'aḳla* well causes the herdsmen much labor, as such wells are partially filled or even entirely caved in after each heavy rain and have to be cleaned or dug anew. Their depth varies from two to five meters; they are never walled around. The silt or earth dug out is usually just dumped about the mouth of the well, often forming a mound half a meter or a meter high. In this two or three passages are left

312 to admit the water carriers, who pour out the water outside of the mound either into the leather troughs or into a large bowl, or finally into pits dug in the earth and covered with leather. The mound also prevents the camels from coming too near and falling into the well.

312 When a leather trough, *ḥowż*, is lacking, a shallow pit called *ǧâbija* is dug and the water for the camels poured in.

233 The watering of the camels is carried out at the various rain pools and reservoirs in the same way as at the wells, and only at the large pools, *ḫabraʾ* (pl., *ḫabâri*), can whole herds go right into the water and drink. But, as the camels generally drop their excrements while drinking, the *ḫabâri* are soon defiled beyond measure. At their edges a layer of offal is formed; the water smells of urine and becomes dirty yellow and brackish, *ṭobaʿ* or *maṭrûḳ*.

233 When the camels have drunk their fill, the herdsman drives them away from the water, allowing them to kneel or graze for about half an hour. *jenadden*. Then he drives them back to the water again, urging them to drink more, *jeḥaṭṭen*. If they do drink again even a little, both the herdsman and the host are satisfied that the animals have drunk enough to last them until the next watering. If there is not enough water in the place, the herdsman drives the herd away after the first watering, complaining to the host: "Our camels did not get their second drink today, for there was not water enough; *ʿbâʿerne al-jowm mâ ṣâḥ leha ḥaṭṭa al-maʾ želîl*."

To make the camels drink the herdsman uses the words: "*Terr ṭerr ṭerr!*" In urging them to the morning pasture: "*Di di di mẓaḥḥow di!*" In the evening: "*Mʿaššow heʾ heʾ duh!*" If he wants to calm his she-camel he calls: "*Ethi hî hî ethi!*" To halt the animal: "*Kḥa kḥa!*" To make her kneel: "*Ethi ḫ ḫ ḫ!*" To make the resting she-camel rise quickly and flee from the enemy her rider shouts: "*Jâʿ jâʿ jâʿ!*" shaking his sleeve or mantle at her, *jenfoż ʿalejha*.

Ditties Sung When Camels are Watered

539ᵏ While watering, the herdsmen sing the short *ḥedâwi* ditties.

233 *Jâ ʿaḏâbi min ʿaša* Alas, I have been kept from my supper
kaẓben ḏêl ar-raša' By holding the end of the bucket rope.
lâ ṛabûḳ w-lâ ʿaša. Not a drop of milk nor bite of supper have I had.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

He holds the rope end when it slides down from the roller of the water hoist and then again he waits till the full bucket comes up. *Ṛabûḳ* is the milk which serves the herdsman as a substitute for supper. If no supper has been left for him he milks a she-camel. During the watering he has no time to do any milking; furthermore, the owner has generally milked all the she-camels before they are driven to the watering place.

Al-bel wurdat jâ bazbûz
w-ent trâhez lak ʿağûz.

The camels have moved to the water, O thou thin skeleton!
While thou wert playing with an old hag.

Taw hom ğaw	They have but just come;
mûs w-zaw	Hither with knife and shears
lelḥâhom	For the chins of those
lalli ğaw.	Who have arrived.

The helpers of the watering herdsmen were late in returning; wherefore, to disgrace them, their chin beards are to be cut short. *Zaww* are the scissors with which the chin beard is trimmed, and *mûs* the knife with which the beard is shaved.

Bâčer raḥilen žible	Tomorrow we move south;
šuḥ al-ṛaẓi w-eržib leh.	Beckon to thy sweetheart and then watch her.

Eržib leh means "look out," "have a care," "watch" when she leaves camp with the laden tent and in what direction she drives her camels; for on the march there is many a chance to speak to her unobserved.

Ḏawdak mâ hen šarrâbât
jâ rafiž al-ḥaṭṭâbât
rağol al-ḥâjel ḳâlow mât
min šaharna ḏâk all-fât
ḫalleh jewalli leḏ-ḏalfât.

Thy little herd has not yet been watered,
O thou companion of women seeking fuel!
The husband of the childless is said to have died
The month before that which has just passed.
May he be sent to the darkness!

539x
● 233

Ḏalfât is a region where neither moon nor stars shine and to which men who have sinned against their tribe are sent by Allâh.

Râ'i-l-bwejt ad-dûni — On the little bed of the owner
bifrejješeh ḥoṭṭûni. — Of the next tent lay me.

Jâ lâbs aš-šanâber — O thou wearing a variegated shawl!
jâ rîḥtak 'anâber — Oh, thy scent is like amber,
jâ ḫabber min hw ḫâber. — Let who will say what lies on his mind.

Šanâber, a pretty shawl in which the fair ones wrap themselves.

Rummântên be'ûdah — Two pomegranates on the stalk,
bêẓ al-ḥamâm nehûdah. — Or eggs of a pigeon, are her breasts.

Al-bel w-ummi — Thou who wouldst beat the camels and my mother
jâ ẓârebha lâ tâmenni — Hadst better look out for me.

Aṭ-ṭawîl abu 'aba' — The tall one in a black mantle
w-at'arḳašah w-arḳah — I shall seize and climb up to her,
abṛi ḥabbe ṭenâjah. — For her teeth I want to kiss.

Ta'arḳaš is said of a man pulling himself up with his hands and planting his feet firmly against the ground with great exertion in order to climb a steep rock.

Ḳalbi jwedd aḏ-ḏî'a — My heart loves a lewd woman
'ala-l-wa'ad serî'a — Who is wont to hasten to the meeting
jâ mtakkat al-'aba — Dressed in nothing but her cloak —
râs al-ḳajje lâ telḥah. — Her body she must not shave.

[831]

Ḏî'a is a woman commonly known as granting her favors to any man. This applies to the divorced women who cannot marry again. *Mtakk al-'aba'* signifies a man whose shirt has been washed and hung up to dry, while he, clad in his cloak, sits or walks about waiting for it.

Ḥalamt w-ana nâjem — In my slumber I dreamt
bim'ašraḳ al-wešâjem — Of those adorned with blue tattooing;
jâ lejt ḥelmi dâjem. — Oh, may my dream last forever!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 K
233●

Ḫubbi bil-ğâl Against the rocky wall beat
jâ delw ğbâl Thou, O Ğbâl's bucket! [drawn by]
be'aẓûd rğâl The strength of arms of men
mâ hom ğehâl. Who are not heedless.

[483
157]

The bucket strikes against the rocky sides of a deep well, making the work of the men drawing it exceedingly difficult. When they feel that its edge has caught on some bulge of the wall, they must not jerk at the rope lest they injure the bucket or tip it and spill the water; they should, rather, merely rock the bucket slightly so as to bring it into the center of the well. Such deliberation, of course, is possessed by real men, *reğâl*, not by harebrained, hasty, inconsiderate lads, *ğehâl*, who think that all things can be accomplished by violence.

Jâ maljâna Oh, the full bucket,
sallamha-llâh min ğilânah. May Allâh save it from the sides of the well!

Mâ jarwi-l-bel He shall not water his camels
ṛejr muserbel. Who does not pull up [the rope] steadily.

Abjen abjen More visible, more visible,
čânha bil-bîn If visibility be the question,
al-waẓha-bjen A white she-camel is the more visible.

čânha biz-zîn If beauty be the question,
al-ḥamra-zjen A brown one is more beautiful;
čânha biš-šil But if a load be the question,
al-malḥa-šjel. Then a black she-camel can stand more than all.

Tawwa' tfaẓẓa' bâli Now my mind has cleared,
al-ḥowṛ beh efẓâli. For in the water trough there is a surplus.

Aš-šowl jirid The camels need
jowm at-tawrid On the watering day
'abdên w-sid Two slaves and one master.
en čell ul-'abd If one slave gets tired
mâ čell as-sid. Not so the master.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* ●233 *Śowl* has much the same meaning as *bel*, camels collectively, and forms no plural. Two slaves (negroes) and the master attend only to the watering, while the herdsman watches the camels.

Ḳum ṣubb (sic) *w-eszi-l-ḥâjel*
nâḳt esṭâm al-'ájel.

Rise, pour in, and water the sterile one,
The she-camel of him who tames the violator.

Ṣubbû-'ala-l-'ašâjer	Pour in water for the sweethearts,
muǧawwezât al-bâjer	Wedded to a sluggard,
al-bâjer eben al-bâjer.	To a sluggard son of a sluggard.

[461 581] *Bâjer* is the name for a squeamish fellow afraid alike of the sun's heat, the night's chills, or of much exertion, and therefore one who loves to loiter in the tent most of the time. No girl would marry such a man voluntarily, but, as by the law of kinship he can claim his nearest cousin, her parents must give her to him. Small wonder that, once married, his wife prefers other men; nor can he even rebuke her for this, as she would run away and he could never get another wife. [827] Because of the Rwala belief that the son inherits his father's qualities, the father in this verse is no better than the son, and the wife, who has no wish to bear him a son, looks around for others; such a wife is a called *ṭamûḥ*.

Já rabb jâ mawlâna	O Lord! O thou Ruler of ours!
bedder lena bhwâna	Help us quickly to what we desire,
eszi-l-'edâd awḍâna.	Fill with water our vessels which have tired us out.

233 461 When forty to fifty camels of one herd must be watered from a well over thirty meters deep, or from a shallow well that has caved in and into which the water flows very slowly, even the hardiest men become tired partly from the labor of drawing the water and partly from watching the crowding camels, who, if very thirsty, press around the well, into which they would fall if not driven away constantly by the herdsmen. One man can hardly keep three thirsty animals from breaking away from him and running to the water trough, there to squeeze in among those already drinking. Often they knock over the watering vessel, tread on each other's feet, bite, and knock about the men who are raising the water,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

rousing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are to be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but slowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No wonder, then, that the waterers pray Allâh to help them do their task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, *'edâd*, with water.

Jâ ṛzajjelen bumm iḍen Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iḍen!
jetli maṭabb al-mîzen. She goes there where rain fell from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge their direction and where their sluices may open. They even send a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a favorable report (i.e. that the rain has been abundant) they move to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle, a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iḍen, had come there after having followed the rain cloud which had filled the pool.

Jâ mizen ar-ra'âdi O thou cloud rumbling with thunder!
emṭer 'ala-l-ḥamâdi. On al-Ḥamâd let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamâd is the western half of north Arabian desert between Palmyra and the Nefûd.

Al-bîr tabṛi ḥâder Into the well should descend
eben ḥalâ'en ẓâder. A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalâl* is a man against whose father there is no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain. The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring; therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and origin are clean and pure.

Welli 'aǧûzen ŝiba Run from the gray-haired woman!
allâh jiḳṭa' naṣibah May Allâh cut her fate, for
ted'i 'ala naṣibah. She curses her son-in-law.

Allâh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death. *Ted'i 'ala*, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good and bad sense. *Naṣîb* is the name that a mother gives not only to the man who has married her daughter but also to a man who as yet only calls on the daughter.

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539r 233 *Jâ marḥaba jâ belna* O hail, O ye camels of ours!
jâ mab'adat manzelna Oh, how far is our camping ground
w-elja baṛejna-ḥelna. Faith! if we wanted to cheat you we could

The owners of camels which are to be watered live in a distant camp and cannot watch their herdsmen, who could therefore water the animals only partly. By this they would save themselves much labor, but, of course, the insufficient watering would make the camels grow thin.

Jâ bîr low tšûfi O well! if thou couldst see
sûd al-'ajûn wukûfi The black-eyed ones bending over the
ẓemmar miṯl al-ḥsûfi. Slender, like young gazelles!

Girls very often help with the watering; when they come for water they must bend over the wide well, *'aḳla*, only two to five meters deep where the underground rain water accumulates, in order to fill their bucket or to hand it to the person standing in the well.

Dârna bel-ḳnêne Our camp at al-Ḳnêne
saḳâha-r-ra'ad Was filled, after thunder peals, with water
dâr majjâḥ al-ardân That is the camp for him who would draw water with sleeves
w-ẓâfi al-ża'ad. And desires a warm place to abide in.

[312] Al-Ḳnêne is a watering place. The rocky bottom of the broad channel there is covered with gravel and sand to a depth of about a meter. After heavy rain the water remains on the rocky bottom for a long time, being protected by the gravel from evaporation. The Arabs dig little wells, *ḥesjân*, in the gravel, which are filled with water to the depth of half a meter so that it can, as the Bedouins say, be drawn even with sleeves. *Majjâḥ al-ardân*, drawing with sleeves, is a lazy fellow who does not like the fatigue of drawing water from a deep well and praises the shallow sources from which he can water his camels without any effort. *Ẓâfi al-ża'ad* signifies camps protected against the wind, therefore pleasantly warm.

Mâ jimess al-rarab mess He will not firmly grasp the rope with the bucket
ṛejr alli mâkûleh dess Who does not eat hidden food,
allâh min jiḥebb w-ḥess. Who, by Allâh, does not kiss and touch

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Jimess means, properly, a steady and equal pull on the rope. It is held in the left hand, caught below, with the right, and is thus pulled up hand over hand. *Ṛarab* is the same as *rša*, the rope to which the leather bucket, *delw*, is tied. As some of the wells are as much as a hundred meters deep, the drawing of water is very fatiguing, especially on account of the bulges in the rocky sides which impede the bucket in coming up. The right hand must not only hold the rope firmly, but must shake it most of the time so as to keep it in the center. *Alli mâkûleh dess* means "he who finds his food by feeling or searching for it." He eats more than the others, because his sweetheart has hidden something for him in a place he knows of, in order that he may eat it at night after returning from the pasture.

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LOST CAMELS

Many camels get lost. Finding good grazing in some deep gully, they stay there, kneel down during the hottest part of the day, and, having rested, graze again. When there is a spot with good soft sand, the truant animal rolls about in it, grazes once more, and when the sun sinks in the west cannot find its herd, which, pasturing slowly, has in the meantime passed out of sight. Sometimes a she-camel may like only certain plants. She is rested, fat, and can satisfy her desires. Some days she will not touch anything except her favorite dainty, hunting for it on all sides, leaving the herd, and moving on. At noon, kneeling for a while to chew her cud, she catches sight of her plant at some distance, sets off for it, and, then, in the evening moans for the herd she can no longer find. The lost she-camels run around all night and kneel down before sunrise, but with the evaporating of the dew they get up and run in almost any direction. They seem entirely to lack the sense of smell or the natural instinct which might enable them to find their herd. Being accustomed to follow the leading she-camel, they are at their wit's ends when they do not see her, and they wander aimlessly even if only one kilometer from the camp. On the other hand, the herdsman cannot look for a lost animal for long. On returning to his tent towards evening he rides through the camp in all directions calling in his singing voice, *mdâjé'*, for the

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

233 stray beast to come back to its place. Often the lost she-camel joins another herd, goes with it to the camp, moans when she does not hear the familiar voice of the herdsman, and moves towards him as soon as his ditty catches her ear. In case the stray animal is not in the camp, the owner and his friends mount their horses and ride out the same evening to hunt for it. If it is not found, they return the next day before noon, saddle their female riding camels, and the search begins anew. During their absence a member of the owner's kin rides up and down the camp every evening shouting: "Who has seen such and such a she-camel?" If someone happens to have seen her, the usual answer is: "O thou who hast lost a she-camel, know that she is at So-and-So's." No one would ever keep such knowledge to himself. A stray or lost she-camel is called *ḏâheba*, the man who has lost her, *meḏheb*.

[789] Although sucking, young camels are constantly threatened with danger from many beasts of prey, mainly wolves, the herdsman cannot always watch them, especially in a rocky territory or sandy desert, full of drifts and pits. However, in order to preserve them he draws a circle around them with his staff or a sharp stone and says: "The circle of Solomon, son of David, is between us and thee [wild beast]! If thou breakest it, Allâh will break thee! *ḥoṭṭa slejmân eben dâûd bênana w-bênak w-en ḳaṭa'taha ḳaṭa'ak allâh.*" This circle is also called *leǧâm*.

VALUE AND USES OF CAMELS

231 511 438 Without camels the Bedouins could not live in the desert. The she-camels give them milk all the year round; this forms the principal, and in many families the only, food for months. With the money received from the sale of camels they buy clothes, arms, and grain for both themselves and their horses. The camels they usually sell to the *felláḥîn* or to the merchants who import in caravans the various goods needed in the towns and settlements situated far from the sea or from railways; some camels are also sold for meat in Egypt and Irak. The *felláḥîn* use the camels in plowing, hauling, and threshing, for raising water, and for bringing their various products to the market. Fat she-camels more than twenty years old are bought for their flesh by the 'Aḳejl.

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Af'an la'ajni bakratan miṭâf
waẓḥa' tezedd ḥwâraha
min fowk ḥakra čannaha-l-ǧaṭṭâf
w-ma'askaran mismâraha.

I will stab to protect my she-camel with long thick hair on the hump,
Pure white, guiding her young by low murmurs;
I will stab from the back of a sorrel resembling a wild beast,
Whose shoe nails are bent inward.

[231] *Bakra* is a she-camel not yet eight years old. The humps of she-camels which have never carried loads or riding saddles are covered with long thick hair. They also grow very fat. *Waẓḥa'*, a pure white she-camel, is the most prized among the Rwala. *Ḥwâr* is the name given to a sucking camel calf. The careful mother looks back at her young incessantly and warns it by low and short murmurs not to go far away and get lost, *tezeddeh*. *Ḥaṭṭâf* is either a wild beast or a good hunting hound which attacks its prey without being urged. The warrior is mounted on a sorrel which also starts in pursuit of the enemy of her own accord. Nothing [492] will hold her back, except perhaps the sharp pieces of basalt and lava, which may injure her feet. But no such danger threatens the mare of our rider, as her shoes are well nailed on. The nail passes through the horn of the hoof and is then bent inward, *ma'askaran mismâraha*, to prevent its loosening and falling out.

Šikkan ta'dawed lar-ruḥâl
jowm ay-ṣabí dawda laha
tibrah 'ala-lli jif'anûn
jowm al-ǧamab jibra' laha.

White she-camels of reddish hue accustomed to carry loads,
As soon as the lad cries 'daw'
Begin to yearn for those who can stab,
Knowing that the protecting troop will soon join them.

● 233 *Ruḥâl* means the she-camels carrying smaller loads, especially the tent and its furniture, on the march. They are usually good tempered and will obey the youth whenever he urges them in a quiet voice to turn or to stop. The lad, *ṣabí*, either sits on one of them or walks behind and cries: "*Daw*, O So-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

and-So," calling the animals by their different names. This call is termed *daw* or *dawda*; the youth *jedôdi*. He urges them in this manner especially when there is danger of a hostile attack, in order to keep his herd quiet, for otherwise they would shy, throw off their loads, and run away. The older and, therefore, calmer animals understand at once that danger threatens them, and stop and wait till joined, *jibra' laha*, by their protecting troop, *ǧanab*.

Já nâjiman 'an fâṭereh
maǧhûl 'ajneh bes-sahr
ḥalûbeteh rukûbeteh
ǧelûbeteh jowm ad-dahr.

Oh, he who sleeps unmindful of his old she-camel!
In his heedlessness he keeps not his eye awake
Over his camel which he milks, which he can ride,
And sell, too, when want threatens him.

Nâjem 'an has the same meaning as *sâhi 'an*. The watchman sleeps carelessly beside his camels. The word *maǧhûl* or *ǧâhel* is used of a lad from fourteen to eighteen years old, who, from thoughtlessness, makes all kinds of mistakes. *Jowm ad-dahr*, or *jowm al-maḥal*, or *jowm al-roḷḷa*, mean the period of want and misery caused by light and irregular rains. At such times the younger camels cannot even sufficiently nurse their sucking young and give no milk for use of the owner's family, thus compelling him to sell the old camels in order to buy barley or wheat for himself and his children.

Já nâjeme nowm al-faḥad
lâ tel'edân an-nâjeme
a'ṭâ-l-'uddjer ḥaḳḳehen
w-ar-rûḥ má ḥi dâjeme.

Oh, do not awaken this sleeping one
Who sleeps the light sleep of the panther;
Let pregnant camels have their right
And [remember that] the soul will not remain [in the body] forever.

'Âḥra', a camel big with young, sleeps lightly, is easily frightened, and just as easily shies. Frightened camels run as long as possible and will not stop until completely exhausted.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

portant guests do they bake fresh bread and prepare some sort of meal. If a Rwejli has a piece of dry bread, *ḫomš*, and can soak it in water, he boasts of having eaten well. Breakfast is unknown to the Rwala. In order to loosen the spittle, *fekk ar-rīḳ*, they eat a grain of salt, a morsel of bread, or gulp down some milk. This is their usual breakfast, *ṣubûḥ* (*eṣṭebeḥ*, take thy breakfast). On long marches they can keep going with this breakfast until evening, because they have no luncheon. The Rwala know that they will eat only after sunset and are grateful to Allâh if he gives them a chance of eating their fill at least once a week. Often there is not even a cup of cold *leben*, sour milk, for supper. Suppers of this kind, at which only a little milk is drunk, are called *ṭabûḳ*.

MILK AND METHODS OF PROCURING IT

Milk is the main nourishment of the Rwala. In order to secure a supply of milk for a whole year they make use of various devices.

If a young camel is weak they kill it as soon as it is born, and for seven days, *samḥ lejâl*, they do not milk, *jeṭarzûha*, the female camel, so that she loses her milk, *ṣ-ḥi ṭarez*. In this way she becomes strong and can carry loads. If they have insufficient milk, they gently stroke, *jemsaḥûha*, her udder morning and evening, and after a few days the milk flows again. If they have a sucking camel, they lead it to her; in order that she may let it suck, they draw her nostrils together with a rope, *jeḥazmû ḫašmaha bel-'aḳâl*, or thrust a long, strong needle, *maḫjaṭ*, through her nostrils. Thus they deceive the female camel, *jeṭîrûn 'alejha ẓijâr*, who cannot smell the calf tied to her, becomes friendly with it, *ṭarâm*, and lets it have milk, *ṭaderr*.

Sometimes they remove the newly-born calf, *ǧarraw laha*, before the female camel notices and smells it. Then they kill it, tie up the female camel, and fasten to her an older calf, which they smear with a little blood from the calf that has been killed. The female camel licks it, makes friends with it, *rimat*, and lets it suck. In this way one calf sucks two female camels. This method is called *ǧerâr*. Often they kill five and even seven young camels, and to all the female camels they bring the same calf, and all of them let it suck. This is called *meǧamma'a*. The female camel which gives the least milk they

234 leave to the calf, but on the udders of the rest they place thick nets, *šamle*, tied across the hip and under the tail, or they fasten to every nipple a firm peg sharpened at both ends so that the young cannot suck.

When they wish to milk, they remove the net or the pegs, *jabhelúnaha*, call the calf, and wait until the milk flows. The female camel gives most milk in the morning. As soon as her left forefoot is untied she rises and the young camel runs up; it is then possible to milk. The owner calls the herdsman from the tent: "Such and such a camel has risen yonder, milk her; *jâ flân an-nâḳa al-flâne ṭârat ehlebha.*" The milker stands on the left side, the calf tries to suck from the right. The camel gives her milk when she sees that the young one is approaching the udder, *'aṭṭafat an-nâḳa 'a'a waladha*; this is called *ta'ṭîf* or *jiḥenn al-ḳalb 'alá-l-ḳalb*. The milker does not hasten; he holds the nipple with three fingers, pressing with the thumb, without pulling; the pressure makes the milk spurt in a strong jet, *šuḫḫ*, into a wooden vessel, *žedaḥ*. During the milking the calf has to be soothed and the female camel appeased, which the milker does by calling her name, for instance: "*Hêj jâ 'alija hêj jâ 'alija.*" If the calf runs away, the female camel withholds the milk, *fawwatat an-náḳa*.

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FIG. 20—A water trough, *ḥaw*; (see p. 71).

If a traveler wishes to drink quickly, he milks into his hand; otherwise they always milk into a wooden pot, *žedaḥ*, or small leather pouch, *šakwa*. The milker takes care that the milk does not splash on the ground, which would mean an unnecessary loss. Anyone who squanders something useful or necessary is compared to a milker who lets the milk flow on the ground, and there is a saying: "The jet of milk did not splash into my hand or into the pot, *šuḫḫen ṭafaḥ lâ bidi w-lâ bel-žedaḥ.*" From one female camel the amount of milk which can be obtained each day is from one to seven liters. The better the pasture, especially when it consists of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

good annuals, the more milk is given. The fertile camel gives milk for twelve months, the barren camel for even longer. After a year the she-camel is conducted to the male. If she conceives, she loses the milk and bites and kicks her calf when it tries to suck. 234

The calf generally ceases to suck after a year, but many wish to continue even after that. Such calves are known as *ʿabeṭ*. In order that a calf of this sort may not steal milk, a sharpened peg, *ḥelâl*, is inserted under its nostrils, and if it attempts to suck the peg pricks the female camel, so that she at once drives the calf away.

FIG. 21—A water trough, *ḥauṿ* (see p. 71).

The milk is either drunk warm immediately after it has been obtained, *maḥaṿ* or is heated, *saḫîn*. The freshly obtained milk is called *ḥalîb*. If it is poured, *jeḥaḳnûneh*, into a leather bag, *semîl*, it is called *leben*, even though it may still be sweet. In the bag it becomes sour very quickly, *jeṭaʿʿam* (or *mṭaʿʿam*). The Rwala do not churn camel's milk. If they have too much, they boil it and from the curds make small cheeses which they eat either dry or stewed with bread. 262 234 272

A milking camel is called *ḥallâba*. It is not sold at any price, as it nourishes the whole family. Every Rwejli is fond of milk, either fresh or sour. Those who cannot get accustomed to it are given the nickname of *feḳ*. The Rwala woman reminds her daughter of the white *leben* as soon as she wakes her in the morning, exclaiming: "O my daughter, white as milk! why art thou idle like the gazelle, taking thy ease until the dew has departed? *já bunajje já leben uṿaẓḥa' ʿalzṛejjel bel-menâm aẓḥa'*." The freshly obtained milk has a salt taste, because the camels are fond of grazing on salt herbs. In consequence of this it has an aperient effect, especially on the foreigner; but after a short time he gets accustomed to it, likes it very much, and suffers no ill effects. If the camel has been feeding for a long time on fragrant or strong-smelling herbs, the odor can be noticed in the milk. 551

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539 x
577 x

When thy good luck arrives, follow it,
As, of necessity, it soon will end.
When thy camels drip, milk them,
For the young knows not whose the milk will be.

● [234] Make full use of your opportunity! A camel will give milk only when her young catches hold of her teats with its lips and knocks its head against her loins. The young camel thus compels its mother to let her milk flow but does not itself know whether it will drink, because the man may push it away and milk for himself. He often milks three camels without the young having had a drink. It frequently happens that a man creates an opportunity for himself but is unable to utilize it. Push him aside and see what you can do!

Modesty and Self Reliance

1. *Ḳâl rumejzân at-tamîmi maṯâjel*
   al-ajjâm ṛums w-lâ bihen ḥejâl
2. *al-lejâli mâ ḫallen ḥada mâ čwaneh*
   w-lâ jeslam min low 'âtihen reǧǧâl
3. *fattelt lid-dinja ḥebâlen aǧerraha*
   w-ǧerratni-d-dinja biṛejr ḥebâl
4. *jâ žâ'ed beṛ-ṛell čann zâḥ ṛellak*
   w-jâ žâ'ed beš-šams ǧâk ṛelâl
5. *min ḳâl ana ḫejr al-mela' fâleh al-'ana'*
   w-min ḳâl ana ṛejmen tuṛejmeh reǧâl
6. *lâ tṣir marhâš low nešet ṭowleh*
   w-lâ tkun heǧ'en low bada lak al-ḥâl
7. *w-lâ jimteli ǧibben min aṭ-ṭell w-an-neda'*
   w-lâ jistuwi herǧen biṛejr fa'âl
8. *w-lâ jenḳol al-janḳûš raǧolen ḫajjer*
   w-lâ tâkol zibdet al-mḍâb reǧâl
9. *w-čam wâḥeden žâ'ed 'ala mâl abûh w-ǧeddeh*
   w-en zawwaleh rabb al-'âlemîn hw zâl.

1. Rumejzân at-Tamîmi told these parables:
   Secret are the days and yet not screened with curtains.
2. The nights do not omit anybody while burning with
   an iron red-hot,
   And nobody will save himself, however much he may
   try to surpass them.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XII

Camels, Women, Children— and Locusts

231 OH, THESE CAMELS! They stamp and trample; they buck, they quarrel, they weep and take fright—yes! And they laugh; they are helpless, but ever and anon rebellious. They will run like a machine for hours, [492] and all at once stop or refuse to budge. Only with a rider in the saddle are they erect, proud animals, self-assured, noble, moving with elastic strides. With a dull herdsman seated on its hump, a camel too becomes dull, lazy and—gluttonous.

The camel is not merely a creature to ride. The nomad [262] makes use of it in many other ways. He cooks its wiry sinews and leathery muscles and eats them, though, even after boiling, the flesh is so tough that one's teeth are either blunted or loosened in the effort to chew it. The Arab drinks the camel's milk, and often in times of stress he will drink the turbid, sour fluid secreted in the [515] creature's stomach. On cold mornings the people warm their hands in the camel's urine and even wash their hair with it. It works deadly destruction on the parasites! The wool of the camel is collected and woven into [237] material for herdsmen's coats and for the garments of the women and children. The poor animals are loaded with incredible burdens; their dung provides fuel for

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 since it is universally known that the enemy always tries
556 first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'arf w-nowmâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *marâtîr* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when
[237] too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

233 The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *hešle* (pl., *hšel*); a larger one, *ra'ijje* (pl., *ra'âja*) or *ḳaṭ'a* (pl., *ḳaṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zowd*. A little herd owned by a small familly is called *ḏwejd*.

233 Each herd has its own herdsman, *râ'i al-bel*, who is hired
463 for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meǧîdijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely
465 six *meǧîdijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either
554 a *maḥlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥeżż*. It is also his duty to help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

233 In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeṣaḥḥihen*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *madrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ada*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeḏḏeb lahen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'ada*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jsefelli*) *bel-ba'ria jamm al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṭ-ṭarî as-sârḥ*, usually form a single line,

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In 1909 the price of a

maḫlûl	was 10 to 12	*meǧidijjât*	($ 9.00– 10.80)
mafrûd	15 „ 20	„	($13.50– 18.00)
heǯǯe	18 „ 28	„	($16.20– 25.20)
ǧeḏ'	30 „ 40	„	($27.00– 36.00)
ṭeni	40 „ 60	„	($36.00– 54.00)
rub'	60 „ 80	„	($54.00– 72.00)
good riding camel.	85 „200	„	($76.50–180.00).

The prices fluctuate according to supply and demand; the price of fat old she-camels varies in accordance with the price of cotton in Egypt. If the *fellâḥîn* in that country have had a profitable year, they do not stint themselves in camel meat.

For camel's hair the Bedouins get but little. The largest quantity of hair and the longest is given by male camels up to their seventh, and by she-camels to their ninth, year. The older the animal the thinner its hair, the old ones being almost entirely bald on the shanks, belly, and both sides of the neck. Toward the end of April and in May camel's hair is gathered by girls, *al-bel ṭarr wabarha*, who make it into saddle bags, blankets, and sacks.

The camel is ridden by the Bedouin on lengthy marches. Indeed, such marches are always made on camels, never on horses. The she-camel is more enduring than the male, persisting longer without abundant pasture or water and not weakening even in the rutting time, whereas the males in the month of February are exhausted to such a degree that they cannot rise from the ground.

The most highly valued are those riding she-camels which can eat their fill while on the march without stopping or deviating from their course. An animal of this kind is called *ḫanîḳ*.

Heǧîjje is the term applied to a she-camel which grazes only near her resting rider and will not go far enough to lose sight of him.

A female riding camel who is loath to part from her young or herd moans grievously, *taḥenn 'an weleḏ*, for several days and is called *milâḥ*. But often the murmuring becomes a habit lasting for months. Day after day, and often at night as well, the rolling murmur is heard at regular intervals. It will not cease unless the animal's mouth is tied with a cord, but even then a subdued sound is heard. No sooner is the

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805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at as-shejl nušarreẓ*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṭrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṭrûwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-šta'*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳéẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳéẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-waṣm*, *aš-šituwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of
132 *as-shejláwi*, *aṭ-ṭrûwi*, and *al-ǧôzáwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains. [221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which [131] are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the [245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen as-sejl wa-tlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejláwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-kherfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arṣ maṣrûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

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831x 539x [302]

themselves with grain. Our Šammari can therefore meet his Rwala maid, Zahra, only in the inner desert, *šerḳ*. Women fond of dress dye their hair yellow with henna.

Fâṭeri taẓla' al-jowm min riğlaha
jâ ba'ad žâḍelen ḳarḳašaw ḥağlaha.

My old she-camel with her hind leg lame today,
Oh, may she live longer than she with hair clipped above her brows and ankle rings clashing together.

Ajj aẓ-ẓamar walla'-l-bajaẓ
low čent ani 'aššâḳeh
ḥebb aẓ-ẓamar ḥelwt al-ğowf
lâ wa' hani min ẓâḳeh.

Whether black or white,
If I were only his sweetheart!
The kisses of a negro are like the *ḥelwa* dates from al-Ğowf;
Truly, much relish to one who has tasted them.

A paramour was reproached with having been intimate with a negro; she answered with the ditty just cited, which is very popular, especially with the negroes.

Ḥelwa is the most delicious variety of dates raised in the basin al-Ğowf. Some of these dates are as much as five centimeters long and two centimeters thick; they are black with a bluish tinge. [245]

1. *Naṭṭajt rûs al-'abd w-lâ šufet al-adbâš*
w-lâ ğâni min maẓnûn 'ajni mnâbi
2. *má šufet ṭurḳijje w-lâ šufet al-awnâs*
min dûn maẓnûni telâla'-s-serâbi
3. *hani lowni lil-ma'âlik fattâš*
w-alli bḳalb ṣwejḥebi miṭl má bi.

1. The summit of al-'Abd I climbed, but saw no herds,
Nor did any one come to bring word to me from the one for whom my eyes watch.
2. No travelers, no man at all I sighted;
Between me and my ward a mirage quivers.
3. Oh, may he who examines the heart bring my desires to a good issue,
[Allâh] who dwells in my mistress' heart and in mine too.

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Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All round the camp and all day long smoke screens were kept going, into which women and children drove the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them —but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens, bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bedouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that at times their camels and horses too can have no other fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

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destroyed. In the afternoons and evenings the young people hasten to the water holes, *ṛudrân*, in the valley bottoms for their ablutions. They bathe separately, the youths in one place, the girls in another. Their shouts of joy and various songs are heard on all sides. In the tents mushrooms and truffles, young bulbs, and fresh vegetables are cooked and enjoyed.

The local name for the mushrooms is *hawbar*. They grow after warm night rains, *emṭer bel-lejl w-râḥ jaṭaǧanna-l-hawbar*. On the mornings following such nights both men and women go out in search of this dainty, which grows best of all near the channels, while the truffle prefers soil mixed or strewn with sand. When they come to the surface the latter form tiny hat-like lumps, which attract the eye of the picker. The earth or sand covering them is then turned over by the hand or a stick, and the truffle dug out. In cooking they are boiled in salt water and then served with butter or camel's fat. Another method is to bake them in hot ashes after a thorough salting.

Of the truffle, *faḳa'*, there are three kinds: *al-čema*, *az-zbejdi*, and *al-ḫlâṣi*. A Bedouin, having gathered a heap of truffles, sorted them in his tent according to their kinds, saying: "This one is *al-čmajje*, the mother of the little girl will get that; this *az-zbejdi* I will give to the mother of my little son; and the best, *al-ḫlâṣi*, I shall keep myself; *al-čmajje lumm al-bnajje az-zbejdi lumm wlejdi al-ḫlâṣi larâsi*."

All Bedouins greatly enjoy the small bulbs of certain wild plants, especially *aṭ-ṭiṭa*, *rubaḥla*, *karrâṯ*, etc. Mothers send their boys in search of them with the words: "My little sons, O sonnies! go bring me *aṭ-ṭiṭa*; I will prepare for you *muṭiṭa* (a dish of mashed bulbs); *'ejâli jâ 'ejâl aṭ-ṭiṭa w-muṭlekom muṭiṭa*."

In the sun-baked gravel plains (called *ḥamâd*) in a year of abundance the *semḥ* grows with its subvarieties, *al-da'â'* and *al-ḥawwa*. These plants, when already ripe and still fresh are much sought after by the Bedouins, who place them in pits safe from water or in bags. When dry the plants are beaten with sticks and shaken, and the seed, *če'ber*, which have fallen to the ground, are put into sacks, *'edûl*, and brought to rain-water holes, where they are either left for some time or at least thoroughly soaked until the dry husks crack. Sometimes the large leather water troughs, *ḥowz*, are filled with water and the full shells are put in; in time they swell and burst.

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The chaff, *ḳišr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away, while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is called *semḥne* or *sebib*.

The fertility, or abundance, *rabī'*, depends entirely on a luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even after a good *ṣejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *maṣ-ǰûfa*; but no *ṣejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may have no *rabī'* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have something to bite into), and men die of hunger; *ḥâḍi-s-sene w-laka mûn nâs ja'îšûn w-nâs jemûtûn.*" The Bedouin also refers to a *rabī' al-mâl*, meaning a season when the entire growth consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even the youngest camels; a *rabī' aṣ-ṣafâra*, when nothing grows except the *ṣafâra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rabī' ad-dimne*, when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *šitwi* rains, fail to receive the *smâḳ* rain and become yellow as early as the end of March; a *rabī' an-naǰûn*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rabī' aṣ-ṣaḥa*, when not only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant pasture.

Just as the Bedouins long for the *rabī'* years, so they fear the years of want, or *ǧeme'*. If for two or three years the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody plants alone. The winter rain, *aš-šitwi*, makes these perennials swell, but during the hot *smâḳ* days they dry up, become unpalatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ajjâm aš-ǧeme'*, or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish. But if the rains of the *ṣejfi* also fail, then not a single perennial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrú lan-nár*." With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement called *fáz*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *ḥaddám* or *ṭubal*. The ordinary Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *ḥafrat an-nár*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *ḍaḍ'* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *ḥā* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

354 412 332 354 354 574 372 462

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the dividing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

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262 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families
272 live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mnaṭṭemin 'ejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

Fig. 22—A water trough, *ḥawr*, on a camel (see p. 71).

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

609 The Bedouins are convinced
829 that the *fellâḥîn* are obliged
261 to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw 'ejḥathom 'ala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert,
574 *jeḥarrešûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for
261 sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣa'âf* or *ḫelâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *'aššni jâ ḫajje 'aššni.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *'ejš*,
824 bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Kamh alli bâ'ad habben sahik."

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as long as it is in grain, *al-ḥmaḥ alli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ*." The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mikbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *rḥa'*. These mills are made by the Rwala women who hew two pieces of basalt or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḳalb*, and make a wooden handle, *ḥâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *tfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fouṣḥa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa'* *'ala-ṭ-tfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

FIG. 22—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'âd ar-raḥa mâ dîruh killen tâḥoḍ 'aîruh*." Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowwa ana wadj-'ina 'abd al-kerim muwaṣṣina*."

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; at the most they grind enough to leave something over for bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a *ṣaḥn*-pan (or *'elbe*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *maḥmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *maḥmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *maḥmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *tenaaref tenaîf*. The ready-made cake she places on a *mineḍf*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *ṣâj*, about

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252 60 centimeters in diameter, turns it over on three stones above a fire, with a quick movement lays the cake on the convex side, and takes care that it does not burn. A cake of this kind is called *rafîf*; if it is as thin as paper it is called *rahîf*; and if it is thick, *ǧerîm*.

For breakfast they sometimes prepare a thin batter for the guests, and this is poured into the concave side of the *sâǧ* and baked. This bread, called *maṣli*, when fresh tastes almost like our pancakes.

If bread is to be baked quickly, they knead one large cake from the dough, place it on the hot ashes, cover it with them, and light another fire above the ashes. It is turned once or twice and called *ǧamrijje*.

262 252 Leavened bread is eaten only in the cold season. They prepare the loaf in the evening, add a piece of yeast, *ḫâmer*, to the dough, and bake the bread in the morning. The Rwala prefer unleavened bread, *faṭîr*. They like to have the bread always fresh, *ǧedîd*. Bread of yesterday's baking, *bâjet*, must not be given to guests.

In the season of abundance, *rabî'*, they do not bake bread at all, and at other times seldom and usually only for guests. In two-thirds of the tents bread is not baked all the year round, and many of the women taste it only once or twice throughout their lives. They have an expression of praise: "This is the tent of bread; here bread is baked. So and So is very rich and bountiful; he has bread, he is the master of bread, *râ'i-l-ḫubez*."

In addition to milk the Rwala live mostly on *'ejš*. This is boiled from crushed wheat or wheat pounded in a mill. Among the chiefs the wheat is ground into groats, *ǧerîš*. On the crushed or ground wheat water is poured, salt is added, and it is boiled into a thick paste. If they have enough *leben*, the women pour it upon the *'ejš*, *tebajjeẓ al-'ejš*, making *bejâḍ*. *'Ejš* is prepared almost daily for supper. What is left over is served for next day's luncheon and eaten cold, *berîde*.

[184 251] If the Rwala are proceeding on a short journey and know that they will find no tents for two or three days, they roast a little wheat on the *sâǧ*, shake it into a leather sack, and feed on it. This is called *ḫamîse*. As the old men do not have good teeth, instead of roasted wheat grain they take a couple of handfuls of flour and eat this without any preparation. They call it *leḥme*.

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Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêḍa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *raṣîṣa*, roast the grains to *ḥamîsa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

FIG. 24—A small tent, *bzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebib* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes ekmusek*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

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to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish. They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧǧân*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *'ejš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the following:

'aṣide, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

beċile, a paste made from dates and flour,

basise, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmeǰ'a, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧîdijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *'aẓîẓ* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sabḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṯḫejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *ǯedaḥ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣûd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

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rose silently and strode toward her flock, but stopped suddenly and stood still. Entranced, Faris's eyes drank in the beauty of her figure, clearly outlined beneath the folds of her thin garments, glorified by the rays of the morning sun. But when he started to follow, she gave a laugh and drawing her cloak about her shoulders, ran off swiftly to the depression where her sheep were grazing and her dogs played, rolling over each other in the luxuriant herbage.

The radiance of a flawless morning was over the wilderness. In the crystal-clear air the eye could sweep far horizons across an immense succession of tawny hills and green glades. A few fleecy clouds sailed in the blue heavens. A lark rose, jubilant, soaring higher and higher in an ecstasy of melody. And over the steppe, like a caress, still moved the gentle, warm wind.

Such was the morning on which love awakened in Faris's heart.

Breakfast; and then Faris and I must resume our ride. Tuĕma rekindled the fire on the hearth, stirred some flour into cold water, shaped the dough into small thin loaves, and baked them on the glowing ashes. During the meal she dipped dates into butter, rolled each into a piece of the still warm bread, and fed these morsels alternately into Faris's mouth and mine.

"Wilt thou ever return?" Tuĕma asked her newfound lover.

"All is known to the Lord," replied Faris wistfully.

"And wilt thou think of me?"

"And thou?"

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312 of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All
through the night they kept watering their herds at the
[406] deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of
the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bear-
ings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

133 A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide
dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what
is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian
peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a
fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which ex-
tends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste
without water, without pasture, on which it seems to
have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world
was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy
and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in
it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless
melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned
planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope
or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we
pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a
flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards
[137] avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended
• [552] on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta
—the *semh*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs
small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed gran-
ules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark,
bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or
boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

726 After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well,
we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern
Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

344 they bathed the squealing, downy infant all over, baptizing him with this herb-scented water of the beast of the desert into the sacred fellowship of the wilderness.

I was still thinking how unexpectedly this incident had come to pass, when I was startled by heavy pattering on the tent-roof and on the sand outside. Everywhere, on tents and on the backs of the camels, it was raining big, fat, reddish locusts!

The new baby boy's mother was just then squatting in her smoke-filled tent, engaged, with the assistance of her women friends, in swathing his little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags—a measure considered indispensable among the Bedouins for the protection of newly born children. But, all-important
136 as this ceremony was, all the women except the mother
222 rushed away pell-mell, to help their menfolk and children to harvest the locusts.

These kept coming up in swarms—nay, in cloud piled on cloud. While myriads whirred past and on with a loud noise, a host of them broke flight and settled. Wherever one looked, the ground was thick with them, covered, as it were, with a crawling red carpet. Grass, herbage, bushes melted away under the devouring mass of insects. And the whole camp was out gathering them.

●252 Soon locusts were roasting at every fire, round which
262 men, women, and children squatted in a circle. They picked up the insects by their gauzy wings, plucked off the legs, dipped the roasted "husks" in salt, and ate them, skin and all.

Boiled, I did not like locusts; they had the taste of particularly insipid cabbage or some such vegetable.

h: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and 252
inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did 262
they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as
food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired
of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All around the camp and all day long smoke screens 222
were kept going, into which women and children drove 251
the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects
lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a
few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-
bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried
insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them [262]
—but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's
stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for [731]
other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in
vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and
famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we 136
found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had 731
disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to
realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly
devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil
in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it
is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens,
bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on
the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red
clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be
most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bed- [262]
ouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that
at times their camels and horses too can have no other
fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731 221 tant Euphrates. It was as if a tremendous fire were sweeping up from the heart of Arabia, and man and beast were in headlong flight to escape from its consuming breath.

731 221 574 261 The eternal law of Nature was being fulfilled: death to the weak, the maimed, and the forsaken. The strong trampled over the weak, gaining from their victims fresh strength and endurance to push on. Though famine ravaged the land, the slaves in the camp of the nomad chieftain saw to it that the guests of their master lacked nothing. Every day for breakfast I was served a dish very like our scrambled eggs, made of several tiny eggs of the sand grouse. It had a particular gamy tang, and so has a similar dish made of the much larger bustard eggs. Fresh truffles were roasted in the embers of weeds and camel dung, their rinds splitting in the heat. Every morning I found beside my bowl of milk a basin of wild honey, with thick dabs of sheep's-milk butter floating in it. As I was eating, I watched the slave baking bread. He poured a porridge-like mixture of wheat flour, crushed seeds and herbs on to a hot, convex iron plate, resting on three stones over the fire. The batter first spread out on this grid, and then wrinkled up under the heat and formed large griddle cakes, brown and thick, which, one by one, the Negro peeled off and threw into our laps. We tore off strips from these wafer-like, charcoal flakes, crisp at the edges, rolled them around our fingers, and with these morsels fished the butter out of the honey. We strangers and guests certainly did not suffer want. Most of the Rualas, on the contrary, and even the chieftains, actually went hungry.

262 262

731 574 261

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

sheltered position at the foot of a rugged hill, and gathered roots and dry weeds to make a fire by which to roast the bustards shot on the way by our slaves. The roughly plucked birds were cut into pieces, which were thrown on the hot ashes. The crops and intestines still full of partly digested herbs and red-haired caterpillars were also roasted in this way, and eaten with relish as a delicacy.

It was our intention to rest here awhile. From a point above our camp we surveyed the surrounding country from time to time for wandering herds, mounted Bedouins or automobiles, but as far as we could see there was nothing living within view; the wilderness stretched away to the horizon undisturbed.

As we chaffed and laughed over our meal, six savage figures stood suddenly before us, as if they had risen out of the ground. They could not have ridden upon us, for Mijhem and Sleyman had, but a moment previously, scanned the whole neighbourhood with field-glasses. The six fellows must, therefore, have crept up on hands and knees from some spot close by, where they had been lying in hiding. They had no rifles, but nevertheless, they had us covered with pistols which they held under their cloaks.

At first they did not speak, and not one of us dared to move. Two of the strangers then commenced to argue with each other, eyeing us the while in a most unfriendly manner.

Unmounted wayfarers met in the desert in this way are usually common robbers and murderers, who will stop at nothing to attain their purpose. They have

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

destroyed. In the afternoons and evenings the young people hasten to the water holes, *ṣudrân*, in the valley bottoms for their ablutions. They bathe separately, the youths in one place, the girls in another. Their shouts of joy and various songs are heard on all sides. In the tents mushrooms and truffles, young bulbs, and fresh vegetables are cooked and enjoyed.

The local name for the mushrooms is *ḥawbar*. They grow after warm night rains, *emṭer bel-lejl w-râḥ jaṭaġanna-l-ḥawbar*. On the mornings following such nights both men and women go out in search of this dainty, which grows best of all near the channels, while the truffle prefers soil mixed or strewn with sand. When they come to the surface the latter form tiny hat-like lumps, which attract the eye of the picker. The earth or sand covering them is then turned over by the hand or a stick, and the truffle dug out. In cooking they are boiled in salt water and then served with butter or camel's fat. Another method is to bake them in hot ashes after a thorough salting.

Of the truffle, *faḳa'*, there are three kinds: *al-čema, az-zbejdi*, and *al-ḥlâṣi*. A Bedouin, having gathered a heap of truffles, sorted them in his tent according to their kinds, saying: "This one is *al-čmajje*, the mother of the little girl will get that; this *az-zbejdi* I will give to the mother of my little son; and the best, *al-ḥlâṣi*, I shall keep myself; *al-čmajje lumm al-bnajje az-zbejdi lumm wlejdi al-ḥlâṣi larâsi*."

All Bedouins greatly enjoy the small bulbs of certain wild plants, especially *aṭ-ṭiṭa, rubaḥla, karrâṯ*, etc. Mothers send their boys in search of them with the words: "My little sons, O sonnies! go bring me *aṭ-ṭiṭa;* I will prepare for you *muṭîṭa* (a dish of mashed bulbs); *'ejâli jâ 'ejâl aṭ-ṭiṭa w-muṭlekom muṭîṭa*."

In the sun-baked gravel plains (called *ḥamâd*) in a year of abundance the *semḥ* grows with its subvarieties, *ad-da'â'* and *al-ḥawwa*. These plants, when already ripe and still fresh are much sought after by the Bedouins, who place them in pits safe from water or in bags. When dry the plants are beaten with sticks and shaken, and the seed, *če'ber*, which have fallen to the ground, are put into sacks, *'edûl*, and brought to rain-water holes, where they are either left for some time or at least thoroughly soaked until the dry husks crack. Sometimes the large leather water troughs, *ḥowṣ*, are filled with water and the full shells are put in; in time they swell and burst.

825 good omen to us, but we will show thee to the falcon; *'aragtina-l-ḫejr w-'araznač laṭ-ṭejr.*"

436 The *ḫanzîr*, wild pig, lives only in Palmyrena and in the environs of al-Azraḳ, where it hides in the marshy thickets. The boar is called *šîḥl*, the sow *šîbe*, the sucking pig *ḳarnûṣ*. [262] Instead of *ḫanzîr*, the Rwala use the word *taḥzîr*. The flesh of wild swine is generally eaten.

The *ṣejd eṭ-ṭas'a* is an herbivorous animal of the size of a six-months lamb, gray in color; its head is said to resemble that of a wether below and a human being above. It lives almost solely on the border of the Nefûd, and its flesh is very tasty.

The *wabr*, marmot, is found in the same mountains as the ibex.

The *nis*, porcupine, is particularly abundant in the environs of al-Ḳa'ara, where the innumerable caves and rocky hollows of all sizes serve as its refuge. When wounded, it attacks a man by biting and scratching. Its flesh is very good.

[224 The *ḳumfoḏ*, hedgehog, is also hunted, as its flesh is very tasty. Hedgehog skin is tied round the neck of timid camels. 825] It is said that when they have worn it for at least a month, they cease to be scared.

The *ǧerdi* is a large variety of jerboa. It scrapes deep holes on the uplands and excavates passages into them in such a way that the water does not penetrate even during the heaviest rains. Its flesh is not particularly savory.

The *ǧarbû'* (or *jarbû'*), a smaller variety of jerboa, prefers to dig holes in plains with soft sandy soil and forms long and easily recognizable passages immediately below the surface. These passages are known as *neṭâḳa*. When it runs into its hole, it immediately stops up the entrance with a heap of clay, *ḳaṣ'a*, for fear of snakes. This heap of clay is 224 an unfailing sign that the *jarbû'* is in its passages. If the Bedouin wishes to hunt it, he thrusts stalks or branches of plants into the passage at several spots and waits until one or another of them moves. That shows him that the *jarbû'* is trying to crawl through, and he kills it with his stick or tramples on it. If he has no time to wait, he tramples on the passages until he drives the *jarbû'* out. In its terror the animal often penetrates the roof of the passage and escapes, if the Bedouin fails to reach it with the stick he throws. The 252 flesh of the *jarbû'* is very tasty, similar to that of chicken. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala M[illegible]

skin is removed and the carcase roasted whole together with the entrails, only the lower part of the legs being thrown away. 252

The *ǧarbū'* and *ǧerdi* boast: "I am *al-ǧarbū'*, the son of *al-marbū'*; on me ten people can easily eat their fill at supper, and pieces of my extremities will still be left in the scrub; *ana-l-ǧarbū' eben al-marbū' ma'āšī: 'ašara ma'āšera w-ḫaḍi-lmni 'ala-l-ǧǧera.*" "If my forelegs were as long as my hind legs there is no *'obejje* mare, which could overtake me; *law idejje ṭūl riǧlejje mā talḥaḳni kill 'obejje.*" "I am *al-ǧerdi*, the son of *al-ǧerdi*, who thrusts a man in armor into a mouse hole; *ana-l-ǧerdi eben al-ǧerdi rammāj al-milbes bel-ǧabāra.*" The man in armor always rides on a horse, which stumbles if it steps into the deep hole of a *ǧerdi* and throws its rider. 539* 825

An old *ǧarbū'* was giving advice to her child. Amongst other things she said:

Fuz bnafsak en šufet ṣejmen
w-ǧalli-d-dār tan'a' limin banāha
ad-dār taǧed dāren aḫejr minha
w-rūḥak lam taǧed rūḥ sawāha.

Flee alone if thou beholdst a mightier
And let the dwelling mourn for him who built it.
A dwelling, thou wilt find a dwelling better than this one,
But a soul, thou couldst not find a soul such as the one thou hast.

Elja ǧall aṭ-ṭeīl bdār ḳoumen
w-mā lis-sākenīn illa-r-ra[illegible]

If the oppressor penetrates into the dwelling of his vassals,
There is nothing left for the dwellers but to go.

The *fār*, mouse, is found everywhere. It penetrates into the tents, carries away food, and often gnaws even sleeping persons. A Bedouin recites: [136]

Ana-sharatni tāli-l-lejl fāra
tiḫoṭ suḥābi jamm ḫafrah twaddīh
ṣarabtuha ḫaḍi-lha bel-feḳāra
min ǧūd malḥi rūḥ dammha ǧibārīh
w-adḫol 'ala ḫaṣnāa w-ǧejḫ al-wabāra
w-allāh ǧinajje' min ǧalla 'awānīh
amm-ente jā ṣarbāl mā bak ḫemāra
aḳpa ǧūdak bṭāref al-ǧoḫr taflīh.

(Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijj* (pl., *ḥanâjja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *ḥaṭûr* (pl., *ḥuṭûṭir*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wgîme* (pl., *wugûm*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *'arḳa* (pl., *'arâḳi*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rêa* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies a *sâǧ*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

During long marches in the summer season the tents are not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwâla.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṭawleṭ*; with four, *mrawba'*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sab'a woaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

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262 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families
272 live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesallemin 'ejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

FIG. 22—A water trough, ḥawy, on a camel (see p. 71).

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

609 The Bedouins are convinced
829 that the *felláḥîn* are obliged
261 to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *felláḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw 'ejḥathom 'ala-l-felláḥ.*" If the *felláḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *felláḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-felláḥ má láḥ.*"

251 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert,
594 *jeḥarretún*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for
261 sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣa'ûf* or *ḫelâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *'aššîni já ḫajje 'aššîni.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *'ejš*,
824 bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Ramh alli ba'ad habben sahih."

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as long as it is in grain, *al-ḥimṣ elli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ*." The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *miḥbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *raḥa'*. These mills are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḥaib*, and make a wooden handle, *ḥâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *tfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fouḳa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa' 'ala-ṭ-tfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

Fig. 23—A leather bucket, *dalw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'âd er-raḥa mâ ... ah killen tâḥod 'allrah*." Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ana wağ-'dân 'abd al-kerim mucuṣṣina*."

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; at the most they grind enough to leave something over for bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a *ṣaḥn*-pan (or *'elbe*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *muḫmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *muḫmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *muḫmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *tenaseṭ tnaṭf*. The ready-made cake she places on a *miḥmâṣ*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *ṣâğ*, about

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

252 60 centimeters in diameter, turns it over on three stones above a fire, with a quick movement lays the cake on the convex side, and takes care that it does not burn. A cake of this kind is called *raṭîf*; if it is as thin as paper it is called *rahîf*; and if it is thick, *ǧerîṣ*.

For breakfast they sometimes prepare a thin batter for the guests, and this is poured into the concave side of the *sâǧ* and baked. This bread, called *maṣli*, when fresh tastes almost like our pancakes.

If bread is to be baked quickly, they knead one large cake from the dough, place it on the hot ashes, cover it with them, and light another fire above the ashes. It is turned once or twice and called *ǧamrijje*.

262 252 Leavened bread is eaten only in the cold season. They prepare the loaf in the evening, add a piece of yeast, *ḫâmer*, to the dough, and bake the bread in the morning. The Rwala prefer unleavened bread, *faṭîr*. They like to have the bread always fresh, *ǧedîd*. Bread of yesterday's baking, *bâjet*, must not be given to guests.

In the season of abundance, *rabî'*, they do not bake bread at all, and at other times seldom and usually only for guests. In two-thirds of the tents bread is not baked all the year round, and many of the women taste it only once or twice throughout their lives. They have an expression of praise: "This is the tent of bread; here bread is baked. So and So is very rich and bountiful; he has bread, he is the master of bread, *rê'i-l-ḫubez*."

In addition to milk the Rwala live mostly on *'ejš*. This is boiled from crushed wheat or wheat pounded in a mill. Among the chiefs the wheat is ground into groats, *ǧerîš*. On the crushed or ground wheat water is poured, salt is added, and it is boiled into a thick paste. If they have enough *leben*, the women pour it upon the *'ejš*, *tebajjeṣ al-'ejš*, making *bejâṣa*. *'Ejš* is prepared almost daily for supper. What is left over is served for next day's luncheon and eaten cold, *beride*.

[484 251] If the Rwala are proceeding on a short journey and know that they will find no tents for two or three days, they roast a little wheat on the *sâǧ*, shake it into a leather sack, and feed on it. This is called *ḫamîṣa*. As the old men do not have good teeth, instead of roasted wheat grain they take a couple of handfuls of flour and eat this without any preparation. They call it *lehme*.

262 to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand
222 into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish.
251 They are eaten either without any preparation, *nejǧûn*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *'ejš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the
262 following:

252 *'aṣîde*, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

beṣîle, a paste made from dates and flour,

busîse, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmej'a, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

317 The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jeznbberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell
[435] it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧidijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *'aššš* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sebḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṭḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

271 For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *ǯedaḥ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *mekṣûd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *ǒarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

MEATS

262 231 Meat is not a usual food but a luxury, like bread. The Rwala eat hardly any other meat than camel's flesh. If they wish to slaughter a camel, they make it kneel down, *jenaw-weḫḫúnaha*, tie all its legs, press its head to the ground, and the butcher shouts: "Lay its head on one side! *rudd rásha*." He then thrusts a sharp dagger into its throat, *manḥar*, and cuts it through to the right and left. The camel trembles and makes a gurgling noise, *tirta'ed*, and the blood flows either into a vessel or upon the ground. The Bedouins cut off the tail of the slaughtered camel, cut through the skin on its back from the roots of the tail across the hump as far as the nape, *ṣúreb*, and then flay it, *jasleḫúnaha*. When the skin has been removed, they cut off the front legs, then the neck and the hind legs, and open the belly. The only things which are thrown away are the contents of the stomach and the intestines, *farṭ*, all the rest being cleansed and made use of. Pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered camel are sent as gifts to close friends and acquaintances. The most tasty parts are the flesh from the *serâjed*, or two sides near the hump, and from the *rijâši*, or between the hump and the tail. The flesh of the forelegs is also very tasty; likewise that of the *manḥar*, or two sides of the throat where it joins the breast. From the chiefs the slaves and the blacksmiths always receive the flesh either from one of the hind legs or from the ribs, and the head with the throat.

252 The flesh is either boiled or baked. For boiling, *ṭabḫ*, the flesh, together with the bones, is hacked into small pieces, thrown into a kettle, covered with water, salted, and placed on three stones above the fire. When it has boiled, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take out the meat! *onṣow al-laḥm*." They take out the separate pieces with a large wooden spoon, *meḫḫâka* or *miswáṭ*, place them on a *ṣarṣa* or *ṣaḥn* covered with *'ejš*, boiled wheat, let them cool a little, pour on them a thick gravy, *ṣafja*, skimmed from the top, and carry them to the guests, *jekalleṭúneh*. The rest of the gravy, *mraḳa*, they mix with *'ejš* for household use or for the less esteemed guests.

Miświ is the name given to the salted meat baked either on a bulging iron sheet, *séǧ*, on a slab, or else in red-hot ashes.

Habîṭ is meat roasted in fat and served on bread.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Saḥr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and roasted on the fire. 252

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into suet it is known as *maḥîṯ* or *widač*. In the kettle in which the fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḫalî'*, something like swarda, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into a leather bag, *ṣarf* (or *maḥaw*), and kept for as long as three years. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because it is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very stingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppurating wounds. [752]

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*, between four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-camel, especially a lean one, *ḥelîme*, cannot be properly boiled. It always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young camels less than three months old, *ḫuwâr*, has a bad effect on the stomach. 262 825

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they throw away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He has a bird's heart, *ḳalbeh ḳalb aṣ-ṣejr*," means: "He is easily frightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals in the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into the men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with them together with his eldest son. 264 574

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour water for the men so that they can wash! *ṣasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A slave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *ẓedaḥ*, wooden vessel, with water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon the contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is waiting with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his daughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *-ḳalleṭ lena-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him, saying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest is present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accompanies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it either in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of the fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take supper first, *tafwît*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

264 *snûneh*. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al-wasṭa*, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; if 574 by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejš* with *mraḳa* gravy and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mḥelijje*. What is left over, *ṛarîme*, is received by the poor children who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed the head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare together with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made of dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast not supped; *râs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-žedaḥ bečile w-tḳûl mâ ta'aššejt*."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

● 252 All food is prepared in the camp by the women in their compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made. 372 At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb an-nâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa*," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughter, or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark, lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šiḥ*, whirls it round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it under the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this also catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplace 272 long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32) 415 from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The largest one is called *maṭbûḥa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds from which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several days. A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fire. The other three pots he rinses out, *jeṣarreb*, pours the contents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster made of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of the fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *beriž*, as well as a *žedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring about 20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and with a narrow edge. From the *žedaḥ* water is offered for drinking.

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leather canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes a handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iron pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roasted, *miḥmâse*, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siž*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ḫfûḳ*. *Enḫafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Alaṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedim*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḍf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *ṛaṛa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 The handsome crown feathers he plucked and presented to Amir Fuaz.

Our beaters meanwhile had been starting hares and other small game. The falcons used for such small fry were not of the same noble class as Anaga. The seemingly helpless hares had a means of defence, dangerous to their attackers, in the earth, which they can hug so closely and on which they can twist and double so quickly. One of the falcons injured its wings so badly that it could no longer fly. But in spite of all, most of the hawks were clever enough to make their kills by driving their talons between the hares' ribs into their
[253 lungs. After a kill, the huntsmen had to hurry and
262] throw a cloak over the falcon to prevent its feeding on its quarry before the hare's throat was slit. This prescribed method of slaughtering is not peculiar to the Jews only, but to the Ishmaelites also, for meat from which the blood has not been drained is forbidden as human food.

The greyhounds were also set on the hares, but always in pairs. One dog gave chase, while the other cut off the hares' flight in another direction. But to catch the hare was no easy task, and many a greyhound took a somersault when a hare doubled suddenly.

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tant Euphrates. It was as if a tremendous fire were sweeping up from the heart of Arabia, and man and beast were in headlong flight to escape from its consuming breath.

The eternal law of Nature was being fulfilled: death to the weak, the maimed, and the forsaken. The strong trampled over the weak, gaining from their victims fresh strength and endurance to push on. Though famine ravaged the land, the slaves in the camp of the nomad chieftain saw to it that the guests of their master lacked nothing. Every day for breakfast I was served a dish very like our scrambled eggs, made of several tiny eggs of the sand grouse. It had a particular gamy tang, and so has a similar dish made of the much larger bustard eggs. Fresh truffles were roasted in the embers of weeds and camel dung, their rinds splitting in the heat. Every morning I found beside my bowl of milk a basin of wild honey, with thick dabs of sheep's-milk butter floating in it. As I was eating, I watched the slave baking bread. He poured a porridge-like mixture of wheat flour, crushed seeds and herbs on to a hot, convex iron plate, resting on three stones over the fire. The batter first spread out on this grid, and then wrinkled up under the heat and formed large griddle cakes, brown and thick, which, one by one, the Negro peeled off and threw into our laps. We tore off strips from these wafer-like, charcoal flakes, crisp at the edges, rolled them around our fingers, and with these morsels fished the butter out of the honey. We strangers and guests certainly did not suffer want. Most of the Rualas, on the contrary, and even the chieftains, actually went hungry.

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Famine and War

It was touching to see a tribesman, himself half-starved, bring to his *sheykh's* tent a hare or a gazelle, or other game, as an offering for the sustenance of his chieftain's guests. Even children and women came by every day, and from a clothes-bundle laid down a handful of truffles or a wild pigeon. Once a boy brought me a large, fat lizard which he had killed with a stone, and later a rock-badger and a yellow-headed vulture. The boy asked if, in such time of famine, he might presume to offer me such animals for food.

". . . and so it was when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites and the children of the East, even they came up against them, and they encamped against them and destroyed the increase of the earth . . . *for they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without numbers. . . .*" (Judges vi, 3–5.)

With gnawing stomachs and with drooping spirits, the Ruala followed their dying herds. Ever farther northwards they pressed on, close to the enemies' territory. Every day hundreds of camels and also many people fell by the wayside, while the survivors strained all the more desperately to reach the hills of Abu Rijmeyn. The weaker remained where they fell. The moment a camel, at the end of its strength, commenced to stagger and threatened to fall, riders in the neighbourhood leapt from their mounts and, dashing up to the poor creature, put it out of its misery. Meanwhile the others marched

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XVIII

The Land of Promise

EVERY EVENING THE Ruala occupied new pastures—such as they were—farther north. The drought in each camp was terrible. Long since I had given up the luxury of wiping my face in the morning with a moistened face-rag. In the Amir's household Mnahi was charged with rationing the water supply. He knew nothing of liquid measures, but he soon devised one for his purpose. He put a pebble, which he always kept handy, into a small wooden bowl and, for each of us tent-mates, poured over it just enough water to cover it. It was precious little.

As with the water, so with the milk. Camels which, on good pasture, used to give between four and five quarts of milk a day, now gave less than one. To save this little for themselves and their horses, the Ruala had to kill the new-born camel calves. The herds were a sorry sight—emaciated, jaded, covered with dust.

I was talking with the *shiyukhs* about certain grazing lands northeast of us when Faris, who had overheard our conversation, said to me: "Let us go and explore Abu Rijmeyn and the farther hills and take a look at the pasture, so as to reassure our people." We decided then and there to journey into that promising, but forbidden, land.

This reconnaissance, which we made by motor—Faris,

CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šab'ân 'ala-l-ğê'ân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ğê'ân w-lâ ta'tîh 'arijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-sema' w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭa'.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ 'abdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh ja'mal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *'aša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ṛada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 272 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesaẓẓemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

FIG. 22—A water trough, *ḥawṭ*, on a camel (see p. 71).

609 829 ● 261

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellâḥîn* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 574 261 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣaʿûf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿaššini jâ ḥajje ʿaššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 824 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*, bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Ramh alli baʿad habben sahih."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

as long as it is in grain, *al-ḳumḥ alli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ.*" The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mihbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *rḥa'*. These mills are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḳalb*, and make a wooden handle, *hâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *tfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fowḳa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa' 'ala-ṭ-tfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

FIG. 23—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'ûd ar-raḥa mâ dirah killen tâḥod 'aširah.*" Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ana waǧ-'âna 'abd al-kerîm mwaṣṣâna.*"

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; at the most they grind enough to leave something over for bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a *ṣaḥn*-pan (or *'elbe*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *muḥmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *muḥmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *muḥmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *tenasseṭ tanṭif*. The ready-made cake she places on a *minsâf*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *ṣâǧ*, about

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêḍa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *raẓîẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamisa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

FIG. 24—A small tent, *fuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

rose silently and strode toward her flock, but stopped suddenly and stood still. Entranced, Faris's eyes drank in the beauty of her figure, clearly outlined beneath the folds of her thin garments, glorified by the rays of the morning sun. But when he started to follow, she gave a laugh and drawing her cloak about her shoulders, ran off swiftly to the depression where her sheep were grazing and her dogs played, rolling over each other in the luxuriant herbage.

The radiance of a flawless morning was over the wilderness. In the crystal-clear air the eye could sweep far horizons across an immense succession of tawny hills and green glades. A few fleecy clouds sailed in the blue heavens. A lark rose, jubilant, soaring higher and higher in an ecstasy of melody. And over the steppe, like a caress, still moved the gentle, warm wind.

Such was the morning on which love awakened in Faris's heart.

Breakfast; and then Faris and I must resume our ride. Tuēma rekindled the fire on the hearth, stirred some flour into cold water, shaped the dough into small thin loaves, and baked them on the glowing ashes. During the meal she dipped dates into butter, rolled each into a piece of the still warm bread, and fed these morsels alternately into Faris's mouth and mine.

"Wilt thou ever return?" Tuēma asked her new-found lover.

"All is known to the Lord," replied Faris wistfully.

"And wilt thou think of me?"

"And thou?"

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763 Getting up hastily, he folded the wet, bloody winding-
[764] sheet over the corpse and directed his slaves to dig a grave for him in the sand. Without ceremony or any show of emotion, it was borne away and given into the keeping of the earth.

619 After parting from the Beni Sakhr, we moved back by slow marches toward the hill lands of Bir Hausa, which abound in game.

At the wells we fell in with camel-riders watering a herd. They were Sharrarat, and friendly to the Ruala—luckily, as it turned out. They helped us to draw water from the holes fifty feet deep; and in the evening we withdrew with them into the protecting hills, camping in a rocky hollow, with sentries posted on the black pinnacles. The stars sparkled down on us as we ate sup-
● [262] per. It consisted of the roasted flesh of a camel calf, very tender, crisp bread-cakes and fresh camel milk, followed by the customary "dessert" of dates mixed with sour sheep butter. It was after midnight before we rolled up in our cloaks, each man with his loaded carbine under his head. For we did not completely trust the Sharrarat, even though we had eaten and drunk together and they lived under Nuri Sha'lan's "heel." But the night passed peacefully, and on the morrow, after we had exchanged trifling presents, we bade good-bye to our hosts.

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there came over a slope, with slow, long strides, a troop of eleven ostriches—three cocks and eight hens—magnificent birds. An inquisitive gazelle-buck stole after them, but the ostriches dropped into a long trot and disappeared in the labyrinth of sand dunes.

As I rode in the wake of my comrades, a fox crossed my path, and from some acacia bushes rose many ravens. The sun was already setting and the dry air was rapidly cooling. Ahead of me the sand-waves, their crests glowing golden red, cast deep shadows towards the East. The face of the wilderness was wrapped in a violet veil. A wondrous silence rose from the Nufud. Brief dusk—then night, and a voice faintly borne to me by the wind. It was Faris looking for me. I called back; and side by side we rode into a sheltered gully surrounded by high dunes, which made an excellent camel paddock and an ideal camp site.

"Let us break our fast," said Faris, as he pulled the heavy saddle and the water-skin from the back of his *dhalul*. A fire of *ghada* sticks was soon lighted. In a few seconds this became very warm and burned without smoke and with an almost colourless flame. The men fed it with roots and sticks as thick as a man's arm. Meanwhile the bread-dough was being kneaded. As soon as there was a good heap of glowing ashes, the iron baking-sheet was placed over the fire. Together with the warm bread-cakes, the dates, honey, and hard camel-cheese tasted delicious.

Faris posted sentinels on two commanding sand-hills. One watch I had to take myself.

A clear, still night enfolded the desert. The starlight

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XII

Camels, Women, Children—and Locusts

231 OH, THESE CAMELS! They stamp and trample; they buck, they quarrel, they weep and take fright—yes! And they laugh; they are helpless, but ever and anon rebellious. They will run like a machine for hours, [492] and all at once stop or refuse to budge. Only with a rider in the saddle are they erect, proud animals, self-assured, noble, moving with elastic strides. With a dull herdsman seated on its hump, a camel too becomes dull, lazy and—gluttonous.

The camel is not merely a creature to ride. The nomad • [262] makes use of it in many other ways. He cooks its wiry sinews and leathery muscles and eats them, though, even after boiling, the flesh is so tough that one's teeth are either blunted or loosened in the effort to chew it. The Arab drinks the camel's milk, and often in times of stress he will drink the turbid, sour fluid secreted in the [515] creature's stomach. On cold mornings the people warm their hands in the camel's urine and even wash their hair with it. It works deadly destruction on the parasites! The wool of the camel is collected and woven into [237] material for herdsmen's coats and for the garments of the women and children. The poor animals are loaded with incredible burdens; their dung provides fuel for

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

they bathed the squealing, downy infant all over, baptizing him with this herb-scented water of the beast of the desert into the sacred fellowship of the wilderness.

I was still thinking how unexpectedly this incident had come to pass, when I was startled by heavy pattering on the tent-roof and on the sand outside. Everywhere, on tents and on the backs of the camels, it was raining big, fat, reddish locusts!

The new baby boy's mother was just then squatting in her smoke-filled tent, engaged, with the assistance of her women friends, in swathing his little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags—a measure considered indispensable among the Bedouins for the protection of newly born children. But, all-important as this ceremony was, all the women except the mother rushed away pell-mell, to help their menfolk and children to harvest the locusts.

These kept coming up in swarms—nay, in cloud piled on cloud. While myriads whirred past and on with a loud noise, a host of them broke flight and settled. Wherever one looked, the ground was thick with them, covered, as it were, with a crawling red carpet. Grass, herbage, bushes melted away under the devouring mass of insects. And the whole camp was out gathering them.

Soon locusts were roasting at every fire, round which men, women, and children squatted in a circle. They picked up the insects by their gauzy wings, plucked off the legs, dipped the roasted "husks" in salt, and ate them, skin and all.

Boiled, I did not like locusts; they had the taste of particularly insipid cabbage or some such vegetable.

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Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All round the camp and all day long smoke screens were kept going, into which women and children drove the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them —but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens, bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bedouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that at times their camels and horses too can have no other fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

been properly skimmed, the cook poured a part into the smallest jug available and from this served his coffee a few drops at a time, a single stoneware cup making the round of the company. The mound of camel dung heaped by the women was glowing red, and everyone was on the tiptoe of expectation when Faris rose and went over to the women's side of the tent. A cheerful bustling sounded from it—supper ought to be about ready; and sure enough, there appeared a woman and a slave, carrying between them a huge platter piled high with meat, which they set down on the threshold. Faris shouted into the night, to call all stragglers who might be in the vicinity.

We grouped ourselves round this mountain of flesh. I saw in the flickering light wild-looking, hungry men squatting opposite me, with black plaits of hair showing under their white-and-red head-cloths, the tips of which were flung over the shoulders. They fell to with their fingers, tore the meat from the bones and devoured it in great gulps. Our host flung titbits to me across the platter. It was embellished with the camel's head split open, but without the brains. Only the women will eat them, for they are supposed to make men faint-hearted. The hearts of bustard and other fowl are also disdained by these gallant lords of the desert.

We lingered four days in this depression, as we had enough food and fuel. The camels scattered to graze in the surrounding country. The women, too, were busily employed in hoeing up the roots of the small shrubs and gathering their twigs, which they carried to camp on their backs in large bundles. Many of the women had

1: Raawan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731x 221x tant Euphrates. It was as if a tremendous fire were sweeping up from the heart of Arabia, and man and beast were in headlong flight to escape from its consuming breath.

731x 221x 574 261 The eternal law of Nature was being fulfilled: death to the weak, the maimed, and the forsaken. The strong trampled over the weak, gaining from their victims fresh strength and endurance to push on. Though famine ravaged the land, the slaves in the camp of the nomad chieftain saw to it that the guests of their master lacked nothing. Every day for breakfast I was served a dish 262 252 very like our scrambled eggs, made of several tiny eggs of the sand grouse. It had a particular gamy tang, and so has a similar dish made of the much larger bustard eggs. Fresh truffles were roasted in the embers of weeds and camel dung, their rinds splitting in the heat. Every morning I found beside my bowl of milk a basin of wild honey, with thick dabs of sheep's-milk butter floating in it. As I was eating, I watched the slave baking bread. He poured a porridge-like mixture of wheat flour, crushed seeds and herbs on to a hot, convex iron plate, resting on three stones over the fire. The batter first spread out on this grid, and then wrinkled up under the heat and formed large griddle cakes, brown and thick, which, one by one, the Negro peeled off and threw into our laps. We tore off strips from these wafer-like, charcoal flakes, crisp at the edges, rolled them around our fingers, and with these morsels fished the butter out of the honey. We strangers and guests certainly did not 731x 574 261 suffer want. Most of the Rualas, on the contrary, and even the chieftains, actually went hungry.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

It was touching to see a tribesman, himself half-starved, bring to his *sheykh's* tent a hare or a gazelle, or other game, as an offering for the sustenance of his chieftain's guests. Even children and women came by every day, and from a clothes-bundle laid down a handful of truffles or a wild pigeon. Once a boy brought me a large, fat lizard which he had killed with a stone, and later a rock-badger and a yellow-headed vulture. The boy asked if, in such time of famine, he might presume to offer me such animals for food.

". . . and so it was when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites and the children of the East, even they came up against them, and they encamped against them and destroyed the increase of the earth . . . *for they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without numbers. . . .*" (Judges vi, 3–5.)

With gnawing stomachs and with drooping spirits, the Ruala followed their dying herds. Ever farther northwards they pressed on, close to the enemies' territory. Every day hundreds of camels and also many people fell by the wayside, while the survivors strained all the more desperately to reach the hills of Abu Rijmeyn. The weaker remained where they fell. The moment a camel, at the end of its strength, commenced to stagger and threatened to fall, riders in the neighbourhood leapt from their mounts and, dashing up to the poor creature, put it out of its misery. Meanwhile the others marched

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731[x] 221[x] [372] [252 262] sheltered position at the foot of a rugged hill, and gathered roots and dry weeds to make a fire by which to roast the bustards shot on the way by our slaves. The roughly plucked birds were cut into pieces, which were thrown on the hot ashes. The crops and intestines still full of partly digested herbs and red-haired caterpillars were also roasted in this way, and eaten with relish as a delicacy.

It was our intention to rest here awhile. From a point above our camp we surveyed the surrounding country from time to time for wandering herds, mounted Bedouins or automobiles, but as far as we could see there was nothing living within view; the wilderness stretched away to the horizon undisturbed.

519 As we chaffed and laughed over our meal, six savage figures stood suddenly before us, as if they had risen out of the ground. They could not have ridden upon us, for Mijhem and Sleyman had, but a moment previously, scanned the whole neighbourhood with field-glasses. The six fellows must, therefore, have crept up on hands and knees from some spot close by, where they had been lying in hiding. They had no rifles, but nevertheless, they had us covered with pistols which they held under their cloaks.

At first they did not speak, and not one of us dared to move. Two of the strangers then commenced to argue with each other, eyeing us the while in a most unfriendly manner.

Unmounted wayfarers met in the desert in this way are usually common robbers and murderers, who will stop at nothing to attain their purpose. They have

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 The handsome crown feathers he plucked and presented to Amir Fuaz.

Our beaters meanwhile had been starting hares and other small game. The falcons used for such small fry were not of the same noble class as Anaga. The seemingly helpless hares had a means of defence, dangerous to their attackers, in the earth, which they can hug so closely and on which they can twist and double so quickly. One of the falcons injured its wings so badly that it could no longer fly. But in spite of all, most of the hawks were clever enough to make their kills by driving their talons between the hares' ribs into their lungs. After a kill, the huntsmen had to hurry and throw a cloak over the falcon to prevent its feeding on its quarry before the hare's throat was slit. This prescribed method of slaughtering is not peculiar to the Jews only, but to the Ishmaelites also, for meat from which the blood has not been drained is forbidden as human food.

[253 262]

The greyhounds were also set on the hares, but always in pairs. One dog gave chase, while the other cut off the hares' flight in another direction. But to catch the hare was no easy task, and many a greyhound took a somersault when a hare doubled suddenly.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

destroyed. In the afternoons and evenings the young people hasten to the water holes, *ṛudrân*, in the valley bottoms for their ablutions. They bathe separately, the youths in one place, the girls in another. Their shouts of joy and various songs are heard on all sides. In the tents mushrooms and truffles, young bulbs, and fresh vegetables are cooked and enjoyed.

The local name for the mushrooms is *hawbar*. They grow after warm night rains, *emṭer bel-lejl w-râḥ jaṭağanna-l-hawbar*. On the mornings following such nights both men and women go out in search of this dainty, which grows best of all near the channels, while the truffle prefers soil mixed or strewn with sand. When they come to the surface the latter form tiny hat-like lumps, which attract the eye of the picker. The earth or sand covering them is then turned over by the hand or a stick, and the truffle dug out. In cooking they are boiled in salt water and then served with butter or camel's fat. Another method is to bake them in hot ashes after a thorough salting.

Of the truffle, *faḳa'*, there are three kinds: *al-čema*, *az-zbejdi*, and *al-ḫlâṣi*. A Bedouin, having gathered a heap of truffles, sorted them in his tent according to their kinds, saying: "This one is *al-čmajje*, the mother of the little girl will get that; this *az-zbejdi* I will give to the mother of my little son; and the best, *al-ḫlâṣi*, I shall keep myself; *al-čmajje lumm al-bnajje az-zbejdi lumm wlejdi al-ḫlâṣi larâsi*."

All Bedouins greatly enjoy the small bulbs of certain wild plants, especially *aṭ-ṭiṭa*, *rubaḥla*, *karrâṭ*, etc. Mothers send their boys in search of them with the words: "My little sons, O sonnies! go bring me *aṭ-ṭiṭa*; I will prepare for you *muṭîṭa* (a dish of mashed bulbs); *'ejâli jâ 'ejâl aṭ-ṭiṭa w-muṭlekom muṭîṭa*."

In the sun-baked gravel plains (called *ḥamâd*) in a year of abundance the *semḥ* grows with its subvarieties, *ad-da'â'* and *al-ḥawwa*. These plants, when already ripe and still fresh are much sought after by the Bedouins, who place them in pits safe from water or in bags. When dry the plants are beaten with sticks and shaken, and the seed, *če'ber*, which have fallen to the ground, are put into sacks, *'edûl*, and brought to rain-water holes, where they are either left for some time or at least thoroughly soaked until the dry husks crack. Sometimes the large leather water troughs, *ḥowz*, are filled with water and the full shells are put in; in time they swell and burst.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The chaff, *ḳišr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away, while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is called *semḥne* or *sebîb*.

The fertility, or abundance, *rabîʿ*, depends entirely on a luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even after a good *ṣejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *maṣjûfa*; but no *ṣejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may have no *rabîʿ* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have something to bite into), and men die of hunger; *hâḏi-s-sene w-laha snûn nâs jaʿîšûn w-nâs jemûtûn.*" The Bedouin also refers to a *rabîʿ al-mâš*, meaning a season when the entire growth consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even the youngest camels; a *rabîʿ aṣ-ṣafâra*, when nothing grows except the *ṣafâra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rabîʿ ad-dimne*, when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *šitwi* rains, fail to receive the *smâk* rain and become yellow as early as the end of March; a *rabîʿ an-nafǧân*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rabîʿ aṭ-ṭafḥa*, when not only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant pasture.

Just as the Bedouins long for the *rabîʿ* years, so they fear the years of want, or *ḫawaʾ*. If for two or three years the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody plants alone. The winter rain, *aš-šitwi*, makes these perennials swell, but during the hot *smâk* days they dry up, become unpalatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ajjâm al-ḫawaʾ*, or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish. But if the rains of the *ṣejfi* also fail, then not a single perennial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala.

The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥân as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazel.

The *ḳurṭa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Ḥeǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ẓab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the at-Ṭawîl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies.
224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena
262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is
825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round
751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink,
278 assuages fever.
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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ab-al-ḥṣejn*, *ṭa'leb*, or *ṛorejri*, fox, is found all over the territory of the Rwala. If its spoor is seen in the morning in the dew, a greyhound, *sluḳe*, is set on to it. The flesh of the captured fox is eaten. The fox has a great grudge against human beings for pursuing it and accuses them of ingratitude. Adam, the first father of all human sons, once found a half-frozen serpent outside the garden of Eden. Being moved by compassion, he laid the serpent in his bosom and returned with it into his garden. The serpent became warm, recovered, and shouted to Adam: "Carry me back at once to the spot whence thou didst take me; I have my family there. If thou dost not carry me back there at once, I will bite thee." Adam could not exactly remember the spot. He walked to and fro with the serpent, who kept shouting: "This is not where my family lives. Carry me back there at once, or I will bite thee." Adam, wearied and terrified, was glad to meet a fox, and proposed to the serpent that the fox should act as judge. The serpent agreed. Adam sat down in front of the fox and was about to explain what the point at issue was, but the fox interrupted him with the words: "Be silent until thy adversary comes." "My adversary is here." "I do not see him." "I am here. I am lying right on Adam's belly." "If thou art Adam's opponent, *žebîleh*, thou must sit opposite him, *žebîleh*, otherwise I cannot acknowledge thee as such." "Very well, then I will crawl out." The serpent crawled out from beneath Adam's garment and sat down in front of him. The fox said: "Thee, O man (Adam), I will call Nejṣûbe, therefore pay heed that thou mayest comprehend everything. Behold the serpent's head, O Nejṣûb beh!" But *Jâ nejṣûb beh* means: "Oh! a blow upon it." Adam understood the meaning of the fox's challenge, seized his cudgel, which was provided with a heavy knob, *ḳena*, and smashed the serpent's head. Since then the sons of Adam have slain every serpent at sight. But when they began to pursue the descendants of the fox also and to eat their flesh, the latter complained: "Shame unto thee, thou black-headed one! Why am I being pursued? Is it thus that I am requîted for my good deed? *Aḫs jâ sêwed ar-râs lêh atanâčer tesla-l-melîh.*"

The fox declares that he wishes to live at peace with everyone, but in reality he wishes to beguile everyone. Thus he sent a message once to the raven: "Gladly would I entertain thee, *abṛi akrom lak.*" "Good! entertain me! *zên okrom.*" The

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825 good omen to us; but we will show thee to the falcon; *'araẓtina-l-ḫejr w-'araẓnač laṭ-ṭejr.*"

136 The *ḫanzîr*, wild pig, lives only in Palmyrena and in the environs of al-Azraḳ, where it hides in the marshy thickets. The boar is called *šiḥl*, the sow *šîbe*, the sucking pig *ḳarnûṣ*.

[262] Instead of *ḫanzîr*, the Rwala use the word *tahzîr*. The flesh of wild swine is generally eaten.

The *ṣejd aṭ-ṭas'a* is an herbivorous animal of the size of a six-months lamb, gray in color; its head is said to resemble that of a wether below and a human being above. It lives almost solely on the border of the Nefûd, and its flesh is very tasty.

The *wabr*, marmot, is found in the same mountains as the ibex.

The *nîs*, porcupine, is particularly abundant in the environs of al-Ḳa'ara, where the innumerable caves and rocky hollows of all sizes serve as its refuge. When wounded, it attacks a man by biting and scratching. Its flesh is very good.

[224 825] The *ḳumfoḏ*, hedgehog, is also hunted, as its flesh is very tasty. Hedgehog skin is tied round the neck of timid camels. It is said that when they have worn it for at least a month, they cease to be scared.

The *ǧerdi* is a large variety of jerboa. It scrapes deep holes on the uplands and excavates passages into them in such a way that the water does not penetrate even during the heaviest rains. Its flesh is not particularly savory.

The *ǧarbû'* (or *jarbû'*), a smaller variety of jerboa, prefers to dig holes in plains with soft sandy soil and forms long and easily recognizable passages immediately below the surface. These passages are known as *neṭâḳa*. When it runs into its hole, it immediately stops up the entrance with a heap of clay, *ḳaṣ'a*, for fear of snakes. This heap of clay is 224 an unfailing sign that the *jarbû'* is in its passages. If the Bedouin wishes to hunt it, he thrusts stalks or branches of plants into the passage at several spots and waits until one or another of them moves. That shows him that the *jarbû'* is trying to crawl through, and he kills it with his stick or tramples on it. If he has no time to wait, he tramples on the passages until he drives the *jarbû'* out. In its terror the animal often penetrates the roof of the passage and escapes, if the Bedouin fails to reach it with the stick he throws. The 252 flesh of the *jarbû'* is very tasty, similar to that of chicken. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

dug dens for himself and his numerous family. To the rest of his subjects he said nothing. When he used to come from his work into the assembly, his whole forehead was gray with dust and clay. His companions asked him: "What makes thy forehead gray?" "Constant praying, during which I touch the earth as is prescribed." One day the guards who had been posted on the boundary came running up, shouting: "The Arabs are approaching with dogs and weapons." *Abu ḥamad* and his family at once hid themselves in the dens which had been prepared, so that none of them perished.

The Rwala divide serpents into *ḥajje* and *dâbb*, the former being any short snake and the latter any long serpent, irrespective of whether it is venomous or not. In poetry the latter appellation is always used for venomous serpents. Of the short serpents they are afraid of the viper, *efâ'i*, which is found in the rocky desert, as well as of the *batra* and the *ḥaṣaf*, which live in the sandy desert. The latter crawl out only by night. During the daytime they dig themselves into the sand, so that the tips of their heads alone project.

Of the long serpents the *ḥanîš* is particularly venomous. It is one meter long, covered with patches of color, and swims in pools of rain water.

The skin shed by a serpent, *silb*, serves as a remedy for various diseases of the eye. The Rwala all eat the long serpents. The flesh of the short snakes they give to camels suffering from the disorder of the stomach known as *ṛošš* and from caries, *rasis*.

The *ḥarḏawn*, chameleon, basks in sunny spots and nods its head at passers-by.

The *ab-aṭ-ṭhejḥ* is smaller than the *ḥarḏawn*. It lives exclusively in the Nefûd, where it hides in the sand, leaving its head alone uncovered.

The *malas*, a reptile similar to the *ḥarḏawn*, is found likewise in the Nefûd. It is spotted with red and black patches. Its flesh dried in the sun and ground to powder is eaten by impotent old men.

The *solejmâni* (or *ǧlejmâni*) and the *ḥabananijje* are harmless lizards.

The *baʿerṣi* (or *brejṣi*) is a venomous lizard of the Nefûd. When a man is bitten by this lizard, he becomes very restless. He cannot remain in one place. If he is lying in the shade, he craves for the sun, and if he is carried into the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

portant guests do they bake fresh bread and prepare some sort of meal. If a Rwejli has a piece of dry bread, *ḫomš*, and can soak it in water, he boasts of having eaten well. Breakfast is unknown to the Rwala. In order to loosen the spittle, *fekk ar-rîž*, they eat a grain of salt, a morsel of bread, or gulp down some milk. This is their usual breakfast, *ṣubûḥ* (*eṣṭebeḥ*, take thy breakfast). On long marches they can keep going with this breakfast until evening, because they have no luncheon. The Rwala know that they will eat only after sunset and are grateful to Allâh if he gives them a chance of eating their fill at least once a week. Often there is not even a cup of cold *leben*, sour milk, for supper. Suppers of this kind, at which only a little milk is drunk, are called *rabûk*.

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MILK AND METHODS OF PROCURING IT

Milk is the main nourishment of the Rwala. In order to secure a supply of milk for a whole year they make use of various devices.

262 272

If a young camel is weak they kill it as soon as it is born, and for seven days, *samḥ lejâl*, they do not milk, *jeṛarzûha*, the female camel, so that she loses her milk, *w-hi ṭrarez*. In this way she becomes strong and can carry loads. If they have insufficient milk, they gently stroke, *jemsaḥûha*, her udder morning and evening, and after a few days the milk flows again. If they have a sucking camel, they lead it to her; in order that she may let it suck, they draw her nostrils together with a rope, *jeḥazmû ḫašmaha bel-ʿaḳâl*, or thrust a long, strong needle, *maḫjaṭ*, through her nostrils. Thus they deceive the female camel, *jeẓîrûn ʿalejha ẓijâr*, who cannot smell the calf tied to her, becomes friendly with it, *tarâm*, and lets it have milk, *taderr*.

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Sometimes they remove the newly-born calf, *ǧarraw laha*, before the female camel notices and smells it. Then they kill it, tie up the female camel, and fasten to her an older calf, which they smear with a little blood from the calf that has been killed. The female camel licks it, makes friends with it, *râmat*, and lets it suck. In this way one calf sucks two female camels. This method is called *ǧerâr*. Often they kill five and even seven young camels, and to all the female camels they bring the same calf, and all of them let it suck. This is called *muǧamma'a*. The female camel which gives the least milk they

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

good annuals, the more milk is given. The fertile camel gives milk for twelve months, the barren camel for even longer. After a year the she-camel is conducted to the male. If she conceives, she loses the milk and bites and kicks her calf when it tries to suck. 234

The calf generally ceases to suck after a year, but many wish to continue even after that. Such calves are known as *ʿabeṭ*. In order that a calf of this sort may not steal milk, a sharpened peg, *ḥelâl*, is inserted under its nostrils, and if it attempts to suck the peg pricks the female camel, so that she at once drives the calf away.

FIG. 21—A water trough, *ḥawz* (see p. 71).

The milk is either drunk warm immediately after it has been obtained, *maḥaz*, or is heated, *saḥîn*. The freshly obtained milk is called *ḥalîb*. If it is poured, *jeḥaḳnûneh*, into a leather bag, *semîl*, it is called *leben*, even though it may still be sweet. In the bag it becomes sour very quickly, *jeṭaʿ-ʿam* (or *mṭaʿʿam*). The Rwala do not churn camel's milk. If they have too much, they boil it and from the curds make small cheeses which they eat either dry or stewed with bread. 262 234 272

A milking camel is called *ḥallâba*. It is not sold at any price, as it nourishes the whole family. Every Rwejli is fond of milk, either fresh or sour. Those who cannot get accustomed to it are given the nickname of *felḥ*. The Rwala woman reminds her daughter of the white *leben* as soon as she wakes her in the morning, exclaiming: "O my daughter, white as milk! why art thou idle like the gazelle, taking thy ease until the dew has departed? *jâ bunajje jâ leben wâẓḥaʾ w-alṛzejjel bel-menâm aẓḥaʾ*." The freshly obtained milk has a salt taste, because the camels are fond of grazing on salt herbs. In consequence of this it has an aperient effect, especially on the foreigner; but after a short time he gets accustomed to it, likes it very much, and suffers no ill effects. If the camel has been feeding for a long time on fragrant or strong-smelling herbs, the odor can be noticed in the milk. 551

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 272 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesažžemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

FIG. 22—A water trough, *ḥawż*, on a camel (see p. 71).

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

609 829 261 The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellâḥîn* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 574 261 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert, *ještarrežûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ẓuʿûf* or *ḫalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿaššini jâ ḫajje ʿaššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 824 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*, bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Ramh alli ba'ad habben sahih."

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252 60 centimeters in diameter, turns it over on three stones above a fire, with a quick movement lays the cake on the convex side, and takes care that it does not burn. A cake of this kind is called *raṛîf*; if it is as thin as paper it is called *rahîf*; and if it is thick, *ǧerîm*.

For breakfast they sometimes prepare a thin batter for the guests, and this is poured into the concave side of the *sâǧ* and baked. This bread, called *maṣli*, when fresh tastes almost like our pancakes.

If bread is to be baked quickly, they knead one large cake from the dough, place it on the hot ashes, cover it with them, and light another fire above the ashes. It is turned once or twice and called *ǧamrijje*.

262 252 Leavened bread is eaten only in the cold season. They prepare the loaf in the evening, add a piece of yeast, *ḥâmer*, to the dough, and bake the bread in the morning. The Rwala prefer unleavened bread, *faṭîr*. They like to have the bread always fresh, *ǧedîd*. Bread of yesterday's baking, *bâjet*, must not be given to guests.

In the season of abundance, *rabî'*, they do not bake bread at all, and at other times seldom and usually only for guests. In two-thirds of the tents bread is not baked all the year round, and many of the women taste it only once or twice throughout their lives. They have an expression of praise: "This is the tent of bread; here bread is baked. So and So is very rich and bountiful; he has bread, he is the master of bread, *râ'i-l-ḫubez*."

In addition to milk the Rwala live mostly on *'ejš*. This is boiled from crushed wheat or wheat pounded in a mill. Among the chiefs the wheat is ground into groats, *ǧerîš*. On the crushed or ground wheat water is poured, salt is added, and it is boiled into a thick paste. If they have enough *leben*, the women pour it upon the *'ejš*, *tebajjeẓ al-'ejš*, making *bejâẓa*. *'Ejš* is prepared almost daily for supper. What is left over is served for next day's luncheon and eaten cold, *berîde*.

[484 251] If the Rwala are proceeding on a short journey and know that they will find no tents for two or three days, they roast a little wheat on the *sâǧ*, shake it into a leather sack, and feed on it. This is called *ḥamîsa*. As the old men do not have good teeth, instead of roasted wheat grain they take a couple of handfuls of flour and eat this without any preparation. They call it *lehme*.

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Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêẓa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *ṛaẓîẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamîsa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

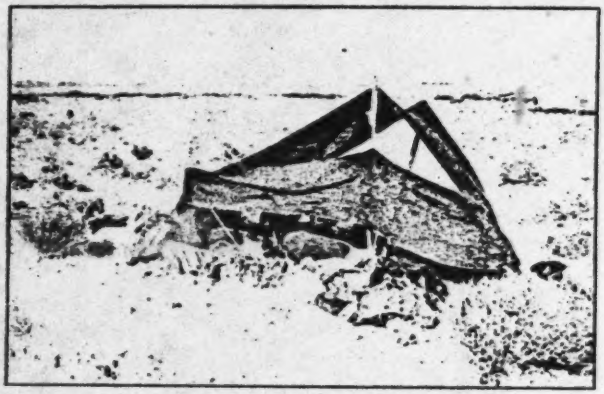

FIG. 24—A small tent, *fuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

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to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish. They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧḏân*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *ʿejš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the following:

ʿaṣîde, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

bečîle, a paste made from dates and flour,

basîse, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmejʿa, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧîdijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *ʿažîž* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sabḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṭḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *žedaḥ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣâd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

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the nostrils. My guide, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, had drunk such water on eight occasions and there is nobody among the Rwala who has not tasted it at least once. 271

Things are more serious with those traveling on foot who have no camel to kill. Thus there were four men from the Bnejje kin of the Rwala, who were driven off during a raid. They lost their camels and their weapons and escaped with their bare lives. One of them tied a small bag, *šakwa*, beneath his shirt, in which there were about three liters of water. They made their way home through the desert, living on various herbs and always drinking a little water after sunset. On the third day they had about a quarter of a liter left. They were all thirsty and yet each one urged the other to drink, but none would drink because there was not enough water for all. At last they decided to pour it away. They sipped the dew and went for two days without water. It was in the season of *as-smâk* (March and early April). After two days they could go no farther. By the will of Allâh some Ṣlejb saw them, brought them liquid butter, poured it into their mouths, and when they could swallow it gave them also water, thus saving their lives. In the seasons of *aṣ-ṣferi* and *aš-šta'* (October 1 to February 20) a man can go without water for as long as three days, but in the midsummer, *al-ḳêẓ*, only for one day and one night, or at the most for two nights and one day. On the second day his throat becomes parched and he dies.

The Rwala know very well which plants can be eaten. Often after an unsuccessful raid they wander on foot through the desert and live only on various herbs. They are most fond of eating the dark-red ripened fruit, *ṭel'*, of the thorny *mṣa'* shrub. These are very sweet and have a bitter aftertaste. The Rwala collect them and boil them into a thick syrup. From the wood of the tall *rimṭ* shrub there flows out in summer a sweet juice, which they likewise collect. *Ḳẓâma*, the ripe fruit of the *buṭum* tree, they pluck, dry, grind, and mix with wheat flour. They also extract oil from this fruit. They eat the raw stalks or tuberous growths of the following plants: *baḫatri, bṣejjel, ṭummejr, ǧirǧîr, ḥârra', ḥumbejẓ* (or *ḥammejẓ*), *ḥamṣiṣ, ḥawwa', ḏa'lûḳ, rubaḥla, rešâd, roṛejla, ummu rwejs, šaḫḫûm, ṭiṭa, ẓorrêṭ an-na'âm, ḳurrêṣ, karrâṭ ksejbre, lubbêna, laḥjat at-tejs, mša'.* 262 222

The following are baked: *zebb aḏ-ḏiḇ, ṭarṭût*, and *mḥarût*.

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MEATS

262 231 Meat is not a usual food but a luxury, like bread. The Rwala eat hardly any other meat than camel's flesh. If they wish to slaughter a camel, they make it kneel down, *jenaw-weḫûnaha*, tie all its legs, press its head to the ground, and the butcher shouts: "Lay its head on one side! *rudd râsha.*" He then thrusts a sharp dagger into its throat, *manḥar*, and cuts it through to the right and left. The camel trembles and makes a gurgling noise, *tirta'ed*, and the blood flows either into a vessel or upon the ground. The Bedouins cut off the tail of the slaughtered camel, cut through the skin on its back from the roots of the tail across the hump as far as the nape, *râreb*, and then flay it, *jasloḫûnaha*. When the skin has been removed, they cut off the front legs, then the neck and the hind legs, and open the belly. The only things which are thrown away are the contents of the stomach and the intestines, *farṭ*, all the rest being cleaned and made use of. Pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered camel are sent as gifts to close friends and acquaintances. The most tasty parts are the flesh from the *ṣerâjed*, or two sides near the hump, and from the *rijâši*, or between the hump and the tail. The flesh of the forelegs is also very tasty; likewise that of the *mnêḥer*, or two sides of the throat where it joins the breast. From the chiefs the slaves and the blacksmiths always receive the flesh either from one of the hind legs or from the ribs, and the head with the throat.

252. The flesh is either boiled or baked. For boiling, *ṭabḫ*, the flesh, together with the bones, is hacked into small pieces, thrown into a kettle, covered with water, salted, and placed on three stones above the fire. When it has boiled, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take out the meat! *onzow al-laḥm.*" They take out the separate pieces with a large wooden spoon, *meḫšâḳa* or *miswâṭ*, place them on a *ḳarwa* or *ṣaḥn* covered with *'ejš*, boiled wheat, let them cool a little, pour on them a thick gravy, *ṣafja*, skimmed from the top, and carry them to the guests, *jeḳalleṭûnch*. The rest of the gravy, *mraḳa*, they mix with *'ejš* for household use or for the less esteemed guests.

Miświ is the name given to the salted meat baked either on a bulging iron sheet, *sâǧ*, on a slab, or else in red-hot ashes.

Habîṭ is meat roasted in fat and served on bread.

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Saḥr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and roasted on the fire. 252

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into suet it is known as *maḥlû'* or *widač*. In the kettle in which the fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḥalî'*, something like swards, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into a leather bag, *ṣarf* (or *naḥw*), and kept for as long as three years. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because it is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very stingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppurating wounds. [752]

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*, between four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-camel, especially a lean one, *helîme*, cannot be properly boiled. It always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young camels less than three months old, *ḥwâr*, has a bad effect on the stomach. 262 825

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they throw away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He has a bird's heart, *ḳalbeh ḳalb aṭ-ṭejr*," means: "He is easily frightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals in the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into the men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with them together with his eldest son. 264 574

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour water for the men so that they can wash! *ṣasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A slave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *žedaḥ*, wooden vessel, with water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon the contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is waiting with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his daughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *ḳalleṭ lena-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him, saying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest is present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accompanies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it either in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of the fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take supper first, *tafwît*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

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16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâǧ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sǧile* is a sheet of paper. *Zîž* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhîǧ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which knelt, *mabrak*, over a snake hole, *ṭâǧ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṛamâlîǧ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳejẓ* or *meḳîẓ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ğaw Ferteẓ lies southwest of Ḥâjel. *Ṣarâhîǧ* (for *ṣahârîǧ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḳamḥ*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *sâǧ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâǧ*, or *felǧ*, for *ṭelǧ*, means snow or ice. *Šuḏḏab* are small pieces of dry *ṛaṛa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḏeb* (pl., *šuḏḏab*) is equivalent to *bejaẓ* (pl., *bîẓ*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭo'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wudâǧ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *sîžân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darârîǧ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tensef*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâǧ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâlîǧ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

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bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḥama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled.

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DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'âwdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of

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3. From pots standing in the fireplace
A thin stream of coffee flows like a silk thread winding on a reel.
4. If travelers come to us by the northern path
We must daub the necks of their riding camels with blood.
5. And if [this world] allows, we shall offer a wether with boiled wheat;
If not, then the word 'welcome' will take its place.

The poet was Eben 'Abejče, mayor of the settlement Ḳna', lying on the road leading through the Nefûd from Syria to Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ǧwâd al-'Âni, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Žâḳ ṣadri* signifies a gloomy mood, depression, worry. *Ǧeḍâmîr* are thick logs of wood cut from palm stems, *eṭel* or *raṣa*. Ḥmâr pronounced this consistently *žeṭâmîr*. 2. *'Owǧ al-menâžir* are coffeepots with long, crooked spouts. 3. *Čîr* is a blacksmith's red-hot forge, a heap of red-hot coal. The word *jiglež* is used when speaking of a boy whose urine flows in a long, thin stream. 4. *Ḥall* is a path or trail over sandy ground. 5. *Mîr* is the same as the Rwejli *'ejš*, boiled crushed wheat covered with meat. In the Neǧd settlements, as with the Bedouins in general, wheat is quite a rarity, as it has to be brought all the way from Syria or Irak. If there is no grain, there is neither *'ejš* nor bread, and the guest must be content with dates, meat, milk, and kind words.

1. *Jâ klejb ḫubb an-nâr jâ klejb ḫubbah*
'alejk šabbah w-al-ḥaṭab jiǧâbi
2. *'alejj-ani taḳlîṭ hejlah w-ḥabbah*
w-'alejk taḳlîṭ ad-dlâl al-'eḍâbi
3. *w-ḫalleṭ leha min ǧazel rimṭen beḫabba*
w-ehmes elja' nâmat 'ajûn al-ehdâbi
4. *bniǧren jenabbi tâli-l-lejl nabba'*
w-en endakk ṭâra teḳel ḍiben jenâbi
5. *'aza-lja šabbejtha wa-dlahab bah*
teǧǧeb lena jâ klejb sirâten ṛijâbi
6. *w-en žâ'a al-masbû' ḫaṭwa-l-ǧlebba*
w-ḥelw ṭakk 'aṣijchom birâžâbi
7. *al-wâlme jâ klejb lirab' ṣubbah*
w-ar-riseḳ 'end-alli jenaṭṭi-s-saḥâbi
8. *bnierijjeten jâ klejb ṣalfen mahabbah*
mučatfîn w-eowḳehom bel-'aṣâbi

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132 516 the while. The *saḥâba* is always followed by rain. 8. *Nisrijje* is a dry, icy wind of high velocity, a gale. When caught in it, the rider places his right hand in his left and his left hand in his right sleeve, pressing them to his breast to keep his cloak from being opened by the wind and urging his animal on with heels only. 9. He sits in the same posture when a heavy rain, accompanied by a piercing wind, beats against his face. *Nisnâs* is a light, moist wind which cuts the face and penetrates the clothes to the bones. 10. *Mutîn al-ʿalâbi* is one who, disliking to bend his neck or to salute, is full of conceit. *Aṭ-ṭîne* or *bejt aṭ-ṭîne* is a hut built of large unbaked bricks. 11. *Šahâlîl* are the single date-covered twigs of the date bunch, called *ǧenw*. The settlement of Ǧubba lies north-northwest of Ḳnaʾ in the Nefûd. 12. The host paints on 231 554 both sides of the necks of the she-camels belonging to his guests a thick line with the blood of the animal which he has killed for them. Men seeing these marks ask the host's name, and thus his praise extends to all parts. The head of an animal is never set before the guests but given to the poor.

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and plants on cool days. 8. *Jankûš* is said of one who delights in quarrels and in setting people against each other by carrying gossip and distorting their words. *Zibdet al-mḍâb*, melted butter, signifies invented, false stories, or calumnies. Melted butter is liked by everybody but cannot be the exclusive food, as it would cause death from dysentery; thus it is also with false stories. Pleasant to listen to, should the hearers make them a foundation for their acts, they would not meet with success. 9. He that cannot work, but lives and thrives on the sweat and toil of others, must perish as soon as they cease to support him.

Prudence

1. *Al-ḥâjet bâlak tebni*
   illa-s-sâs ḥeǧâreh kbâr
2. *w-al-bâjeh ḥaḏrak teẓnih*
   damhât al-bawwâh kṭâr
3. *w-al-mar'i ḥaḏrak ter'ih*
   elja' ra'ejt er'a-n-nwâr.

1. Beware of building a wall,
   Except when the foundation is of big stones.
2. Beware of taking an ingrate for thy companion,
   For much trouble he will cause thee.
3. Of land that has been grazed upon beware;
   If thou desirest to pasture, on blossoms pasture.

The poet was a settler from the oasis of al-Ǧowf; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. As the houses in al-Ǧowf (as in all the settlements of inner Arabia) are built comparatively high, their walls must have solid foundations. During the fights in which the settlers frequently engage among themselves a weak foundation could be easily broken through by the enemy, and the wall would collapse. For this reason only big boulders are used in foundations. 2. *Al-bâjeh* is a man without a heart, *mâ beh ḳalb*, devoid of sympathy, gratitude, and even of morals. Whoever takes such a man for his companion, *ḫawi*, on a long trip will suffer more troubles than could be found even in hell. 3. *Al-mar'i* is either a woman divorced by her husband or a widow. Do not marry such a one; rather take a blossom, a virgin.

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beans with an iron spoon fastened to the handle by means of a long copper chain, *id al-miḥmâse*. As soon as the coffee begins to turn brown, *ašḳarrat*, he lifts the plate from time to time, shakes it until the beans jump about, blows on and continues roasting them. When all the beans have acquired a dark-brown color, he shakes them out upon a wooden dish, *mibrâda*, which is also provided with a long handle, in order that they may cool off, *jebarredha*. Meanwhile he takes the second smaller pot, pours boiling water into it from the first one, and sets it by the fire. He wipes a wooden mortar, *mihbâš* (or *niğr*), decorated with carvings, shakes, *jekubb*, into it the cold beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle, *jad* (or *mehwân*), and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes. After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it. The noise made by the mortar and pestle, *ḥess al-mihbâš*, is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not. The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done.

The coffee when ground to a fine powder is shaken out, *jelaẖẖemha*, by a slave into his right hand or straight into the second pot, in which the fresh coffee is boiled. This pot is called *maṣfa'* (or *ṭalâje*). The slave takes the rag with which he has wiped the vessel, places it on the handle of the pot, and holds it above the fire, continually moving it farther away or nearer in order that the coffee may not boil over. When the coffee is thoroughly boiled, *ṭbaḫat*, he places the pot at some little distance from the fire in order that the coffee may settle. He then puts into the mortar a few grains of the fragrant spice known as cardamom and a pinch of saffron, beats them up, shakes them out into the third pot, which has been cleaned and warmed, and pours into it the boiled coffee from the second pot. The third pot, in which the coffee is boiled with the ground spices, is called *mabhâra*. From a circular box of wood, *ḳawṭi*, or copper, *ḳafaṣ*, the slave takes out small cups of solid stoneware, *fanâğîl*, pours a little water into each one, rubs them with his thumb on a piece of rag, and puts them on a copper platter called *ṣinijje*. When the spice-flavored coffee has boiled he empties a part of it into the fourth

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

to fifty miles from our last camp by the Jabal Tawil—we found all the pasture gone, consumed to the last blade by the locusts. It was only in the plain of Biyaz that we found a depression which was untouched and with plenty of forage. There we made camp under the shelter of a *wadi*.

The women and slaves unloaded the camels and at once proceeded to put up the tents. The tent-cloth is spread on the ground, looking like a long, black, hairy hide; the lines are drawn east and west, tent-pegs driven home with wooden mallets, and the long tent-poles, properly spaced, are inserted under the roof-strip. Then, by dint of lifting and pushing, up goes the structure; first one pole in place, then the next, and so on until the whole goat-hair "house" rests securely on its supports. Row after row of tents rose, casting long shadows as the last sun-rays gleamed on their peaked roofs.

I bought a weakly camel from my fellow-travellers, had it slaughtered and the meat distributed to all and sundry. The flesh-pots of Ishmael were soon steaming and the savour of them attracted a horde of hungry dogs. One of the tribesmen was to play host to myself, Faris, and a number of others. Out of the dark his troop of camels stole up silently, showing suddenly in the light of the fire as if they had come from nowhere, and lay down before his tent. It was comfortable and homely there by the fire, in the wide circle of men and beasts.

Our cook had transferred a turbid, muddy mess of old coffee grounds and water from a goatskin bag to a pot with a long spout, which he put on the hearth. Now the black, bitter brew foamed up again, and after it had

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

been properly skimmed, the cook poured a part into the smallest jug available and from this served his coffee a few drops at a time, a single stoneware cup making the round of the company. The mound of camel dung heaped by the women was glowing red, and everyone was on the tiptoe of expectation when Faris rose and went over to the women's side of the tent. A cheerful bustling sounded from it—supper ought to be about ready; and sure enough, there appeared a woman and a slave, carrying between them a huge platter piled high with meat, which they set down on the threshold. Faris shouted into the night, to call all stragglers who might be in the vicinity.

We grouped ourselves round this mountain of flesh. I saw in the flickering light wild-looking, hungry men squatting opposite me, with black plaits of hair showing under their white-and-red head-cloths, the tips of which were flung over the shoulders. They fell to with their fingers, tore the meat from the bones and devoured it in great gulps. Our host flung titbits to me across the platter. It was embellished with the camel's head split open, but without the brains. Only the women will eat them, for they are supposed to make men faint-hearted. The hearts of bustard and other fowl are also disdained by these gallant lords of the desert.

We lingered four days in this depression, as we had enough food and fuel. The camels scattered to graze in the surrounding country. The women, too, were busily employed in hoeing up the roots of the small shrubs and gathering their twigs, which they carried to camp on their backs in large bundles. Many of the women had

CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šabʿân ʿala-l-ǧêʿân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ǧêʿân w-lâ taʾtîh ʿarijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-semaʾ w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭaʾ.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ ʿabdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh jaʿmal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *ʿaša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ḍada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

portant guests do they bake fresh bread and prepare some sort of meal. If a Rwejli has a piece of dry bread, *ḫomš*, and can soak it in water, he boasts of having eaten well. Breakfast is unknown to the Rwala. In order to loosen the spittle, *fekk ar-rîḳ*, they eat a grain of salt, a morsel of bread, or gulp down some milk. This is their usual breakfast, *ṣubûḥ* (*eṣṭebeḥ*, take thy breakfast). On long marches they can keep going with this breakfast until evening, because they have no luncheon. The Rwala know that they will eat only after sunset and are grateful to Allâh if he gives them a chance of eating their fill at least once a week. Often there is not even a cup of cold *leben*, sour milk, for supper. Suppers of this kind, at which only a little milk is drunk, are called *ṣabûḥ*.

MILK AND METHODS OF PROCURING IT

Milk is the main nourishment of the Rwala. In order to secure a supply of milk for a whole year they make use of various devices.

If a young camel is weak they kill it as soon as it is born, and for seven days, *samḥ leǰâl*, they do not milk, *jeṣarzûha*, the female camel, so that she loses her milk, *w-hi ṭrarez*. In this way she becomes strong and can carry loads. If they have insufficient milk, they gently stroke, *jemsaḥûha*, her udder morning and evening, and after a few days the milk flows again. If they have a sucking camel, they lead it to her; in order that she may let it suck, they draw her nostrils together with a rope, *jeḥazmû ḫašmaha bel-ʿaḳâl*, or thrust a long, strong needle, *maḫjaṭ*, through her nostrils. Thus they deceive the female camel, *jeẓîrûn ʿalejha ẓijâr*, who cannot smell the calf tied to her, becomes friendly with it, *tarâm*, and lets it have milk, *taderr*.

Sometimes they remove the newly-born calf, *ǧarraw laha*, before the female camel notices and smells it. Then they kill it, tie up the female camel, and fasten to her an older calf, which they smear with a little blood from the calf that has been killed. The female camel licks it, makes friends with it, *râmat*, and lets it suck. In this way one calf sucks two female camels. This method is called *ǧerâr*. Often they kill five and even seven young camels, and to all the female camels they bring the same calf, and all of them let it suck. This is called *muǧammaʿa*. The female camel which gives the least milk they

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Saḥr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and roasted on the fire. 252

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into suet it is known as *maḥlû'* or *widač*. In the kettle in which the fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḥalî'*, something like swards, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into a leather bag, *ẓarf* (or *naḥw*), and kept for as long as three years. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because it is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very stingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppurating wounds. [752]

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*, between four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-camel, especially a lean one, *helîme*, cannot be properly boiled. It always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young camels less than three months old, *ḥwâr*, has a bad effect on the stomach. 262 825

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they throw away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He has a bird's heart, *ḳalbeh ḳalb aṭ-ṭejr*," means: "He is easily frightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals in the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into the men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with them together with his eldest son. 264 574

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour water for the men so that they can wash! *ṛasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A slave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *žedaḥ*, wooden vessel, with water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon the contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is waiting with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his daughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *ḳalleṭ lena-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him, saying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest is present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accompanies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it either in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of the fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take supper first, *tafwît*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

264 574 the dish, kneels on his left knee, sits on the left heel, extends his right sleeve, *jefasser 'an aḏ-ḏrâ'*, and waits for the host's invitation: "Call on (God's name)! May Allâh preserve your life! *sammû allâh jeḥajjîkom.*" With the words "In the name

[492]

FIG. 25

FIG. 26

FIGS. 25, 26—Pack camels, *al-maẓhûr*, on the march, carrying rolled-up tents and poles (see p. 76).

of Allâh" each one catches hold of the dish, rolls small pellets of *'ejš* or bread, throws one after another into his mouth, and swallows them without chewing. If there is a pile of meat in the middle of the dish, each one tries as quickly as possible to make a trench in the *'ejš* or bread till he reaches it. Nobody may clutch directly at the meat, as this is bad form. When the diner has worked his way underneath the heap, he may take whatever crumbles into his trench. A man who is esteemed must not gnaw the meat from the bone. He has to tear away the meat with the fingers of his right hand, without raising his hand from the dish. What he does not tear away he leaves on the bone, which he presses against the side of the hollow. Nobody is allowed to rise until all the men have finished eating supper from the same dish. Such a group of men having supper together is called *ḳalṭa*. When they have finished eating, they say: "May Allâh requite the hosts for this! *ḫalaf allâh 'ala-l-ma'âzîb.*" The host replies: "Health and good digestion! *ṣaḥḥa w-'âfije.*" Each one licks the fingers of his right hand, *jilḥas îdeh* (or *jedeh*), and goes to the side wall of the tent, against which he rubs one finger after the other, *jimḥaš jedeh*, and cleans his teeth, *jinḳaš*

snûneh. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al-wasṭa*, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; if by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejš* with *mraḳa* gravy and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mḥelijje*. What is left over, *ṛarîme*, is received by the poor children who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed the head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare together with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made of dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast not supped; *râs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-žedaḥ bečîle w-tḳûl mâ ta'aššejt*."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

All food is prepared in the camp by the women in their compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made. At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb an-nâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa*," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughter, or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark, lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šîḥ*, whirls it round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it under the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this also catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplace long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32) from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The largest one is called *maṭbâḥa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds from which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several days. A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fire. The other three pots he rinses out, *ješarreb*, pours the contents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster made of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of the fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *berîž*, as well as a *žedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring about 20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and with a narrow edge. From the *žedaḥ* water is offered for drinking.

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leather canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes a handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iron pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roasted, *miḥmâse*, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

8. And, likewise, fill the pot into which cardamom, nutmeg,
And twenty fragrant stalks in the proper quantity are put.
4. Bring also a fat sheep, to hold which a caldron is put
on the fire,
A sheep to be wrapped in a garment garnished with
mouthfuls of grain.
5. Then with fat shine the mustaches of grave men,
Liberators of chattel-burdened camels found in the midst
of fighting.
6. My comrades can parry well, their blows are not feints.
How many have already lost their heads through their
deeds!
7. They consult not old women, nor are they engaged in
selling butter;
They are not men who talk only of satisfying carnal passion.
8. O Lord! O Thou who causest plants to grow also for Druses!
Take not the silver to thyself, leaving the world nothing
but worthless copper.
9. How many a calumny, causing pain when treasured up
in the breast,
Will vanish, and yet it dwelt in the heart as if it were
pure truth.

The reciter was Ǧwâd al-'Âni.

Verse 1. A short pipe, *sebîl*, often breaks at the elbow. If the peddler has no pipes for sale, the smoker provides for himself. The broken mouthpiece is replaced by a small thin bone which he fixes into the remnant of the pipe, tying it with leather and sewing it firmly together to prevent the smoke from escaping. A pipe thus repaired is called *bûz*. But the same name is given to the pipe bowl, while the small bone held in the mouth is called *'aẓm*, or *bizz*, or *bezz*. 2. *'Aẓm al-bûz* is the bone piece held in the mouth. *Al-mambûz* is a woman broad in the hips and shoulders and with a slender waist, *umm ar-rdûf w-al-ktûf šetâjâha mambûzât*. 4. *Muṣlâḥ* is a conscientious herdsman whose flock does not suffer from hunger, therefore *šât muṣlâḥen* signifies a fat sheep. *'Atel* is a poetical expression for a large kettle, or *židr*. *Markûz*, placed, because a kettle is placed on three stones over the fire. *Ḥabb al-lekejmi* is the dish of *'ejš* prepared from grains of wheat; the eater takes small bits, *loḳm*, in his fingers and wraps it around small pieces of meat. 6. *Hûz* means a jest, a feint in

574 sive or that he contradicts himself, he declares: "By Allâh! we do not trust thee. Say who knows thee! *W-allâh mâ ḥenna meṣaddežînak hât alli 'ârefk.*"

[609] If nobody is found in the camp to vouch for the newcomer, he must leave at once, either on foot or on his animal. The host fears that he may be a robber who will steal from him or his guests at night and then disappear. This caution [672] is due to the fact that the host is responsible for any deed his guest may commit while on his grounds.

A common guest addresses the chief with the title: "O thou long living! O thou who art protected from evil! *jâ ṭwîl al-'omr jâ mḥafûẓ.*"

Sometimes a guest arrives just when there is no flour, wheat, or *tummen* (a kind of rice) in the tent. The owner with his whole family may have been living for weeks on milk alone, but the guest must receive something better. In such a case the wife goes from tent to tent, begging: "We have received a guest and we are out of food. O friends, we have nothing to set before him; lend us something so that we can do our duty. *Henna mežâfir w-enzefna jâ rab' w-henna-kfarna min aṭ-ṭa'âm ekrezowna šien* [sic] *nesteter beh.*" The neighbors help her to the best of their ability — one lending a little flour, another some *tummen* or some butter, and there are also tents where she is told: "Come to us today and thou wilt get the supper thou needest for thy guest."

574 If the guest arrives in the forenoon, he gets both dinner
● 264 and supper, *ġada w-'aša*. The meals are brought either by the host himself or his son or are served by a slave, with the host urging: "Hasten to thy luck, O guest of the Most Gracious! Eat! May Allâh preserve thee!" A prominent guest either eats alone or invites the host or some chief who is present to eat with him.

A common guest eats with the others, the host, however, deciding the order of those who are to sit together. When the dish is already surrounded by six or eight persons and the host notices one more he wishes to invite, he asks: "If you can find a gap between you, invite also So-and-So! *en čân 'endakom ṭenijje 'azzemow flân.*"

"The place is large! Come hither, O So-and-So! *al-maṭraḥ wasî' ḳum ğâj jâ flân.*"

Coughing or sneezing during the meal is to be avoided. He who has finished eating licks his fingers clean, drops his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

hand on his knees, and waits for the others to finish. The host urges him to eat and also bids the others to remain at the dish and keep on eating, but they answer: 574 264

"Thou hast not restricted us. May Allâh increase thy welfare! *Mâ kaṣṣart allâh ječaṭṭer ḫejrak,*" to which the host replies: "I wish you good digestion and much success! *hana' w-'awâfi.*"

The guests: "May Allâh preserve thee for more success! *meḥajjik allâh 'ala-l-mejsûr.*"

The host: "[And may he preserve you] to success and booty! *mejsûren ṛânemcu.*" Or: "May Allâh preserve you from the moment you leave us to the moment you reach your homes! *allâh meḥajjîkom min jowm mašejtom elja mâ lafejtom.*"

The guests: "And may Allâh expand thy heart with joy! *w-bak raḥḥab allâh.*"

If any one rides past the tent where the guests happen to be eating, the host calls to him: "O youth, direct thy steps hither! The food lies before thee! *jâ walad enṭaḥ ǧâj az-zâd bwağhak.*"

An invitation of this kind is considered by the rider as a favorable sign that he will succeed in what he has set out to accomplish. Therefore he does not stop but merely answers: "I am not inclined to eat!"

The host: "But think of thy welfare!"

He answers: "May Allâh increase thy welfare" and rides on joyfully.

A host who has killed an animal for his guest draws with its blood a long mark on both sides of the neck of the guest's camel.

When a guest of importance arrives at a Rwala camp, he takes lodgings with his closest acquaintance, where he also sups the first night and accepts invitations from others for the days following. This custom is called *dawrijje.* It is not done to spare the host but to honor the guest — for the host could be compensated for his outlay in some other way, if necessary. 574

A guest should not change his host without good reason. Should he think that he is a burden to his host or that he is neglected, *killet hefle,* and make a complaint to the host, he might be told: "Then be off and look for another host!" This, however, happens very seldom, even if the guest should stay in the tent five or six days at a stretch.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x 4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

[833] Verse 1. *Mažẓa'* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebîle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating unpleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

827
269

Jâ mâ ḳaṭa'na dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâzi 'ejâlaha
wa' hâj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

727 Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *ḳaw flân.*" Answer:
"O greeting to thee! *jâ hala.*"
"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:
"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"
"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalaḳ hal-fowd.*" Answer:
"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalaḳ wa-tfid.*"

[431] Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-ḥazijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *bešš behal-'aṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

727
574 Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

726 539ᵏ flank. *Dabbûs* is a heavy wooden staff, about 120 centimeters long. *Medâbis* (sing., *medbes*) are youths armed with such staves. They beat the enemy with the staves, pursue those who flee, and if they turn their mares in another direction it is only to save a comrade swept from his saddle. *Ḥarrafaw*: turned their mares about for a new attack, *taḥrîf*. *Ṭarîḥ* is a rider thrown from the saddle. He is usually seriously wounded and calls to his comrades to help him. It is considered dishonorable, a shame, *ʿajb*, to give a *ṭarîḥ* the finishing stroke.

539ᵏ

Jâ rabb jâ rabb ar-raḥûm
tarmi-l-ḥaja bidijârana
narmi-l-ʿaša lalli jaḥûm
laʿujûn ǧillen bikârana.

O Lord! our graciòus Lord!
Thou wilt pour forth a copious rain on our lands,
Whilst we shall pour forth a supper for the circling birds,
Before the eyes of our big she-camels.

Ḥaja are abundant rains which assure a luxuriant growth of annuals. If the latter cannot thrive, it is because there has been no *ḥaja*, and no affluence, *rabîʿ*, will follow. [619] *Dîre* means territory belonging to one tribe or subject to one emir. Thus Eben Saʿûd is obeyed by many different tribes, and their territories all form the *dîret eben saʿûd*. [264] The Rwala eat to satiety only once a day — in the evening — and therefore use the word *ʿaša*, meaning supper, to express a meal in general. *Jaḥûm*, it circles, is used of a white vulture with reddish wings and yellow beak. It accompanies the warriors on almost all their trips and flies above the battle ground untiringly. *Ǧill* are strong, big she-camels. The enemy tries to capture them, but their defenders come in time to repel the attack.

Habbî lana ḥbûb ar-rîḥ habbî lana
elja' mâ tekâmel ḫejlana.

Blow luck to us, O wave of the wind! blow,
Until our riders are assembled.

The first riders on reaching the attacked herds must, together with the herdsmen, repel the first attack of the enemy; therefore they appeal to the breeze to be favorable to them, for, if they have to fight against the wind which

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittuḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḏa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâḳni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḫoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḥ w-fâṭer.*"

● 266 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḫat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-fâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *tḫasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand
222 into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish.
They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧḍân*, or
251 food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *'eǰš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the
262 following:

252 *'aṣîde*, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

bečîle, a paste made from dates and flour,

basise, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmej'a, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burṛul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

317 The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell
[135] it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧidijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *'aǯîǯ* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *saḫḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṭḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

271 For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *žedaḫ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣâd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

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the nostrils. My guide, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, had drunk such water on eight occasions and there is nobody among the Rwala who has not tasted it at least once. 271

Things are more serious with those traveling on foot who have no camel to kill. Thus there were four men from the Bnejje kin of the Rwala, who were driven off during a raid. They lost their camels and their weapons and escaped with their bare lives. One of them tied a small bag, *šakwa*, beneath his shirt, in which there were about three liters of water. They made their way home through the desert, living on various herbs and always drinking a little water after sunset. On the third day they had about a quarter of a liter left. They were all thirsty and yet each one urged the other to drink, but none would drink because there was not enough water for all. At last they decided to pour it away. They sipped the dew and went for two days without water. It was in the season of *as-smâk* (March and early April). After two days they could go no farther. By the will of Allâh some Ṣlejb saw them, brought them liquid butter, poured it into their mouths, and when they could swallow it gave them also water, thus saving their lives. In the seasons of *aṣ-ṣferi* and *aš-šta'* (October 1 to February 20) a man can go without water for as long as three days, but in the midsummer, *al-ḳêẓ*, only for one day and one night, or at the most for two nights and one day. On the second day his throat becomes parched and he dies.

The Rwala know very well which plants can be eaten. Often after an unsuccessful raid they wander on foot through the desert and live only on various herbs. They are most fond of eating the dark-red ripened fruit, *ṭel'*, of the thorny *mṣa'* shrub. These are very sweet and have a bitter aftertaste. The Rwala collect them and boil them into a thick syrup. From the wood of the tall *rimṭ* shrub there flows out in summer a sweet juice, which they likewise collect. *Ḳẓâma*, the ripe fruit of the *buṭum* tree, they pluck, dry, grind, and mix with wheat flour. They also extract oil from this fruit. They eat the raw stalks or tuberous growths of the following plants: *baḫatri*, *bṣejjel*, *ṭummejr*, *ǧirǧir*, *ḥârra'*, *ḳumbejẓ* (or *ḳammejẓ*), *ḳamṣiṣ*, *ḳawwa'*, *ḍa'lûḳ*, *rubaḫla*, *reišâd*, *roṣejla*, *ummu rweje*, *šaḫḫûm*, *ṭiṭa*, *ṣorrêṭ an-na'âm*, *ḳurrêṣ*, *karrâṭ ḥsejbre*, *ḫubbêna*, *laḫjat at-ṭeje*, *mša'*. 262 222

The following are baked: *sebb aḍ-ḍib*, *ṭarṭûṭ*, and *mḫarût*.

831K 539K from both the north and south for a great distance. In this neighborhood the sweetheart Nwa' was camping.

Marḥaban jâ-lli ṭûleh w-ṭûli suwa'
jâ-lli ḥabbet fwêha burûd az-ẓuma'.

Hail to her, who is as tall as I!
The kiss of whose mouth refreshes like cool water in thirst.

[271] *Ẓuma'*, thirst, is a word commonly used by the Bedouins. Thirst tortures travelers. Dispersed raiders often perish of thirst; the lack of water makes both the women and children in camp lament. Often a woman with parched lips goes from tent to tent begging with dumb gestures a drink of water for her child. If a mere mouthful of even tepid water refreshes one when thirsty, how much greater the relief from a drink of cool water. A person tormented by love resembles a thirsty man.

As-salâm 'alejkom	Salutation to you!
w-ḳûlû ḥala'	And answer: Welcome!
jâ ferîžen 'alejkom	You in the little camp through which
ṭarîž al-ṛala'.	Leads the road to my sweetheart.

The lover going to call on his sweetheart greets the small camp through which he is passing. *Ferîž* is a group of no more than ten tents.

Elja ǧît mazbûr an-nahad
jâ m'ejdi sallem li 'alejh
abu ṭamânen mǧellijât
w-al-ḳalb malḳû'en 'alejh.

Shouldst thou come to her with the full, firm bosom,
O M'ejdi! give her my greetings.
She who has eight burnished teeth
And to whom my heart clings.

Jâ-hal al-'ajrât siraw jâ šafâti
'an sena'hen lâ t'ûǧûn al-maṭijje
elja lifejtom ṣwejḥebi ṣallaw waṣâti
'allemaw be'ulûm râ'i-l-arîčijje
'end abûha delletên mut'abâti
rîf ha!l heǧnen mezâhebhen ḥalijje
wa' hani min ḳâzebah ǧejb al-'abâti
w-enṭawa' bḥozejn mambûz aš-šaṭijje.

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By both the men's and the
women's compartments of the tents blazing fires are kept up, attracting the traveler even at a great distance. *Rwijhom* means water bags, each made from half of a camel's hide and holding about 150 liters of water. If there is a scarcity of water in the *ḳêz* season (midsummer) everybody gets it at the chief's tent. *Ḥabra* (pl., *ḥabâri*) are the level spaces of various sizes on a vast plain, in which the rain water from the higher ground accumulates. *Ṣḥûnahom* are extraordinarily large pans with two handles, often as much as a meter and a half in diameter, in which supper is brought to the guests whom either the chief or his representative invites to sit down, calling each by his name. In the dead of night these calls can be heard from afar.

Ṣubjân ṭowb al-mâl	O youths, a costly garb
lâ telbesûneh	Put not on!
jista'heleh nawwâf	Of that Nawwâf is deserving
w-ḥejfi zebûneh	Whose caftan is not new,
elja ǧâ nahâr al-kown	When on the day of the fray
w-je'ażżed redûneh.	His long shirt sleeves behind his neck he ties.

Ṭowb is the man's long shirt made of white linen. *Towb al-mâl* is a shirt with decorative stitching around the neck and on the breast. The sleeves of this shirt are often as much as a meter and a half long and end in a sharp angle. During a fight or when the wearer is engaged in some hard task the sleeve ends are tied together and thrown behind the neck. *Zebûn* is a garb made from variegated fabric and worn over the shirt. Nawwâf, as the brâvest of all, should also wear the best clothes.

Tabasserû jâ hla-l-ḥejl
nawwâf šara-l-ma'naḳijje
šiżân mešâ'el darâriǧ
min taḥat 'ûd al-ḥanijje
ḳâl erčabi lâ tḫâfi
má zâl râsi 'alijje.

At the glad news rejoice, you riders:
Nawwâf has bought a mare of the *ma'naḳijje* breed;
Mešâ'el's calves like the rollers appear
Under the pole of a curved litter.

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the chief, Abu Bejdar. Having done so he waited for the result. In the meantime he filled his short pipe, *sebîl*; but even that was no longer whole. The Bedouin often carves for himself such a pipe out of a soft stone. The bowl usually soon breaks off and is then attached to a bone. 7. While he smoked, 'Amlûš contemplated his ill luck and pondered on the mystery, thinking it was as if he carried his enemy in his own belly, *btejn*. Whether he acted on advice or without it, ill success was inevitable. 8. Now he prayed to Allâh to give him two she-camels pitifully grumbling — that is, she-camels which have left their young behind and are still full of milk. All day and all night she-camels parted from their weaned young utter their laments, *jekra'en ḥanînahen*. When the Bedouins camp far from water they keep two she-camels hauling water continually, one fetching it and the other returning. This is done for fear of thirst; hence they speak of two she-camels, of one bound for the water, *wârede*, the second returning with it, *ṣâdere*. 9. *Al-msajjer* is either a special messenger sent by 'Amlûš to Abu Bejdar, or a Bedouin who comes to visit him in the evening and brings the news that he is to receive two she-camels.

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A Slanderer is Warned to Make Sure of His Own Paternity Before Reproaching Others.

1. *Jâ mčajjel al-ḥamlât lejtak tetṭabba*
   'alejk min ğowf al-ḳabâjel ṭalâba
2. *ṣaẓẓem 'ejâlak lejt howšak jehabba*
   ra'is nuwar teḥ'ab 'ala 'ers jâ-ba
3. *low ent min ḥoṣn ar-romak mâ tšabba*
   min 'aḏrat as-sâğûr w-alli reba' bah
4. *ja-l-hebd jâ-lli bel-ḳaṣâjed mlabba*
   turki leḳam leh loḳmeten mâ-htana bah
5. *jeğîk abu nawwâf min fowḳ ḳabba*
   ma' surbat al-âḏân hom w-aš-šijâba.

1. O thou who bringest loads [of reproaches]! make sure of thy lineage,
   For there are complaints against thee from the midst of the tribes.
2. Deprive thy little sons of health! May thy courage awaken!
   Thou art a gypsy chief and at dances playest, O dad!

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ridden long, *'asîfe*, but also old camels. 4. Owing to this treatment his own camel has lost all the fat of her hump, *šaḥam*, as well as her spirits, which made her touch with head and lips the second rider, *mlâfaḫ lar-radîf*, who was sitting bareback and had tickled her slightly.

To save his animal's strength the rider lets her rest a little before sunrise and after sunset; this is called *šofratên*.

A tired camel is known as *mutlajješe*. If so exhausted that she cannot rise with the rider any more, she is called *ṭâwije*; she has, they say, used up all the marrow of her bones, *mâ bâži beha muḫḫ*. Then she needs a rest of at least three months and a good pasture in order to recover completely.

DRINKING FROM A CAMEL'S PAUNCH

There is hardly an adult Rwejli who has not on some occasion drunk water from the camel's paunch. If the raiders are tormented with thirst, they kill a few camels, cut out their paunches, *čarš*, which are full of water, let the water settle, and then drink it. Mežḥem eben Čandal attacked the Šarârât in the al-Ḥunfa territory and captured large herds of camels just returning from pasture. Being short of water himself and fearing lest the pursuing Šarârât would occupy the nearest wells, he had about fifty camels with the biggest bellies killed and the water bags refilled with the water from their stomachs; then he steered clear of the wells and returned to his people, who were encamped in an-Nuḳra south of Damascus and about 1000 kilometers from al-Ḥunfa, without suffering any loss (see above, pp. 94f.).

DISEASES OF CAMELS

The camels suffer from many diseases, the majority of which are due to inflammation of the bowels and joints. As it is impossible for me to define the various ailments with any sort of precision I quote them exactly as they were explained to me.

Ḥmâr: inflammation of the bowels of young camels; incurable.

Ṛadda: inflammation of the brain of young camels; incurable.

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saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teszûn al-'aṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ 'endana ma'*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *tafwîḥ*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *rana' b'âli ḥesseh*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

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I Meet My Blood Brother Again

All eyes were on the coffee-cook, who raked together 574
the smouldering embers on the hearth and added new 609
dried camel dung. On the silence soon fell the sound of [272]
boiling water bubbling in the capacious long-spouted pot.

The Amir's body-servant, Mnahi—the same who had spread the rug of greeting—took a stick of incense from a fold of his head-cloth, broke off a piece and placed it on a glowing dung-ember. Through the black roof-cloth filtered faintly the sunshine and wove a pattern of lights and shadows on the ground. Courtiers, warriors, and slaves formed a solemn, silent semicircle. Facing these squatting figures, Mnahi alone was on his feet; he had taken his post on his master's left and stood there, erect and motionless, one sinewy black fist on the silver hilt of his sword.

I stole surreptitious glances at my host. His *kaffiyah* framed an effeminate type of face, oval, with regular features and a high-bred, slightly aquiline nose. The dark eyes, brilliant and very large, were set beneath wide thick brows and a rather narrow forehead. When he smiled, dazzling white teeth showed under the small black moustache. The more I looked at this romantic young man, the more I recognized in him that spirited little blood-brother of mine in the long ago. It required an effort of will to restrain my impatience and not to declare myself forthwith; but I had to await the fitting moment. So far, no one had uttered a word. All seemed to be interested exclusively in the cook, still puttering about his hearth. In desert etiquette it is a gross breach [576]
of courtesy to ply a guest with questions about himself.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

to fifty miles from our last camp by the Jabal Tawil—we found all the pasture gone, consumed to the last blade by the locusts. It was only in the plain of Biyaz that we found a depression which was untouched and with plenty of forage. There we made camp under the shelter of a *wadi*.

The women and slaves unloaded the camels and at once proceeded to put up the tents. The tent-cloth is spread on the ground, looking like a long, black, hairy hide; the lines are drawn east and west, tent-pegs driven home with wooden mallets, and the long tent-poles, properly spaced, are inserted under the roof-strip. Then, by dint of lifting and pushing, up goes the structure; first one pole in place, then the next, and so on until the whole goat-hair "house" rests securely on its supports. Row after row of tents rose, casting long shadows as the last sun-rays gleamed on their peaked roofs.

I bought a weakly camel from my fellow-travellers, had it slaughtered and the meat distributed to all and sundry. The flesh-pots of Ishmael were soon steaming and the savour of them attracted a horde of hungry dogs. One of the tribesmen was to play host to myself, Faris, and a number of others. Out of the dark his troop of camels stole up silently, showing suddenly in the light of the fire as if they had come from nowhere, and lay down before his tent. It was comfortable and homely there by the fire, in the wide circle of men and beasts.

Our cook had transferred a turbid, muddy mess of old coffee grounds and water from a goatskin bag to a pot with a long spout, which he put on the hearth. Now the black, bitter brew foamed up again, and after it had

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

been properly skimmed, the cook poured a part into the smallest jug available and from this served his coffee a few drops at a time, a single stoneware cup making the round of the company. The mound of camel dung heaped by the women was glowing red, and everyone was on the tiptoe of expectation when Faris rose and went over to the women's side of the tent. A cheerful bustling sounded from it—supper ought to be about ready; and sure enough, there appeared a woman and a slave, carrying between them a huge platter piled high with meat, which they set down on the threshold. Faris shouted into the night, to call all stragglers who might be in the vicinity.

We grouped ourselves round this mountain of flesh. I saw in the flickering light wild-looking, hungry men squatting opposite me, with black plaits of hair showing under their white-and-red head-cloths, the tips of which were flung over the shoulders. They fell to with their fingers, tore the meat from the bones and devoured it in great gulps. Our host flung titbits to me across the platter. It was embellished with the camel's head split open, but without the brains. Only the women will eat them, for they are supposed to make men faint-hearted. The hearts of bustard and other fowl are also disdained by these gallant lords of the desert.

We lingered four days in this depression, as we had enough food and fuel. The camels scattered to graze in the surrounding country. The women, too, were busily employed in hoeing up the roots of the small shrubs and gathering their twigs, which they carried to camp on their backs in large bundles. Many of the women had

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The Mejlis, Council of Men. Here, as Always, the Ever-Present Black Coffee Is Served

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portant guests do they bake fresh bread and prepare some sort of meal. If a Rwejli has a piece of dry bread, *ḫomš*, and can soak it in water, he boasts of having eaten well. Breakfast is unknown to the Rwala. In order to loosen the spittle, *fekk ar-rîḳ*, they eat a grain of salt, a morsel of bread, or gulp down some milk. This is their usual breakfast, *ṣubûḥ* (*eṣṭebeḥ*, take thy breakfast). On long marches they can keep going with this breakfast until evening, because they have no luncheon. The Rwala know that they will eat only after sunset and are grateful to Allâh if he gives them a chance of eating their fill at least once a week. Often there is not even a cup of cold *leben*, sour milk, for supper. Suppers of this kind, at which only a little milk is drunk, are called *ṣabûḥ*.

MILK AND METHODS OF PROCURING IT

Milk is the main nourishment of the Rwala. In order to secure a supply of milk for a whole year they make use of various devices.

If a young camel is weak they kill it as soon as it is born, and for seven days, *samḥ leǰâl*, they do not milk, *ǰerarzûha*, the female camel, so that she loses her milk, *w-hi ṭrarez*. In this way she becomes strong and can carry loads. If they have insufficient milk, they gently stroke, *ǰemsaḥûha*, her udder morning and evening, and after a few days the milk flows again. If they have a sucking camel, they lead it to her; in order that she may let it suck, they draw her nostrils together with a rope, *ǰeḥazmû ḫašmaha bel-ʿaḳâl*, or thrust a long, strong needle, *maḫǰaṭ*, through her nostrils. Thus they deceive the female camel, *ǰeẓîrûn ʿalejha ẓijâr*, who cannot smell the calf tied to her, becomes friendly with it, *tarâm*, and lets it have milk, *taderr*.

Sometimes they remove the newly-born calf, *ǧarraw laha*, before the female camel notices and smells it. Then they kill it, tie up the female camel, and fasten to her an older calf, which they smear with a little blood from the calf that has been killed. The female camel licks it, makes friends with it, *râmat*, and lets it suck. In this way one calf sucks two female camels. This method is called *ǧerâr*. Often they kill five and even seven young camels, and to all the female camels they bring the same calf, and all of them let it suck. This is called *muǧamma'a*. The female camel which gives the least milk they

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good annuals, the more milk is given. The fertile camel gives milk for twelve months, the barren camel for even longer. After a year the she-camel is conducted to the male. If she conceives, she loses the milk and bites and kicks her calf when it tries to suck.

The calf generally ceases to suck after a year, but many wish to continue even after that. Such calves are known as *ʿabeṭ*. In order that a calf of this sort may not steal milk, a sharpened peg, *ḥelâl*, is inserted under its nostrils, and if it attempts to suck the peg pricks the female camel, so that she at once drives the calf away.

FIG. 21—A water trough, *ḥawẓ* (see p. 71).

The milk is either drunk warm immediately after it has been obtained, *maḥaẓ*, or is heated, *saḥîn*. The freshly obtained milk is called *ḥalîb*. If it is poured, *jeḥaḳnûneh*, into a leather bag, *semîl*, it is called *leben*, even though it may still be sweet. In the bag it becomes sour very quickly, *jeṭaʿʿam* (or *mṭaʿʿam*). The Rwala do not churn camel's milk. If they have too much, they boil it and from the curds make small cheeses which they eat either dry or stewed with bread.

A milking camel is called *ḥallâba*. It is not sold at any price, as it nourishes the whole family. Every Rwejli is fond of milk, either fresh or sour. Those who cannot get accustomed to it are given the nickname of *felḥ*. The Rwala woman reminds her daughter of the white *leben* as soon as she wakes her in the morning, exclaiming: "O my daughter, white as milk! why art thou idle like the gazelle, taking thy ease until the dew has departed? *jâ bunajje jâ leben wâẓḥaʾ w-alʿzejjel bel-menâm aẓḥaʾ*." The freshly obtained milk has a salt taste, because the camels are fond of grazing on salt herbs. In consequence of this it has an aperient effect, especially on the foreigner; but after a short time he gets accustomed to it, likes it very much, and suffers no ill effects. If the camel has been feeding for a long time on fragrant or strong-smelling herbs, the odor can be noticed in the milk.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 272 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesaẓẓemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

FIG. 22—A water trough, *ḥawṣ*, on a camel (see p. 71).

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WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellâḥîn* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 574 261 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ẓuʿûf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿaššini jâ ḫajje ʿaššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 824 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*, bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-kamh alli baʿad habben sahih."

264 *snûneh*. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al-wasṭa*, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; if
574 by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejš* with *mraḳa* gravy and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mḥelijje*. What is left over, *ṛarîme*, is received by the poor children who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed the head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare together with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made of dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast not supped; *râs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-žedaḥ bečile w-tḳûl mâ ta'aššejt*."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

252 All food is prepared in the camp by the women in their compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made.
372 At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb annâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa*," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughter, or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark, lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šiḥ*, whirls it round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it under the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this also
272 catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplace long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32)
415 from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The largest one is called *maṭbâḥa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds from which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several days. A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fire. The other three pots he rinses out, *ješarreb*, pours the contents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster made of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of the fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *berîž*, as well as a *žedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring about 20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and with a narrow edge. From the *žedaḥ* water is offered for drinking.

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leather canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes a handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iron pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roasted, *miḥmâse*, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

beans with an iron spoon fastened to the handle by means of a long copper chain, *îd al-miḥmâse*. As soon as the coffee begins to turn brown, *aškarrat*, he lifts the plate from time to time, shakes it until the beans jump about, blows on and continues roasting them. When all the beans have acquired a dark-brown color, he shakes them out upon a wooden dish, *mibrâda*, which is also provided with a long handle, in order that they may cool off, *jebarredha*. Meanwhile he takes the second smaller pot, pours boiling water into it from the first one, and sets it by the fire. He wipes a wooden mortar, *mihbâš* (or *niǧr*), decorated with carvings, shakes, *jekubb*, into it the cold beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle, *jad* (or *mehwân*), and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes. After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it. The noise made by the mortar and pestle, *ḥess al-mihbâš*, is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not. The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done.

The coffee when ground to a fine powder is shaken out, *jelažžemha*, by a slave into his right hand or straight into the second pot, in which the fresh coffee is boiled. This pot is called *maṣfa'* (or *ṭalâje*). The slave takes the rag with which he has wiped the vessel, places it on the handle of the pot, and holds it above the fire, continually moving it farther away or nearer in order that the coffee may not boil over. When the coffee is thoroughly boiled, *ṭbaḫat*, he places the pot at some little distance from the fire in order that the coffee may settle. He then puts into the mortar a few grains of the fragrant spice known as cardamom and a pinch of saffron, beats them up, shakes them out into the third pot, which has been cleaned and warmed, and pours into it the boiled coffee from the second pot. The third pot, in which the coffee is boiled with the ground spices, is called *mabhâra*. From a circular box of wood, *ḳawṭi*, or copper, *ḳafaṣ*, the slave takes out small cups of solid stoneware, *fanâǧil*, pours a little water into each one, rubs them with his thumb on a piece of rag, and puts them on a copper platter called *ṣinijje*. When the spice-flavored coffee has boiled he empties a part of it into the fourth

272 and smallest pot, known as *delle*, and pours from it a few drops of coffee into a cup, which he empties out on the ground as a sacrifice for Šâḏri, the first one to boil coffee. Then he again pours a little coffee in the cup, shakes it round to see its color, takes a sip, smacks his lips, and savors the coffee to find out how it tastes. Having gulped it down, he takes in his left hand from four to six cups, inserting one into the other, seizes the handle of the *delle* pot with his right hand, and from above pours into the cups a stream of coffee as delicate as a spider's thread. As soon as the bottom of the cup is covered, he hands it to the foremost guest. The latter takes it in his right hand, licks it, smacks his lips, and slowly drinks; it is not becoming to drink all of one's coffee at one gulp. Meanwhile the slave pours out for the rest. When the first guest has finished drinking, the slave pours out for him again, *jedir ʿa-r-reğâl.* The fourth helping the guest must decline with the word *ḥâğe,* even though he would like to drink more. After an interval, however, he may resume drinking.

Poems Relating to Coffee

272 539t Many of the Rwala, both men and women, are very fond of coffee and describe its preparation and taste in numerous poems. Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân composed a poem which he himself recited to me, as follows:

1. *Ḳum saw finğâlen ʿala-l-kejf jâ ʿîd*
   bedlâl jišdenn al-bṭûṭ al-ehdâfi
2. *eḥmes w-zajjenha ʿala kill mâ-rîd*
   w-estaden mâ južʿed min an-nâs ṛâfi
3. *niğren ʿala ḥesseh jeğûn al-melâbîd*
   ahl as-salâm w-ḳawwakom w-al-ʿawâfi
4. *w-bhârha tisʿa min al-hejl w-tzîd*
   bez-zaʿfarân mrawwaḳa jâ-s-snâfi
5. *bṣinijjeten ṭumma derha lel-ağâwîd*
   w-ʿoddah ʿa-lli jeṭni ḫlâf al-mežâfi
6. *alli jrawwi ḥarbeteh bel-meṭârîd*
   leʿujûn min ḳerneh ʿala-l-meten ẓâfi
7. *bint aš-šujûḥ muḥazzebîn al-bwâlîd*
   ḥarîbhom lowhom baʿîden jiḫâfi
8. *w-en derhem aṣ-ṣâbûr mâ min taṣâdîd*
   čam ḥâčemen ḫallow ʿazâmeh talâfi

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9. *mirkâzehom jišba' bâh an-nisr w-aḏ-ḏib*
   w-jišba' bâh ẓab'an min al-ǧû' hâfi
10. *w-eṭni 'ala-lli w-en lafow leh ma'âwid*
    rîf an-nišâma w-ar-rčâb al-ehǧâfi
11. *jaẓhak ḥeǧâǧeh low lafow al-aǧâwid*
    lâ jâ ba'ad ḫaṭw al-čeḍûb al-ehlâfi.

1. Arise, prepare a cup of coffee as I would have it, O 'Id!
   In pots like to black and fattened geese.
2. Roast and adorn it even as I desire
   And let the mortar approach, which awakens the drowsy people,
3. At whose sound they will come who are idling at home,
   The people who say: "Peace! may He strengthen you, and greeting!"
4. Spice it with nine grains of cardamom and add
   Saffron. When it has settled in beautiful cups
5. On a decorated plate, then give it to the heroes,
   And return with it unto him who is a shield to the fugitive,
6. He who drenches his spear in battles
   For the eyes of her whose tresses reach below her waist,
7. The daughter of chiefs, who stain their steel weapons,
   Whom their adversaries fear, even though they tarry afar off,
8. And of them none looks around again, if they set off at a trot on their camels;
   Of so many leaders do the bones decay through their deeds!
9. If they set off at a gallop, they sate the eagle and the wolf,
   And ever the hyena which roves about in hunger.
10. Pour out once more for him who, if there come to him, returning from a raid,
    The flower of youth with camels thin and worn,
11. Moves yet his brows with mirth, especially if heroes arrive,
    (He who acts quite otherwise than) some feigning liar;
    Oh, may he be afar off.

Verse 1. *Saw*, for *sawwi*; *sawwi-l-ḳhawa*, means "prepare coffee." The pots in which the coffee is boiled have a very pronounced bulge in the lower half, where they are almost circular, and as they are always blackened they resemble black wild geese, which are usually fat. 2. *Zajjenha*, adorn it; this is done when the roasted coffee is blown upon to free it from the loosened husks. 3. The noise of the mortar disturbs sleepers

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and calls together the idlers from all sides to utter their greetings and to reply to greetings, only in order that as soon as possible they may gain the favor of those present. 4. Nine grains of cardamom are ground together with a pinch of

FIG. 29 FIG. 30

FIGS. 29, 30—Pack camels, *al-maṣḥûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

saffron and mixed with the boiled coffee. The *hejl*, cardamom, gives the coffee a peculiar bitter taste, and the saffron makes it yellow in color. The coffee, when it has been allowed to stand and has been strained off, *mrawwaḳa*, is poured into beautiful cups, *as-snâfi*. *Har-raǧǧâl snâfi* means "this man is handsome, perfect." 5. *Ṣinijje* is the name of the shallow decorated metal dish upon which the cups are placed; such dishes were originally brought from China and hence were known as *ṣîni*. *'Oddah* for *'odah* (or *'odha*). He who protects the fugitives is to receive an additional drink of coffee. *Akfow* means "made their escape, retreated." 6. *Trâd* is the term for actual warfare. In the midst of the most dangerous and fierce fighting the girls encourage the warriors with words and gestures. With loosened hair and bared breasts they dash on she-camels where the danger is greatest, shout to their lovers and friends, remind the former of favors received, and threaten to desert to the enemy should they be disappointed

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by their own people. 8. *Ṣâbûr* are the camel riders who during the raid ward off the attacks of the owners of the captured herds. 9. *Mirkâḍahom* signifies the galloping of the horse riders who from ambush attack the enemy engaged

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Fig. 31—Pack camels, *al-maẓhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

with the *ṣâbûr*. 10. Most of the coffee is to go to the owner of the tent, who entertains the warriors returning from a raid, *ma'âwid* (or *menâčif*), with genuine unaffected kindness. For whether the raid has been successful or not, on the return from it all are hungry, riders as well as animals, because as a rule every raid lasts much longer than was planned. 11. *Al-čeḏâb al-ehláfi* is the term applied to a man who pretends to rejoice at some news, while in reality he is seething with wrath. It is used of the host who embraces and kisses the guest, but does not give enough to eat either to the guest or to his animals.

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1. *Kum saw mâ jeḫmed 'alâ-ṣ-ṣîn jê ḏijâb*
   bedîâl jeḥdenn al-bṭûṭ al-maḥâdîb
2. *w-eḥmes elja min al-'araḳ fowḳha ḏâb*
   w-estaden mâ jeḫḏeb 'alejk al-ḥerârîb

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3. *niğren jilâli min al-raṭa dûm beḥzêb*
jeḳ'i 'ala dubb ad-dahr w-al-mawâğîb
4. *jâ teḳel taṭla' čaffat aṣ-ṣin beḥzâb*
warsen ṣobaṛ beḥfûf biz ar-ra'âbîb
5. *w-ṣubbah limin ḳâd an-niźâma lil-ağnâb*
bemafraseh jiźba' beh an-nizr w-aḏ-ḏib
6. *w-eṭnah 'ala-lli low lefa'-z-zemel ṣabṭâb*
jarḥaṣ be'omreh 'end zeml ar-ra'âbîb
7. *w-ğezzah 'ala-lli low lafow leh 'ala rčâb*
telka bejteh miṯl ğezr al-kaṣâṣîb
8. *w-bâźi-l-mela eṭbeḥ leh al-wafel low šâb*
raṣṣâṣ al-meğles ḥamir al-meḥâ'îb
9. *alli nhâr al-kown jifza' bemṣlâb*
kbârîn al-anfos sâheğîn al-mwâğîb.

1. Rise, prepare coffee which stains the cups, O Dijâbi
In pots resembling black, fat-backed geese,
2. And roast it till the sweat on the beans evaporates,
And take that which will summon the drinkers,
3. The mortar shining with wrath from unceasing blows,
And bowing as bidden by custom and duty.
4. Oh! thou might'st say it paints the inside of the cup with a yellow
Color, like that which dyes the lips of fair beauties.
5. Pour it for him who led the youths abroad
To the place of attack, where vulture and wolf glut themselves.
6. And pour it again for him who, when clouds of dust envelop the laden camels,
Risks his life for the camels which bear the slender beauties.
7. And give more to him in whose tent the camel riders
Will find animals slaughtered as at a butcher's.
8. For the others visiting thee warm up the coffee grounds, even if they be gray,
For they are but people crowding into rooms for men,
like donkeys heeding only the short sticks,
9. People who on the day of battle hasten to help with stakes for stirring the fire,
Braggarts, neglecters of duty.

This poem was composed by Hâjes eben Meğlâd and recited to me by the negro Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

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Verse 1. *Mâ jeǧmed* means "that which adheres (sticks) and colors." The Bedouins prefer coffee which leaves dark-yellow stains on the white cups. The wild geese are called *maḥâdîb* from their fat bulging backs. 2. The roasting is finished when the fine drops resembling sweat disappear from the coffee beans. 3. Through prolonged use the inside of the mortar becomes very shiny, as does the spot outside pressed by the knees of the person working the pestle. *Jeʿʿi*, the mortar bows because the beater inclines it from side to side when shaking off the coffee that sticks to its sides. *Dubb ad-dahr* means "as is the custom, life long." 4. *Čaffat aṣ-ṣîn* is the inside of a porcelain cup, *wars* (or *kurkub*) the plant from which the yellow dye is made. *Šfûf* was explained to me as lips, but it can also mean the stuff for a dress. 5. The first cup should go to the *ʿażîd*, or leader of the troop. *Mafras* signifies the spot where the enemy's horses were repulsed when trying to free the captured herds. 6. *Ẓabẓâb* is the term applied to the warriors mounted on horses. If the enemy attack a migrating tribe they are opposed by the *salaf*, a troop of horsemen who attempt to drive them from the camels which carry the tents, household goods, supplies, and women and children. If the enemy is numerically stronger, the troop opposing them may soon be scattered, in which case only the bravest will persist in defending the camels of the different families. 7. The owner of the tent, who sets meat before the hungry fighters on their return from a raid, is entitled to the most coffee. 8. *Wafel* is the twice-boiled coffee, which not only leaves no dark-yellow stains on the white porcelain but is almost wholly gray, *šâb*. It is good enough for such visitors, *mela*, as press, *rappâṣe*, into the men's compartment. Although they see that they are depriving the more esteemed guests and the tired fighters of their places, and that the host looks at them with an unfriendly eye, yet they do not leave the tent. At last the short stick, *miʿdâb*, such as is used for urging on and driving away the donkeys, must be applied to them. 9. If the alarm cry is sounded, a true Bedouin instantly arms himself with his best weapon and runs to help, *jifzaʿ*, his attacked countrymen, but a scamp of the sort just described will only snatch up a thick stake used for poking the fire, *miṣlâb*, thinking he can scare the enemy with that. *Sâheṭîn* (or *târečîn*) *al-mwâǧib* are those who are unmindful of their duties towards their clan and tribe and are conceited braggarts, *kbârîn al-anfas*.

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1. *Bâḥ al-'aza' jâ-dîb ḳum denn-al-awrâḳ*
ḳurtâṣ šâmi ṣâfijen teḳel ṛarnûḳ
2. *w-hâtû dwât al-ḥeber w-ednû lena sâḳ*
'ûd al-ǧarâ' bšaḏrat al-mûs mašlûḳ
3. *ekteb min al-abjât jâ-dîb mâ lâḳ*
mâ dâm ḳufl al-ḳalb jâ-dîb mafhûḳ
4. *žîlen čema-d-dabwa' elja sîž w-ensâḳ*
ma' ṣaḥṣaḥen 'ânaḳ šefa' kill ṭârûḳ
5. *jâ mâ liḳalben kill mâ-ltamm bel-ašfâḳ*
min 'âm al-awwal beh dawâčič w-eḥfûḳ
6. *jiǧâhed ǧnûsen biswâmîḥ al-aṭrâḳ*
w-tekšef leh asrâren ketamhen biṣandûḳ
7. *elja ṭara li ṭârij al-ḥbâb w-eštâḳ*
ejza w-dakk bḥâṭri ṭârij aš-šûḳ
8. *dannejt leh min ṣâfi al-benn mâ lâḳ*
bel-čaff nâžiha 'an al-'aḏf min as-sûḳ
9. *ehmes ṭalâṭen jâ nedîmi 'ala sâḳ*
rîḥah 'ala ǧamr al-ṛaza jifzaḥ as-sûḳ
10. *ijjâḳ w-an-nijje w-bêlak w-al-ḥrâḳ*
eṣha tṣir blâhjet al-ḥamś maṭfûḳ
11. *elja-ṣfarr lownah ṭumm baššet bel-'arâḳ*
ḥamra' čema-l-jâḳût jiṭreb leha-l-mûḳ
12. *w-'aṭṭat ḫrîḥen fâḫren fâzḥen fâḳ*
al-'ambar rîḥah bel-aswâḳ manšûḳ
13. *ṣubbah bniǧren jisma' kill mištâḳ*
râ'i-l-hawa jiṭreb elja tdižž beḫfûḳ
14. *w-laḳḳem bdelleten mowle'en čannaha-s-sâḳ*
šâmijjeten marbûbeten teḳel ṛarnûḳ
15. *ḫallah tefûḥ w-râ'i al-kêf muštâḳ*
w-elja ṭafaḥ bak ǧowharen ṣaḥḥ lah lûḳ
16. *aṣṛar ḳmûrah čazamardaǧ bel-aš'âḳ*
w-akbarhen aṭ-ṭâfeḥ 'ala ṣâfi al-mûḳ
17. *w-zellah 'ala waẓha beha ḫamst arnâḳ*
hêlen w-mismâren bel-asbâb mashûḳ
18. *w-za'farân w-šmaṭri elja-nsâḳ*
rîḥah ma' al-'ambar 'ala-ṭ-ṭâḳ maṭbûḳ
19. *elja ḫtalaṭ hâḍa bhâḍa betîfâḳ*
ṣubbah čefâk al-'awḳ 'an kill maḫlûḳ
20. *bifinǧâl ṣîni teṭtazi 'anneh al-arnâḳ*
jâzi bkursijjen ḫadânen al-ma'šûḳ
21. *en enṭalaḳ min hâfetah teḳel šebrâḳ*
aw damm ḳalben w-en meza' minneh ma'lûḳ

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22. *zajjah ʿala-l-finǧâl jiṣbor elja râḳ*
alli tṭawwer bil-ḥamâme ʿala-ṭ-ṭûḳ
23. *w-elja ḥaṣal mâ ḳilt ʿendi bel-ašfâḳ*
ṛerwen temezz ešfâh w-al-ʿonḳ mafhûḳ
24. *ṛerwen jaʿîl bḥebbeteh kill mâ lâḳ*
ḥaddeh ẓaḥâḥ al-bedr low bân beš-ʿûḳ
25. *čenn al-ʿaraḳ min waǧneteh ḥossen arnâḳ*
naṭren ʿala ṣafḥât al-awrâḳ maršûḳ
26. *w-elja ẓaḥeč min mabsemeh bâržen ḥâḳ*
ʿaǧlen rafifen w-raṭṭeh al-ṛaraḳ beṭbûḳ
27. *jemši bridfen hâllen madmaǧ as-sâḳ*
jefṣel ḥeǧûlen hazzah aṭ-ṭoḳl min fûḳ
28. *w-allâḥ low jemši šeḳâḳen bel-aswâḳ*
min šowfeteh mâ jimṭaḥ al-ḥams maḥlûḳ
29. *mâr elja ḥaṣal lak ṣâḥebak w-ent muštâḳ*
oḳṭof ṭamar mâ lâḥ w-al-ʿomr malḥûḳ
30. *minn aṣ-ṣâḥeb alli kill mâ žîl bawwâḳ*
ʿajja jisažžîni min aḍ-ḍubbal al-fûḳ
31. *w-ḳalbi maʿ aḍ-dellâl jeǧleb bel-aswâḳ*
ʿâmên ʿenda ṣḥajjef al-waṣf mawsûḳ
32. *w-ṣalât rabbi ʿadad bârežen ḥâḳ*
ʿala-n-nebi al-hâšemi ḫijâr maḥlûḳ.

1. Grief descends upon me! Rise, O clerk! Pull out paper,
A sheet from Damascus, pure white as the crane,
2. And hither with the ink and the pen,
A stem of the reed split by the knife's edge.
3. Copy, O clerk! whatever verses are fitting—
As long as the lock of my heart, O clerk! is open—
4. Word (following after word), as when small locusts drive and are driven
And link the plain with the ridge of each enclosing slope.
5. Oh, how the heart loves best what it has stored up!
For a year past my heart has been filled with passionate unrest and suspicion.
6. Some thoughts it conquers by peaceful forgiveness,
But secrets also come out which it had locked up as in a strong box.
7. Whenever I think of the tokens of love, I yearn for them instantly,
And my bosom is tortured by the remembrance of my sweetheart.

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8. I will hand to him (the clerk) as many whole coffee beans as are needed
After I have taken from them the various impurities of the market.
9. Roast them three times, O comrade mine! on a pan with a long handle
Above red-hot coal of *raṣa*, till their fragrance reaches the market place.
10. Be sure that both thy mind and soul are in the stirring,
Be not disturbed, while roasting.
11. As soon as it becomes yellow and glistens with sweat
And is red like rubies, it will gladden the pupil of my eye,
12. And a pleasant all-pervading smell it will send forth, better than that
Of the amber, which can be smelled in the market place.
13. Pour the beans into the mortar, whose sound everyone will hear who longs for the coffee,
And the lover will grow cheerful if thou poundest with [care.
14. Then pour a handful into a Damascene pot,
Which is like a well-shaped calf of the leg and shines white as a crane.
15. Let it be covered, as desired by him who likes his repose,
And when it is full of gem-like bubbles, then it has attained its full beauty.
16. The smallest of the bubbles resemble the emerald on a dagger grip,
While the largest would be like an eye flooded with tears.
17. Then pour it off to settle into a pot into which thou hast shredded five kinds of spice,
Cardamom with powdered cloves
18. And saffron with two kinds of Sumatra spice, in the right order.
Its fragrance blended with that of the amber will remain in the closed room.
19. When these are thoroughly mixed,
Pour it out — and Allâh keep all obstacles from thee while so doing! —
20. Into a china cup, in which the drops are reflected,
And which shines on the tray always set beside the coffee lover.

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21. When emptied, there will remain streaks like reddish fringes
Or like the blood from a heart from which the artery has been torn out;
22. Its color will cling to the cup after it has settled,
Just like the band painted around the dove's throat.
23. And if my wishes could be granted, I should like best
A pretty maid, who would press her lips to mine with bent neck,
24. A pretty maid, whose kiss would embolden all, as is fit.
Her face is like the moon's reflection shining on a golden dagger grip;
25. The pearls of sweat on her cheek bones are like drops
Scattered on sheets of the finest paper.
26. When she smiles, then from the place where she smiles a flash of lightning is seen,
Soon followed by a copious rain.
27. She walks with enchanting hips above firmly built calves;
The weight of her body moves the rings above her ankles;
28. And, by Allâh himself! when she walks, the whole market place is in an uproar,
And, while looking at her, no one can close his fingers tight.
29. But if thy sweetheart permits and thou desirest it,
Pluck the fruit as long as it entices, for life will soon be overtaken by death.
30. O sweetheart! thou who, as they all say, betrayest me,
Refusing to allay my thirst with thy incisors.
31. My heart — like something banded by the auctioneer in the market places —
Has dwelt for two years captive to her whom I have in few words described.
32. Oh! that my Lord's blessing may rest as many times as he sends out lightning
On the Hashemite Prophet, who is the highest of all created beings.

The honor of composing this poem belongs to Muḥammad al-Ḳâḍi, who is said to have been a judge in the town of 'Anejza. To me it was recited and explained by Prince Nûri's clerk, Ǧwâd. Its story is simple. The poet, two years

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●272 539x before, had fallen in love with a woman of extraordinary beauty, but for the last year he had been tortured by doubts as to her faithfulness. In order not to lose her, he would gladly forgive much, but again and again in the market places he has heard insinuations which have exasperated him anew, filling him with melancholy. During a moment of such mental agony, he ordered strong black coffee to be prepared for him in his house in the 'Anejza market place and then dictated the poem to his clerk.

Verse 1. *Bâḥ al-'aza* (or *enkašef al-'aza*) means "melancholy has taken hold of me; grief is seen on the countenance too." [212] *Adîb* in the poetical language of the district of al-Ḳaṣîm, to which 'Anejza belongs, is a man who can both read and write. [439] *Šâmi* is paper brought from Damascus. The commercial relations of 'Anejza with Syria in general and with Damascus in particular always have been much brisker than with Irak and Bagdad. 'Anejza, it should be known, is the center of the 'Aḳejl camel traders, who buy up camels all over Arabia, drive them through Syria to Egypt, sell them there, and on their return stop at Damascus, where they buy articles needed in inner Arabia and bring them home. 2. *Dwât al-ḥeber* [212] signifies drugs which mixed together and with water give ink; also an inkstand. In the towns of inner Arabia no fluid ink is sold. The inkstand is a small vessel made of either brass or tin and closed with a well fitting lid, into which a small piece of cotton-wool or camel's hair is placed and steeped in the prepared ink until soaked through. The clerk sits on his heels, holds the paper with his left hand, and writes with his right, dipping his pen in the inkstand almost constantly. His pens he cuts himself. Buying a few long reeds or sedges, he cuts off, when needed, a piece about ten to fifteen centimeters in length, shapes it with a sharp knife, *mûs*, into a pen, splits it, and tries it on his thumb nail, and the writing instrument, *sâḳ*, is ready. *Šaḍra* is also pronounced *šaṭra*, corresponding to *šafra*. 3. *Ḳufl mafhûḳ*. The door lock in inner [414] Arabia is more like a bolt than a lock. It is usually made of wood and both barred and unbarred with a wooden key. The iron lock and iron key are found only in mercantile booths and storehouses. *Mafhûḳ*, used when speaking of locks as well as bolts — and also of the throat — means, properly, "forced backwards or forwards." 4. *Dabwa'* are young locusts whose wings are just growing. They are so numerous at times

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that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siž*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ḫfûḳ*. *Enḫafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḍf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *raṣa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

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272 and, as the cup is often as much as a meter below the pot, great dexterity is necessary in order not to spill a drop. But even the best pourer spills when jostled — whence the sayings: *"Čefâk al-ʿawḳ*, may Allâh save thee from an obstruction!" *"Čefâk aš-šerr*, may Allâh save thee from evil!" 20. *Arnâḳ* signifies anything that resembles a round grain, as, for instance, several kinds of spice, drops of water, etc. Instead of *ṣinijje* the poet uses the word *kursi*. 21. The coffee, very strong in itself, acquires through the addition of five different spices, as is the custom in the towns of inner Arabia, still more body and leaves on the cup a fine sediment, which the poet compares to red fringes, *šebrâḳ*, and to the blood of a heart, from which the main artery has been torn out, *maʿlûḳ*. 23. When he has drunk the strong coffee, he again [326] longs for his sweetheart, *ṛarw*. 24. *Šaʿûḳ* and (16) *ašʿâḳ* signify the grip of a sword or dagger, richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. In the larger towns of inner Arabia there are craftsmen, thorough artists in their work, who make to order such handles, often of wonderful beauty. 26. The ladylove laughs at one moment and cries the next. When she smiles her white teeth glisten. *Ḥâḳ* is the name for the quick flash of the lightning. 27. The calf of her leg [201] is well turned and firm. 28. The town dweller in inner Arabia stretches out his fingers when surprised. 30. Ǧwâd did not know whether to say *minn* or *min*, and was unable to explain what the word meant in this connection. *Ḍubbal* signifies the incisors, *min fowḳ*, of the upper row. 31. The poet's heart is agitated, as if the town crier or auctioneer had carried it about the market places, offering it for sale. *Mawsûḳ* has the same meaning as *maʿḥûḍ*, a captured or imprisoned one. The clerk Ǧwâd knew the Rwala dialect well and adapted himself to its pronunciation.

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12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Dṛejjem aẓ-Ẓulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Ḳna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Ḥâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Ḳuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Ḳna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Ǧlebba* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Ṭaḳḳ 'aṣijehom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *saḥâba* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

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The dry manure absorbs the baby's urine and excrements. In its second year the child gets a dark-blue shirt, *ṯwêb*, and its little head is covered with a hood, *ḳaba'*, tied with two cords, *'elṭa*, under the chin. Likewise shoes, *ḳzejme*, are put on its feet.

Every Rwejli carries a stick, as staffs are generally needed for directing the riding camels. These sticks are thin and about eighty centimeters long; they are called *meḫǧân* and are as a rule made by the Rwala themselves from strong saplings, preferably those cut from almond trees. One end is perforated and a strong cord tied into a sling pulled through the hole. The hand is then passed through the sling and the *meḫǧân* hangs from the wrist. The other, or thicker, end of the stick is carved into an ibis head to the length of about eight centimeters and a width of, say, three and a half centimeters. The *bâkûr* is a stick also provided with a cord at one end, the other being bent in a semicircle. The *maṭraḳ* is entirely straight. Both the *bâkûr* and *maṭraḳ* are bought from the peddlers; they are rattan, *ḫajzarâni*, sticks. The *ḳâna'* is a heavy cane about seventy centimeters long and ending in a knob. The *maslût* is a staff 1.2 meters long, stout but not too heavy. In the first third of its length it is perforated and a thin strap forming a sling is pulled through the hole; the staff hangs from the saddle by the sling. The *maḏrûb* closely resembles a *maslût* but is much stouter, heavier, and from the middle upwards visibly thicker. All three, *ḳana'*, *maslût*, and *maḏrûb*, are properly weapons.

SMOKING PIPES

Many Rwala — both men and women — are fond of smoking. Every smoker has a pipe. A man's pipe is called *sebîl*, a woman's *ṛaljûn*. The Rwejli either carves a *sebîl* himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsi. The *sebîl* is a one-piece pipe, forming an elbow. Its thinnest part is the horizontal mouthpiece, which is about nine centimeters long and is called the *ḏêl*. The angle of the elbow is named *ṭiz*; the vertical bowl about five centimeters long is the *râs*, and the inside the *baṭn*. The mouth of the bought *sebîl* is enclosed by a brass ring, *ṭowḳ*, from which hangs a chain, *sinsile*, with a brass cap, *ḳab'ijje*, to prevent the smoldering tobacco from falling out. A wire, *mibḫâš*, serves as the pipe

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276 cleaner. A chief shouts to his negro: "Fill my pipe, *'ammer li-s-sebîl*. Clean the pipe so that it will not clog, *ebḫaš as-sebîl lâ jinsedd*." A *ṛaljûn* consists of three parts: the pipe proper, *bûz*, a long wooden stem, *ḳṣuba*, and the mouthpiece, *maṣṣa*.

276 415 372 Both the tobacco and steel and tinder for lighting it the Bedouin carries in leather pouches known as *sfara* and *ṣifen* respectively. The flint is called *ṣalbûḫ*, the steel *zenâd*, and the tinder *ğadḫa*. The last the Bedouin either prepares himself from dry, powdered *šiḥ*, or *ḳuṭejn*, or buys from a merchant.

Poems Relating to Smoking

276 539x The pipe and the effects of smoking are mentioned in more than one poem. The first two verses of the following poem composed by Nimr eben 'Adwân are universally known, while the rest could be recited by a few only:

1. *Jâ šama'at aṣ-ṣubjân 'ammer lena-l-bûz*
   w-emlih min at-titen al-ṛwejri w-nâseh
2. *aḫejr 'endi min ḥebb kill mambûz*
   'aẓmen ṭwâl al-lejl jiṭred na'âse
3. *ma' delleten je'abba leha-l-hejl w-al-ğowz*
   w-'ašrîn 'ûden 'ârefin žijâseh
4. *ma' šât muṣlâḫen leha-l-'atel markûz*
   w-mzajjenen ḥabb al-leḳejmi elbâseh
5. *ja'ben ad-dasmîn aš-šwâreb hal-ar-rûz*
   fakkâkt al-maẓhûr jowm eḫtwâseh
6. *rab'i hal ar-raddâd mâ ẓarbehom hûz*
   čam wâḫeden min fe'lihom ṭâḥ râseh
7. *w-lâ hom mšâwert al-'aǧâjez hal al-kûz*
   alli maḥâčihom drûb an-neḳâṣe
8. *jâ rabb jâ-lli tenbet al-'ešeb ledrûz*
   lâ teǧma' al-fuẓẓa al-bâži naḫâse
9. *čam ḳâleten rollah wara-ṣ-ṣadr maknûz*
   w-tamzi w-hi bil-čabd miṭl al-ḫalâṣe.

1. O, merry youth! fill the damaged pipe for us,
   Fill it with tobacco from Ṛowr and give it here,
2. For dearer to me than the kisses of any full-hipped maid
   Is that little bone which in a long night drives away slumber.

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3. And, likewise, fill the pot into which cardamom, nutmeg,
And twenty fragrant stalks in the proper quantity are put.
4. Bring also a fat sheep, to hold which a caldron is put
on the fire,
A sheep to be wrapped in a garment garnished with
mouthfuls of grain.
5. Then with fat shine the mustaches of grave men,
Liberators of chattel-burdened camels found in the midst
of fighting.
6. My comrades can parry well, their blows are not feints.
How many have already lost their heads through their
deeds!
7. They consult not old women, nor are they engaged in
selling butter;
They are not men who talk only of satisfying carnal passion.
8. O Lord! O Thou who causest plants to grow also for Druses!
Take not the silver to thyself, leaving the world nothing
but worthless copper.
9. How many a calumny, causing pain when treasured up
in the breast,
Will vanish, and yet it dwelt in the heart as if it were
pure truth.

The reciter was Ǧwâd al-ʿÂni.

Verse 1. A short pipe, *sebûl*, often breaks at the elbow. If the peddler has no pipes for sale, the smoker provides for himself. The broken mouthpiece is replaced by a small thin bone which he fixes into the remnant of the pipe, tying it with leather and sewing it firmly together to prevent the smoke from escaping. A pipe thus repaired is called *bûz*. But the same name is given to the pipe bowl, while the small bone held in the mouth is called *ʿazm*, or *bizz*, or *bezz*. 2. *ʿAẓm al-bûz* is the bone piece held in the mouth. *Al-mambûz* is a woman broad in the hips and shoulders and with a slender waist, *umm ar-rdûf w-al-ktûf šetâjâha mambûzât*. 4. *Muṣlâḥ* is a conscientious herdsman whose flock does not suffer from hunger, therefore *šât muṣlâḥen* signifies a fat sheep. *ʿAtel* is a poetical expression for a large kettle, or *židr*. *Markûz*, placed, because a kettle is placed on three stones over the fire. *Ḥabb al-leḳejmi* is the dish of *ʿejš* prepared from grains of wheat; the eater takes small bits, *lokm*, in his fingers and wraps it around small pieces of meat. 6. *Hûz* means a jest, a feint in

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539 dueling. 7. *Kûz* is a pear-shaped earthen vessel, used for measuring butter. The men who sell butter are misers. The butter should be consumed in the tent.

Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd knew the first two verses. According to him, the second one runs as follows:

aladḏ w-aḥla min naba kill mambûz
'aẓmen towli jeṭred na'âse.

More pleasant and sweeter than the word sent by a full-hipped maid
Is the little bone which pleasantly repels slumber.

[824] Tumbac, *Nicotiana persica*, Lindl., is smoked in a water pipe by certain chiefs only. The common Rwala think that tumbac is injurious to the health and also stupefies the powers of observation. Often have I heard the verses:

Jâ šâreb at-tumbâk šârebk lâ ṭâl
ajjâk w-ajji wâḥeden ḥâl dûneh.

O thou who smokest tumbac! if thou smokest long,
Woe to thee and woe to me, for there is one who is drawing near.

Thus spoke a woman of the 'Aǧmân tribe, who camp on the Persian Gulf, to her husband, who could not, even at night-time, part with his water pipe, *narkîle*. Angered by this habit, she reminded him by that verse that she might find some one to take the place of the husband who loved nothing but his tumbac. No sooner had the Bedouin heard these words, than he threw the water pipe on the ground, seized his saber, and asked the woman to explain the verse. She hesitated at first, but, realizing that the husband was greatly excited, she said:

Šarrâbt at-tumbâk ma'hom fuẓa bâl
elja ṭâl šâreb wâḥeden jeḳaṣrûneh.

Those who smoke tumbac have a big heart,
If one smokes too much, he must be warned.

The man pondered over her words, became calmer, and promised not to smoke as much as before.

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The Rwala add to the last verse:

Jistâhel at-tumbâk miṯl eben haḍḍâl
alli jaṣurreh bimṭâni redûneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Haḍḍâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Haḍḍâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

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In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḫḫar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧnâd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *bzim*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwa'*, of a dagger, *šibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *npûb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṭ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *rašš*, and caps, *kubṣûn*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *karn aḍ-ḍaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḫawṣa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks.

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For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *aṣ-ṣam'*, *aš-šêhâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the

831* 539* with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels. 12. *"Jâ ẓejm ḥâli*, Oh, gone is my reason!" is the cry of one surprised or dazed by something. *Ẓeraf*, saucer or tray, was pronounced by Ǧwâd as *zeraf*. 14. *Mraffa'a* is a slender, delicate one. [276] *'Ûd al-mejs* is a sapling or sprig of the cherry tree, which grows wild in al-Belḳa', where the poet was camping. From these very flexible sprigs stems are made for smoking pipes known as *ṛaljûn*. 16. *E'reẓûneh* means, properly, "extend or stretch out the limbs" to enable the poet to see them better. [602] 17. *Ḳâni* is the name given by the 'Adwân to the kinsman whose duty is to avenge wrongs done to his kin. He who has no kinsman and thus no avenger is subject to all misfortunes, like a captured Moslem carried by the unbelievers to foreign lands.

1. *Jâ sîn jâ umm 'aḳâb jâ sîn jâ sîn*
   jâ miṯl 'anz ar-rîm temši waḥadha
2. *mâ la'ebat as-summejr bên al-ferîžên*
   w-lâ ḳaṭṭ ab-al-'amalât râwaz wa'adha
3. *w-lâ ǧarrat al-ṛaṭrûf bemiḏneb al-'ejn*
   w-lâ 'ala-l-ǧîrân tûmi bjadha
4. *ḥalaft ana w-allâh dînen baṭar dîn*
   w-ḥajât min hw beš-šwâber lakadha
5. *en šâfaten za'lân lâzem teraẓẓîn*
   miṯl aš-šefûḳ alli telahleh waladha
6. *ǧatni 'aṭa mâ seḳet biha meṭâmîn*
   šimet ḥamûle kill men ǧa' ḥamadha
7. *jâ 'aḳâb wa' ḥaẓẓi defentah benimrîn*
   bḥadd al-wa'ar jâ 'aḳâb bemustanadha
8. *'ejâli ṛadaw jâ 'aḳâb ḫamse ma' eḫwên*
   w-lâ žil 'ejni sâhera min reḳadha
9. *mâ hammani jâ 'aḳâb ṛejr alli wên*
   alli čema rîḥ al-ḫzêri ǧesadha
10. *mâ zâṛ ḳalbi 'an hawâha w-lâ al-'ên*
    w-en zaṛzaṛat 'ejni ǧazâha ramadha
11. *low ǧann banât al-bedw jâ 'aḳâb ṣaffên*
    jâ-ḫaj mâ-ḫoḏ ṛejr waẓḥa waḥadha.

1. Alas for my loss, O 'Aḳâb's mother, my loss!
   Alas for her, who like a white gazelle used to walk all alone!
2. She never took part in the amusement of *summejr* between the two camps,
   And not once did a gallant dare to ask her to a tryst.

539x depose. The Fed'ân favored the Wahhâbites more than the Šammar, as the reigning family of the Wahhâbites originated like themselves from the 'Aneze group, and Eben Bnejje was well known to many of them. 'Abdallâh knew that from the Fed'ân tribe he could expect no active help and that they tolerated him as their guest only.

Verse 1. *Amrâs* is the word used by the settlers for reins. 3. *Aṭ'âs* or *ṭu'ûs* are isolated conical sand hills projecting above the Nefûd desert, where at the time of our poem the Rwala, Weld Slejmân, and also many 'Amârât clans were camping, all being supporters of Eben Bnejje. All these were relatives of the Fed'ân, who had their interests at heart. 4. Ḥamme is a hillocky region of volcanic origin between the right bank of al-Ḫâbûr and the left bank of the Euphrates. 5. The Wahhâbites forbade the smoking of tobacco as being sinful, but 'Abdallâh smoked nevertheless, seeking consolation in his pipe. 6. *Šâwri* is a superior sort of yellow tobacco. 7. *Al-rûḥ* signifies the soul, life.

[276]

Lament of a Father for Two Sons Killed in Battle

1. *Hannejt ḳalben dâlehen mitl ṣanḳûr*
   mâ hammeh illa-ṭ-ṭâr w-alli šiḳâ beh
2. *mâ hammeh alli ḥaṭṭow al-'aṣr bekbûr*
   w-lâ bačeneh bîzen talâ'eğ 'aḏâbeh
3. *al-bâreḥa jowm al-ḥalâjež wara-d-dûr*
   ḥaṭîb jâ'ezni w-ḳalbi jehḏâ beh
4. *bičejt ana sâlem min al-ṛowš masṭûr*
   ḥowz al-menâja wâredeh mâ jehâ' beh
5. *elfen feda' sâlem w-elfen w-ṣanḳûr*
   w-lemhanna mâ je'added ḥasâbeh
6. *'abdal'azîz elja laḥež hw w-ṣâbûr*
   sawwa 'ala dâr al-ma'âdi zebâbeh
7. *jâ-llâh jâ ğâber 'aẓm kill maksûr*
   mâ li swâk min jedûr aṭ-ṭlâbe
8. *aḥeḏ ekẓâji min al-'eda mâ lijje ṣbûr*
   w-lâ-zenn anâm al-lejl w-ḥakki ṛadâ beh
9. *'alejk jâ-lli ta'lam al-ṛejb besrûr*
   aẓhart ḥakk ja'ḳûb min aḏ-ḏijâbe.

1. A demented heart I bless like that of Ṣanḳûr;
   Nothing he cares for but his drum and him who beats it.

539x Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârû* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Teḳel,* [231] instead of the correct *teḳûl,* "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Muwaffeḳîn al-ḫejr,* has the same meaning as *šâjefîn al-ḫejr,* perceiving luck. *Ṣu'lû* for *waṣṣelû* or *ṣelû,* "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Ṛowš,* or *'ejâl,* indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [415] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣandûḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjeẓû, waẓẓefû, waẓfû* or *ta'awwaḳû,* mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṛaljûn* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. *"Ḥûfû 'alejhen"* [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarâmîš al-ḫala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wâlmât.* 8. The road from al-Ğowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem saba'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjde is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifeï tribe.

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala.

The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥân as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazel.

The *kurṭa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Heǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ẓab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the aṭ-Ṭawîl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies.
224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena
262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is
825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round
751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of
278 the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink,
757 assuages fever.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

dug dens for himself and his numerous family. To the rest of his subjects he said nothing. When he used to come from his work into the assembly, his whole forehead was gray with dust and clay. His companions asked him: "What makes thy forehead gray?" "Constant praying, during which I touch the earth as is prescribed." One day the guards who had been posted on the boundary came running up, shouting: "The Arabs are approaching with dogs and weapons." *Abu ḥamad* and his family at once hid themselves in the dens which had been prepared, so that none of them perished.

The Rwala divide serpents into *ḥajje* and *dâbb*, the former being any short snake and the latter any long serpent, irrespective of whether it is venomous or not. In poetry the latter appellation is always used for venomous serpents. Of the short serpents they are afraid of the viper, *eṣâ'i*, which is found in the rocky desert, as well as of the *batra* and the *ḥaṣaf*, which live in the sandy desert. The latter crawl out only by night. During the daytime they dig themselves into the sand, so that the tips of their heads alone project.

Of the long serpents the *ḥanîš* is particularly venomous. It is one meter long, covered with patches of color, and swims in pools of rain water.

The skin shed by a serpent, *silb*, serves as a remedy for various diseases of the eye. The Rwala all eat the long serpents. The flesh of the short snakes they give to camels suffering from the disorder of the stomach known as *roši* and from caries, *rasis*.

The *ḥarḏawn*, chameleon, basks in sunny spots and nods its head at passers-by.

The *ab-aṭ-ṭḥejḥ* is smaller than the *ḥarḏawn*. It lives exclusively in the Nefûd, where it hides in the sand, leaving its head alone uncovered.

The *malaṣ*, a reptile similar to the *ḥarḏawn*, is found likewise in the Nefûd. It is spotted with red and black patches. Its flesh dried in the sun and ground to powder is eaten by impotent old men.

The *solejmâni* (or *ǧlejmâni*) and the *ḥabanaṣijje* are harmless lizards.

The *ba'erṣi* (or *brejṣi*) is a venomous lizard of the Nefûd. When a man is bitten by this lizard, he becomes very restless. He cannot remain in one place. If he is lying in the shade, he craves for the sun, and if he is carried into the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe; Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

fires and their hides[1] are cut up for water-bags, belts, and sandals.

In the grey of one morning I noticed a woman moving amongst the resting animals. Whenever she saw a female camel get up, she would hurry and catch the urine, for which she was waiting, in a bowl she carried for the purpose. The camel's urine smells sweetly of herbs and aromatic plants, it must be remembered. Returning to her tent, one side of which was open, I saw her gather the loose tresses of her little daughter's hair in her hand and dip them into this much-prized hair-wash. She then combed, parted and braided the damp black hair into the usual lovelocks. Again I saw her return to the camels; but suddenly she sat down. A moment later she rose again, threw away her bowl, and hurried back toward her tent, but collapsed before she had gone far. I sprang up and ran to her.

She said never a word as I tried to help her to her feet; she only withdrew her arms from my hold and cowered on the ground. Then I noticed that she was in labour. As there was no adult within hearing, I called to the woman's little girls to bring bedding and sheepskins. With these I made a couch for her, right among the camels, sent the children back to the tent, and planted myself as a screen before the woman with a sheepskin held over her. Thus she gave birth to her first son.

Presently her husband arrived and two slaves of Faris's. The father picked up the newly born babe, and the three men ran to a camel, kicked it in the hip to make it rise, and with their right hands continued to massage the beast's right flank until it let down urine. With this

1 - [Of Camels -- Analyst]

136 weak sight, but its sense of hearing and smell are excellent. The female protects her young with her horns.

The *baḳar al-maha* (or *baḳar al-waḥaš*), Beatrix antelope, attains the size of a one-year-old calf. It is white and has straight sharp horns, with which it defends itself against dogs. During the day it is most fond of frequenting the deep funnel-shaped pits of the sandy desert an-Nefûd. In the summer, when the Bedouins do not encamp in the Nefûd, it grazes quite freely even during the day, while in the rainy season it goes out to the pasture only at night and is very timid. If it is alarmed it will flee for a whole day without stopping. [224] Its sight is bad. A huntsman in a white shirt can approach to within gunshot of it if he advances against the wind behind a white horse or camel. The male is called *ṯôr*, the female [281] *bḳara*, the young *ʿeǧel*. Its flesh is very tasty. The skin is used for making water bags or coverings, and from the fat [293] skin at the back of the neck, known as *ʿarʿara*, the Bedouins sew gauntlets, *daraḳe*, for protecting the hand against saber wounds.

The *ẓbi*, gazelle, forms whole flocks, *ǧemîle*, in al-Ḥamâd, especially in the territory of al-Manâẓer on the southern border of Palmyrena. The male is called *tejs*, the female *ʿanz*, the young *ḫišf* (or *ṛazâl*). The gazelle is known as *rîm* if it is white, *ʿefri* if it is white beneath its belly and yellowish on its back, and *ḥemri* if it is of a pinkish tint.

224 The best gazelle hunters are the men of the Ṣlejb tribe. Their favorite method is to hunt in twos. One does the driving, *ḥawwâš*, the other the hunting, *ḳannâṣ*. The one who does the driving wraps skins, *ḥabbâǰât*, round his knees and elbows and crawls on them towards the flock of gazelles, endeavoring to drive them up to the hidden marksman. In a single day they capture ten to twenty gazelles.

In al-Manâẓer the gazelles are driven into extensive enclosures. A wall about one and a half meters high, shaped like a figure eight, is built of stone without mortar. The lower loop is only half finished. Where the two loops meet, a narrow opening, *ṭenijje* (or *ẓejž*), is left. At several places portions of the wall enclosing the upper loop are a little lower than the rest of the wall. At each of these places a hole two or three meters deep is dug outside the enclosure. The flock of gazelles is cautiously driven into the lower uncompleted loop. This is soon accomplished, because the two walls are about

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

415 kneading of dough; a *miswâṭ*, or large spoon for the mixing of foods; a *meṭ'ûbe*, or deep vessel provided with an outlet, from which one may drink and for use in measuring, *čêl*, butter.

The following vessels are of copper: *židr*, a large kettle with two rings by which it is carried and holding 80 liters; *ṭâse*, the same as a *židr* except that it holds only 20 liters; *ṭwâjse* (sic!), which holds 8 liters; *ṛallâje*, a small plate with a handle for the warming of butter; *saḥale*, a dish 20 centimeters in depth and 42 centimeters in width; *ṣaḥen* (or *ṣaḥn*), a large shallow pan for eating from (Fig. 29); a kettle always rests on three stones, *hawâdi*.

[492]

281 415

[492]

FIGS. 11, 12—Kenn litters.

The women also make various vessels of hide. They rub half the hide of a camel, *ṣafḥa*, with salt, *tamleḥha*, and dough prepared from wheat or barley flour, *tatmorha*. They then leave it for five to seven days rolled up in a shady place. Afterwards they scrape away the remains of the flesh and all the hair and, after stretching the hide, they lay it in a tanning mixture made of *arṭa* or *neǧib* roots. The former is collected by the women themselves, but the latter is bought. Finally they rub the prepared hide thoroughly with the marrow of camel's bones or with camel's fat, *widak*, and from it they cut out and stitch, *teḫarrezha*, water bags, *râwije* (pl., *rwâj*).

415 These bags resemble large knapsacks. In the two upper corners are stitched firm leather loops, *ḫruba*, midway between which is an opening about 20 centimeters in diameter, *famm*, through which the *râwije* is filled. When the bag has been filled, the hide is stretched over this opening and tied up. At the right lower corner there is left an outlet about two centimeters in diameter, around which is a stout piece of hide, *'ezle*. This outlet is stopped with a wooden peg, *'ûd*, and tied round with a thin string of camel's hair. Through the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

loops, *ḫruba*, are drawn coarse ropes, *'oṣob*, by which two *ruâj* are always tied to the camel's saddle, *mesâme*. A water bag of this kind will hold as much as 120 liters. Smaller water bags are known as *ḳrab*. A *žirbe kwejtijje* is made of oxhide and holds about 80 liters; a *žirbe baṛdâdijje* is made of a

Fig. 13—Ḳeus litters.

large goatskin and holds 60 liters; a *žirbe Šâmijje*, made at Damascus for the use of pilgrims, is likewise made of goatskin and holds 50 liters, while a *žirbe neǧdijje* (Fig. 19) of goatskin holds 40 liters. Smaller than the *žirbe* is the *ǧûd*, which will hold 20 liters of water and is carried by a single camel rider.

The *semîl* is a leather sack for sour milk. The *šakwa* is a small sack in which the herdsman keeps milk. The *ṣarf* or *naḫw* is a leather bag holding about 15 liters, in which dates or butter are kept. The *'ekka'* is a smaller bag which will hold 5 to 7 liters of butter.

The women also make buckets, *delw* (pl., *dli*), of hide. A bucket for 2 to 3 liters is called *ḳalaṣ*; a *ṣifra* contains 10 to 15 liters, and a *delw al-čebîr* 20 to 30 liters of water, so that two men are needed to draw it up.

The water trough, *ḥawz* (pl., *ḥijâṣ*) (Figs. 20, 21, 22) also made by the women, consists of a leather bowl, *ṭawra*,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

paid a visit to his uncle camping with the Šammar. The childless uncle meant to make him his heir, but the youth yearned for his comrades and after a stay of six days prepared to leave again.

Verse 1. *Wsaḳ* means the same as *šidd*, "to saddle a camel." *Dirt al-warč* means "the rider crossing his legs above

FIGS. 47, 48—Riding camels.

the knees." 2. *Ḳalaṣ* is a leather bucket holding about six liters, such as the raiders take with them. Some camels drink only when there is still plenty of water in the bucket and stop as soon as their lips touch the bottom. *Afarrah* (for *aṭarrah*) means "to be urged to drink with the sounds *ṭerr ṭerr!*" *Žwâ'ed* are saddle covers made of the skin of the black Neǧd goat, which has long, fine, slightly curly hair. The skin is tanned without the hair being taken off; this is clipped short and holes for both the front and back saddle knobs are made; it is then hemmed and laid on the saddle with the hair uppermost. When watered the she-camels crowd so that their saddles touch. 3. The *ḳaṭa'* sand grouse nests on small patches of flat ground in hilly country, *ḥazm*. It sits quietly till the rider comes near, when it flies up suddenly, striking the eggs with its legs and thus disturbing them. Its flight is very noisy, somewhat resembling the sound of the word *ṭerr*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarîm*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

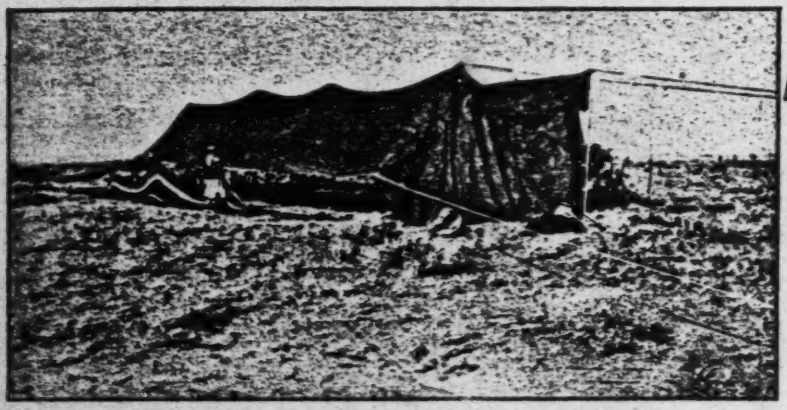
FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efehḳû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *murtači*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meẓ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥež*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jesnčče'* (or *jinûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalži 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minǧeda'*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

against the back wall. The sacks are either black, made of goat's hair, *ḫaras*, or gray, made of wool and camel's hair, *'edel*, and there are also colored ones woven by the Rwala women and known as *ṭaffârijje*. 353 415 286



[342]

FIG. 9—Pitching a tent: attaching the rear wall.

The spindle, *merzel*, is shaped like a four-pointed star measuring nine centimeters in diameter and provided with an opening in the center. From this there projects the end of a pole, *'ûd*, 35 centimeters long, in which a small iron hook, *sunnâra*, is passed. The woman who spins takes the camel's hair or sheep's wool under her right armpit, while with her left hand she twists a thread about thirty centimeters long, ties it to the lower part of the spindle pole, and thrusts in under the hook. Then she raises her left knee and, placing the lower end of the pole upon it, twirls the spindle on her knee with the palm of her left hand, while with the fingers of her right hand she winds the thread. This, running through the hook, is now twined around the whirling pole, which once again has been allowed to hang freely. If the movement of the spindle gives out, it is set whirling again in the same manner. The women do their spinning while riding on camels and also while marching on foot. They keep the wool or camel's hair either in their laps or in their bosoms. If they wish to have a stronger thread, they weave two or three prepared threads together on the spindle. 283

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṭw*, the names of the dif- ooo

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 of the pole passes]; sew a strip of coarse goat's hair, *ṭarâǰež*,
286 along the edges of the tent; at the end of these *ṭarâǰež* sew (Fig. 3)[5] on leather loops, *ḫurb* (*l*)[6], fastened to strong pegs [about ten centimeters in length]; through the leather loops draw and hook the ropes, both those which hold the tent on its long sides, *aṭnâb* (*h*), as well as those which hold it on the short sides [of which the front rope is known as *ǰad* (*i*), the back one as *riǧel* (*k*)]; *ḥoṭṭen aṭnâb ḥoṭṭen idên w-riǧlên*. Turn down as a hem the upper edge of the back wall, *rwâḳ* (*f*), and sew on this hem [which is about ten centimeters broad], *maḫalla*, a strong thread, *ǧerîr*, in order that it may be fastened by means of strong pins, *ḫella*; to the lower edge of the *rwâḳ* sew on a strip of inferior material [about fifty centimeters broad], *sefle*; to both the short sides [for a distance of fifty centimeters from the edge] sew on pieces of lighter tent material [about a meter and a half long]." This border strengthened to a breadth of fifty centimeters is known as *'amâra*, and the material which is sown forms the side wall, *ruffa* (*d*).

342 When the tent is to be pitched, its owner calls out to his
284 sons, servants, slaves, or women: "Spread out the tent, *ṭellû al-bejt* (Fig. 4); extend all the ropes, *maṛṛeṭû al-aṭnâb*; drive in the pegs with a wooden mallet, *eṭebṭû* (sic) *al-awtâd bel-mîǧema* (Figs. 5, 6); wind the ropes round the pegs; tighten the ropes, *ekrebû*, at the front, *al-meždem*, at the back, *ḳafa'*, and at the sides, *česer*, by loosening their ends in the loops, *ḫruba*, drawing them taut, and securing them, *'alîṭ* or *'aljeṭ* (Fig. 3, *m*); prop the poles up, *'emdân* (Figs. 7, 8), first those in the front on the side away from the wind, *esemkû al-mežâdîm* (Fig. 3, *a*), then the main pole, *esemkû al-wâseṭ* (*b*), thrusting it into the *ḳoṭb* opening in the middle of the tent, and finally the two poles at the rear corners, *česer* (*c*); when all the poles are standing, tighten all the ropes, *kırrebû al-aṭnâb*; attach the back wall to the windward side (Fig. 9) with iron pins, *rawwežû al-bejt*, and peg its lower part, *sefle*, down to the ground so that the wind may not lift it; do the same also with the side walls, *ruffa*; from the main pole and from two loops sewn on the edges of a *ṭarîḳa* strip hang a central
342 partition, *ḳâṭe'a*." This dividing partition, 1.6 meters high,
592 cuts the tent into two compartments, the right-hand one

[5] This figure represents my large tent of the kind used by the 'Aǧejl camel traders. Its rear wall and pegs differ from those of the common Rwala tent.

[6] In the following descriptions of the tent the text letters refer to Fig. 3.

CHAPTER IV

THE TENT AND ITS FURNISHINGS

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT

The tent is made of pieces of coarse black cloth known as *šuḳḳa* (pl., *šḳaḳ*). The *šuḳḳa* is usually 60 to 70 centimeters broad and 15 to 60 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 to 45.6 meters) long. The tent cloth is woven either of pure black goat's hair — both the heavy variety, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, and the light, *nôl*, being used — or else of cotton, with which only a small amount of goat's hair is blended, this being called *kumbok*. The weaving of tent material is carried on by many inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the Rwala buy it from itinerant traders, Rḥejbâwijjât or Kbejsât, or from those who make it. An ordinary tent with one main pole, which is about twelve meters long and nearly four meters broad, requires at least eight *šḳaḳ*, each 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) in length. If they are of pure goat's hair, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, 1 *šuḳḳa* costs 8 *meǧîdijjât* ($7.20); if they are of *kumbok*, a *šuḳḳa* costs 3 *meǧîdijjât* ($2.70); a *šuḳḳa* of *nôl* costs 5 *meǧîdijjât* ($4.50). The back wall, *rwâḳ*, of such a tent costs 3 *meǧîdijjât*; the lower part, *seḍle*, of it, 1 *meǧîdijje* (90 cents); 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) of a narrow strip of goat's hair for strengthening the tent material, *ṭarâjež*, costs 2 *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80); two poles cost 9 piasters (40½ cents); and then there are the ropes, sold by weight: 1 *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) for 13 piasters (58½ cents). Thus the smallest tent made of heavy goat's hair costs at least 33 *meǧîdijjât* ($ 29.70). Every four years, or five years at the most, a new tent has to be set up.

When a man has bought the tent material, he hands it over to the women, who sew the tent under the supervision of an experienced old woman. The old woman gives the following directions: "Draw the separate pieces, *šḳaḳ*, close together, *ṣaffenhen*; sew them with coarse threads of goat's hair, *ḥajjeṭenhen*; in the middle sew on the *ḳoṭb* [a small round board measuring about ten centimeters in diameter and having in

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 286 of the pole passes]; sew a strip of coarse goat's hair, *ṭarâǰež*, along the edges of the tent; at the end of these *ṭarâǰež* sew (Fig. 3)[5] on leather loops, *ḫurb* (*l*)[6], fastened to strong pegs [about ten centimeters in length]; through the leather loops draw and hook the ropes, both those which hold the tent on its long sides, *aṭnâb* (*h*), as well as those which hold it on the short sides [of which the front rope is known as *ǰad* (*i*), the back one as *riǧel* (*k*)]; *ḥoṭṭen aṭnâb ḥoṭṭen ʻalên w-riǧlên*. Turn down as a hem the upper edge of the back wall, *rwâḳ* (*f*), and sew on this hem [which is about ten centimeters broad], *maḫalla*, a strong thread, *ǧerîr*, in order that it may be fastened by means of strong pins, *ḫella*; to the lower edge of the *rwâḳ* sew on a strip of inferior material [about fifty centimeters broad], *sefle*; to both the short sides [for a distance of fifty centimeters from the edge] sew on pieces of lighter tent material [about a meter and a half long]." This border strengthened to a breadth of fifty centimeters is known as *ʻamâra*, and the material which is sown forms the side wall, *ruffa* (*d*).

342 284 When the tent is to be pitched, its owner calls out to his sons, servants, slaves, or women: "Spread out the tent, *ʻellû al-bejt* (Fig. 4); extend all the ropes, *marreṭû al-aṭnâb*; drive in the pegs with a wooden mallet, *eṭebṭû* (sic) *al-awtâd bel-miǧema* (Figs. 5, 6); wind the ropes round the pegs; tighten the ropes, *ekrebû*, at the front, *al-meždem*, at the back, *ḳafaʻ*, and at the sides, *česer*, by loosening their ends in the loops, *ḫruba*, drawing them taut, and securing them, *ʻalîṭ* or *ʻaljeṭ* (Fig. 3, *m*); prop the poles up, *ʻemdân* (Figs. 7, 8), first those in the front on the side away from the wind, *esemkû al-mežâdîm* (Fig. 3, *a*), then the main pole, *esemkû al-wâseṭ* (*b*), thrusting it into the *ḳoṭb* opening in the middle of the tent, and finally the two poles at the rear corners, *česer* (*c*); when all the poles are standing, tighten all the ropes, *karrebû al-aṭnâb*; attach the back wall to the windward side (Fig. 9) with iron pins, *rawweżû al-bejt*, and peg its lower part, *sefle*, down to the ground so that the wind may not lift it; do the same also with the side walls, *ruffa*; from the main pole and from two loops sewn on the edges of a *ṭarîḳa* strip hang a central partition, *ḳâṭeʻa*." This dividing partition, 1.6 meters high, cuts the tent into two compartments, the right-hand one

342 592

[5] This figure represents my large tent of the kind used by the ʻAǰejl camel traders. Its rear wall and pegs differ from those of the common Rwala tent.

[6] In the following descriptions of the tent the text letters refer to Fig. 3.

342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarîm*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efehkû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *murtači*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meẓ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥež*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jeẓâčče'* (or *jinûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalši 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minǧeda'*.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

against the back wall. The sacks are either black, made of goat's hair, *ḥaraṣ*, or gray, made of wool and camel's hair, *'edel*, and there are also colored ones woven by the Rwala women and known as *ṣaffârijje*.

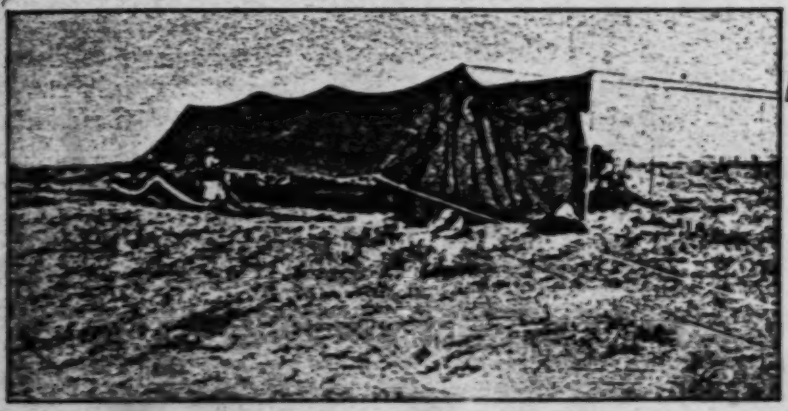


FIG. 9—Pitching a tent: attaching the rear wall.

The spindle, *merzel*, is shaped like a four-pointed star measuring nine centimeters in diameter and provided with an opening in the center. From this there projects the end of a pole, *'ûd*, 35 centimeters long, in which a small iron hook, *sunnâra*, is passed. The woman who spins takes the camel's hair or sheep's wool under her right armpit, while with her left hand she twists a thread about thirty centimeters long, ties it to the lower part of the spindle pole, and thrusts in under the hook. Then she raises her left knee and, placing the lower end of the pole upon it, twirls the spindle on her knee with the palm of her left hand, while with the fingers of her right hand she winds the thread. This, running through the hook, is now twined around the whirling pole, which once again has been allowed to hang freely. If the movement of the spindle gives out, it is set whirling again in the same manner. The women do their spinning while riding on camels and also while marching on foot. They keep the wool or camel's hair either in their laps or in their bosoms. If they wish to have a stronger thread, they weave two or three prepared threads together on the spindle.

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṣṣ*, the names of the dif-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṯw*, the names of the different parts of which as shown in Fig. 10 are: *a, râs an-naṯw; b, sida'; c, ḫafa'; d, nira; e, 'ûd an-nira; f, minšâz; g, 'âžba* (or *leḥama*); *k, minša'; h, ḫatwa; j, ḳâ'a; l, ëiṣa.*

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FIG. 10—A loom, *naṯw*.

The best silk kerchiefs and garments are kept in a small box, *ṣandûḳ*, which has a thin lining of tin.

By the side wall are placed the litters, either *žetab* or *ḳenn*, and the saddle bags with brightly colored trappings and long tassels, *mezwede*.

The *ḳenn* (pl., *ḳnene*) litters (Figs. 11, 12, 13) resemble rectangular cages, narrower at the bottom, and are made of wooden poles. The main poles forming the frame are called *'aṣjân* (Fig. 11, *c*), the four cross poles joining the main poles are called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*), and the vertical pole which strengthens the two back cross poles in the middle and terminates in a wooden knob is called *rwê'i* (*a*). The *ḳenn* is fastened to the saddle known as *bedd* (or *wiṭr*) (*d*).

[531]

The *žetab* litters (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) are decorated in the most splendid manner. On the back of the camel is placed a saddle known as *wiṭr*, reinforced with cushions, *bdûda*. Upon these rest two pairs of wooden ribs, *ẓlâf* (Fig. 14, *f*), each terminating in a cone, *rwê'i* (*a, j*). Two pairs of flexible poles, *'aṣfûr* (*d*) and *ža'ade* (*g*), each more than 5.5 meters long,

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Amir Nuri Sha'lan, Supreme Chief of the Ruala

opposite page 32

It Rasrwan T-3 (2913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Dubiya, a Friend of Talitha

Mawia, a Friend of Talitha

Attala, the Mother of Faris

Talitha

opposite page 33

It Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

like a wave of sound—eerie, magic, beautiful. In the darkness loomed the indistinct figures of the camels; now and then only was heard the faint padding of soft soles, or the creak of a saddle. Thus, like riders from another world, we made our noiseless way among the hills, till dawn broke over them and at last the sun rose. 726

Slender, silver chains, braided girths, and coloured halters, embroidered with blue and red beads, adorned the necks and flanks of our camels. At their sides cantered the riderless mares, necks gently arched, supple backs taut, tails high—held only by the gay-coloured top-piece of the woollen headgear; for the Bedouins of Arabia, in contrast to the African, use neither bit nor bridle. The thin saddle-cloths were made of panther or gazelle skins, secured by a narrow leather girth. [492]

Like wildcats, with glittering eyes and taut muscles, the companion-riders crouched behind their comrades on the high humps of the camels, carbines at the ready. From their shoulders floated the ends of their *kaffiyahs*, which they wore wound about head and neck. [291]

In the early afternoon, Faris, riding at our head in the midst of his black bodyguard, gave the signal to change mounts; he had seen a dust cloud which, it appeared, was caused by two automobiles now approaching rapidly.

In the twinkling of an eye, sixty-seven fierce fellows had flung themselves, rifle in hand, from their trotting dromedaries to the backs of their mares and had unslipped the lines from the camel-girths. Then they dug their bare heels into their horses' flanks, and leaving the camel-troop behind, forged ahead and were lost in a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

622 563 by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

281 342 563 [291] One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

000 Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe; Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

224 We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

splendid figures, and they walked straight, with swaying hips, even under the heavy loads they carried. The long trains of their blue gowns trailed behind them on the sand, but the front was gathered high enough—but only just high enough—about a hand's breadth—to give them freedom in walking.

Eleven days of leisurely travelling brought us next to al-Khor, low-lying country pitted with rain pools, south of the Jabal Enaza. There Faris and I parted from our fellow travellers and rode westward to the boundary of the Hamad (gravel steppe) and the Harra (flint desert), making for a *wadi* in the neighbourhood of the Jabal Umm Wual. Darkness fell upon us in the lowlands, but on the higher levels of the Harra enough daylight lingered for us to see ahead. I pulled up Maha, for a fairy scene was spread out before me—the encampment of the Ruala at evening.

After seeing nothing but the empty wilderness, day after day and weeks on end—nothing but the sky and solitude—there suddenly appeared to us a city of tents! Smoke rose from thousands of black dwellings, and in between, large camel-herds, hundreds of them, were wending their way home.

At last we were at home again. Seven hundred and fifty miles in the saddle lay behind us, through the virgin desert of the Hamad and the Nufud; and I had brought back a priceless store of unforgettable memories.

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Front and Profile Views of Faris ibn Nuaf, Shammar Chief

following page 80

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Raswan in Desert Robes

Following page 96

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Bedouin Boy with "Horn" Headdress

Note the Heavy Robes of the Women and Children

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Mawia Climbing into Camel-Litter

opposite page 97

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

ritory had not entered their minds. Only our black or brown herder's coats betrayed us on closer view as possible foes.

We thanked our lucky stars for this error which had saved our lives and sent the robbers on their way unmolested, but without arms and ammunition. The wounded man we carried with us to the camp of Ibn Meheyd.

Before they left us, these fellows had the impudence to ask us to make a detour and take them into the neighbourhood of a Saba camp which they intended to raid. Incorrigible rogues!

"But the Saba are your allies!" I cried out, astonished.

"What of that?" answered the leader. "Thou are *gûm* (enemy) of the Saba."

"Magnanimous Duleym!" said Mijhem ironically, "thou art in error; we are on a peace mission."

"Allah! How fastidious art thou!" responded the man, with equal irony, and turned his back on us.

Our head-cloths fluttered in the wind as we raced on again over the undulating plain. Small groups of riders on camels and on horses appeared from time to time. They stood still as we passed, observing us from a distance.

We had also noticed three automobiles which held a course parallel to ours for some distance, but disappeared now and again behind a hill or in some depression. After one such disappearance, they reappeared much nearer to us. We halted and signalled to the motorists. They

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Amir Fuaz ibn Nauaf An-Nuri, Mounted on His War-Mare, Shiha

Following p. 128(b)

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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The Mejlis, Council of Men. Here, as Always, the Ever-Present Black Coffee Is Served

following page 144(a)

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 A luxuriant growth of perennials in the autumn is a sure
137 sign that the particular district has been visited by good *ṣejfi* rains, whence the saying: "O that lovely little gazelle! it will eat its fill of the autumn pasture after the summer rain; *jâ 'ajn al-ɫšejf tar'-al-ḥelfi 'oḳb aṣ-ṣejfi.*" Abundant summer
[312] rain also fills both the natural and artificial reservoirs, but such water soon swarms with frogs, *daṛâliṣ*, and all kinds of worms, which render it foul-smelling and undrinkable in a short time.

PRAYERS FOR RAIN

539[a] If the earth does not receive abundant autumnal rain, the danger of a failure of the pasture, *maḥal* (or *muḥṭi*),
789 arises. In order to prevent it, the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of the rain (Fig. 1). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession, which wanders from tent to tent singing:

1. *Jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   belli bšejt râ'ina
2. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min al-maṭaṛ ešžina
3. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min midd allâh meddina
4. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭina*
   min al-wabel enṭina.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Vet the mantle of our herdsman.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Vith pouring rain allay our thirst.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
From Allâh's measure measure out to us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
A real flood let our share be.

Verse 1. *Ṛejṭ* signifies a rain of at least four days' duration
[291] extending over a vast region. *Bšejt* is a cheap gray cloak made of wool or cotton waste. 2. The girls gradually increase their prayers for rain. At first they want the rain only to wet the herdsman's mantle; then they pray for a downpour, *maṭar*,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarîm*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efeḥkû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *murtaḳi*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meẓ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥeẓ*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jesṭôče'* (or *jinûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalṭi 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem n[illegible]jeda'*.

302 it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos,
515 refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a
825 peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids
302 it, *telemm raṣah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *ḳuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḏâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *ḳuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *žiḏle*, *'erf*. or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ḳa'-ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

832 Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a
302 woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telahha' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧik al-manḳûše*."

304 Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *nûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *dakk al-wšâm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *mín šân zerûfa*.

291 Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gazelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *ruseǧai*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *ma'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ǧowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in a lappet more than a meter long, *ṯowb mrawdan*. When walking or working, the man ties the sleeves behind his neck; when riding he lets them hang down loosely. On the breast the shirt is opened, *ǧejb*, to be fastened below the throat by a button or a cord sewn to the shirt. A *ṯowb* has no collar, but is sometimes ornamented with blue, red, and black embroidery around the neck and on the breast.

A well-to-do Rwejli puts on over the *ṯowb* a garment called *zebûn* (pl., *zebnât*) made of light material, never of cloth. This resembles our shirt, except that it reaches to the ankles, has no collar, is open the whole length of the front, and is provided with wide sleeves overlapping the hand by about ten centimeters. The sleeves are slit open at the ends for about fifteen centimeters, lined with dark-red material to the same extent, and then folded back, *ḳallâba*, so that the lining is exposed. The ends of the sleeves, both the slits, and the edges around the neck and on the breast are bordered with a colored cord, *ḥerǧ*, which ends below the chin in two small strings, *ḳrân*. At the tail the material is turned up to the width of about two fingers, *ḳejṭân*. On the breast and at the hips of the *zebûn* two inside pockets, *maḥba* (pl., *maḥâbi*), are sewn on. The *zebûn*, if made of white linen without a lining, is called *ṣâje*; if made of white linen with a lining it is called *zebûn bêḍa*; if of black half-silk with yellow stripes it is called *mejdâni*; if of pure silk with variegated stripes it is called *amar*; and if of cotton with variegated stripes it is called *dîma*.

Both *ṯowb* and *zebûn* are fastened to the body by a leather or woollen belt, *maḥzam*, of about a hand's breadth.

A man covers his head with a round cap woven of rough wool or camel's hair, *ṭâḳijje*, on top of which he lays a kerchief about 1.2 meters long and 1.15 meters wide. Folding it at first like a triangle, he throws the middle lappet, *ḏîl*, back over his shoulder, arranges the outside ones, *riǧlên*, with both his right and left hands to an equal length, and then pulls the headcloth over the middle of his forehead. Most of the time the Rwejli wears cotton kerchiefs of some dark color, *mindîl*, seldom of pure white, *ḳṣêṣa*. A *mindîl* woven of red and black threads is called *ḥammarijje*; a black *mindîl* shot with red is a *hendijje*; one with variegated dots is a *stambûlijje*. *Homṣi* is the name of a *mindîl* with yellow or pink stripes; *ḥmâr*, of a blue or red checkered one. A *ḳṣêṣa*, or white kerchief with a red or blue border and short fringe, *hadab*, is called

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

291 *ḥâšije*. A silken kerchief is called *maḳrûna*; if interwoven with silver threads, it is known as a *mḳaṣṣaba*. Most popular of all is a dark-blue *maḳrûna* or a violet one shot with red. [292] A pure white *maḳrûna* is worn by the chief alone and that only on festive occasions. As soon as it becomes soiled, the chief gives it to a negro. The kerchief is not tied to the head, but merely fastened with a cord about one inch thick made of wool or camel's hair and wrapped double around the forehead and the skull, *'aṣâba*. The lappets are crossed under the chin and pulled through under the *'aṣâba*, so that they project above the forehead like two small horns. A man who has the lappets of the kerchief, *riǧlên*, crossed under the chin, is known as *mutalaṯṯam*. If he does not wish to be recognized, he simply pulls them up above his chin, even over the nose, so that only his eyes are uncovered. Whoever meets a man thus disguised, shouts: "Remove the curtain, so that I can recognize thee; *fukk al-luṯma ḥatt-a'refk*."

The most important part of a man's dress is the cloak, *'abe'*. It is made from two pieces, each 2.5 meters long and 60 centimeters wide. These are sewn together along their long sides; the narrow edges are folded, and their upper ends also sewn together. In the two folds at the top, which are about sixty centimeters broad, holes are cut about fifty centimeters long. The cloak is then thrown over the shoulders and the hands thrust through the holes. Around the neck and along [531] the breast the mantle is often embroidered, or a strip woven of yellow and gold threads is added. A light-gray mantle shot with yellow is called *bišt*; a light-gray one made of fine wool is a *ǧâǧije*; a light-gray one of half cotton is a *lûmijje*; one of medium weight with long white and dark-gray stripes about ten centimeters wide is a *mabaddaḥa*; one of the same color but made of good wool is a *rḥejbdawijje*; one of good wool with white and reddish stripes is a *se'dânijje*; a good woollen one with white and dark-brown stripes and ornamented at the neck and above the shoulders is a *ḥasawijje*; one of good wool or camel's hair, not striped, of a plain color (generally black or brown) shot with pink is a *merwi*. The inhabitants of the oasis of al-Gowf manufacture mantles of the *bišt* (Fig. 33) and *merwi* varieties.

In the winter time a sheepskin coat, *ferwe*, is worn by the Rwejli instead of the mantle. If it covers only the breast, it is called *ebṭijje*. A *ǧarrâǧijje* is a sheepskin coat of white

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

wool dyed with henna, unlined and reaching to the abdomen. 291
A *ḫajjâlijje* is made of the same material but lined with cloth, *mḳabbaba*, and undyed. A *baḳdalijje* covers the hips also, has sleeves falling fifty centimeters below the hands,

Fig. 33—A Bedouin dressed in a bišt.

and is made of good skins, is usually black and lined with darkblue cloth. It is also provided with clasps below the neck and on the breast.

In warm weather the Rwejli either goes barefoot by preference or ties around his heel and big toe a sole cut from undressed camel's hide, *na'al*. The herdsmen wear a low shoe made of rough leather, *zerbûl*, with a thick sole, *na'al* (or *ḫeḍḍa*), a stiff instep, *ḫawra*, a low and wide heel, *'akbîjje*, and clasps, *ḫeḍḍa*, for tightening the shoe. The Rwala

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

291 wrap the feet around with rags, *ḥaśwa* (pl., *ḥaśāwi*). The young chiefs buy shoes, *ṣurmâje*, of the kind worn in the towns. The riders wear boots of fine red leather, *žazme* (or *ǧazme*), with high shoe irons made of rolled sheet iron, *ḥaḏw*. The best of all are the *žazme ḥalabijje* (Aleppan *žazme*); the cheaper kind is called *nisoṣnijje* and is generally of a yellow color. *Žazme* reaching to the knees are called *rabbâṭijje*.

Those who can afford it buy a short coat, not unlike our waistcoat, made of a many-colored thin cloth, either unlined, *nuṣṣijje*, or lined, *derfil*.

291 511 The yearly expenditure of a common Rwejli for his clothing is as follows:

ḥaḥw, body belt	½	*meǧidijje*	($0.22½)
ṣowb, shirt	1	"	("0.90)
zebûn, outer shirt	1	"	("0.90)
maḥzam, outer belt	¼	"	("0.22½)
ṭâḳijje, cap	¼	"	("0.22½)
mindîl, kerchief	¼	"	("0.22½)
'aṣâba, kerchief cord	¼	"	("0.22½)
'abe', mantle	3	*meǧidijjât*	("2.70)
farwe, fur coat	3	"	("2.70)
serbâl, shoes	1	*meǧidijje*	("0.90)
Total	10½	*meǧidijjât*	($9.22½).

In addition to this his *obṭijje*, short fur coat, costs him 1½–2 *meǧidijjât* ($1.35–$1.80), his *ḳubṣa*, white kerchief, ¼ *meǧidijje* (22½ cents), and his *nuṣṣijje*, short coat, ½ *meǧidijje* (45 cents).

291 In winter the Rwejli puts on all the clothes he has, thinking that otherwise he would never get warm. A proverb says: "He who does not put on heavy clothing will not get warm by carrying it, *elli mâ jeṭaššel mâ jemaššel*."

WOMEN'S CLOTHES

A woman (Fig. 34) wears a dark-blue shirt or dress, *ṣowb aswad*, with broad sleeves ending in a long lappet. The shirt fits close to the neck and is about one meter longer than the wearer. Nearly every woman sews it herself, two pieces, *bejrumtên*, of cotton fabric each eight *ǧrâ'* (6 meters) long being necessary for a shirt. The ordinary fabric is called *mastûn*, the better sort *abu ruṣṣe*. A woman's shirt is without any decoration. It is held to the body by a broad belt

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

woven of red and black cotton or woollen threads and called *ḥwêḥi*. At the front the woman tucks up the long shirt under the belt so that her ankles are free, forming the shirt into a kind of a skirt, *ḥṭûl*. Her head she wraps in a large dark ker- 291

FIG. 34—Rwala women.

chief, *makrâna*. This she folds in the middle into a triangle. Holding the left lappet to her left cheek, she throws the kerchief over her head in such a way that the middle lappet falls on her back; the right lappet she then passes under the chin, covers with it the left lappet on the left cheek, and folds it over her head again, making it hang down the right side of the face. Then she folds a *mindîl*, or dark cotton kerchief, into a band about five centimeters wide and winds it around the *makrâna*, or large kerchief, on her head and forehead. In place of the ordinary *mindîl* she may use a band of some fine material, such a band being called *ṣafa'a* (or *mer'ez*), or a *ḥrejja* of fabric so loosely woven that it may be stretched as if it were crochet work. The wrap made from these finer goods is called *ḥiffa*.

A woman's cloak is made like a man's, except that it never has the long stripes and is either black or dark-brown *mezzé*.

The wealthy Rwejllijje wears a short jacket of blue cloth 292
with narrow turned-in sleeves. This is called a *ǧibbe*. Good

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

wad slightly, they touch the *kohl*, which is kept in a tiny tin box, *mikhale*, and then rub the color along the borders of the eyelids, believing that the use of *kohl* strengthens the eyesight. Many therefore even rub *kohl* on the edges of a telescope, being firmly convinced that the instrument then gives a much better view.

The woman's dress costs:

barim, body belt	½	*mejidijje*	($ 0.22½)
jeab, shirt	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
ḥedhi, belt	½	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
mahrâma, kerchief	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
ḥitfa, head band	½	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
jibbe, jacket	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
merwi, cloak	3	*mejidijjât*	(" 2.70)
mahnaka, coral necklace	4	piasters	(" 0.18)
ielâda, pendant	4	"	(" 0.18)
mu'dzed, elbow ornaments	4	"	(" 0.18)
fatha, finger ring	4	"	(" 0.18)
zmâm, nostril ring	½	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
Total	10	*mejidijjât*, 16 piasters	($ 9.72).

PEDDLERS; CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE; INFANTS; STAFFS AND CANES

Whatever the Rwala need for their finery and ornaments they either buy from the merchants who visit them when they are camping in the settled territory in the months of July and August, or from the peddlers, who accompany them the whole year through, even going to the inner desert with them. A peddler or wandering merchant is called either Rhejbâwi or Kubejsi: Rhejbâwi after the ancient town of ar-Rahba, Kubejsi after his native place, the little town of al-Kubejsa. The terms Rhejbâwi and Kubejsi have come to mean any wandering seller of textiles or general merchandise and are now applied even to merchants known to hail from other places. Thus a peddler from Bagdad is called a Rhejbâwi Bagdâdi or Kubejsi Bagdâdi. When a youth overfond of dress, *dîḥân*, visits a wandering merchant to be measured for a suit of clothes, he gives his order in the words of the ancient verse: "Measure me, O merchant! for a shirt with long sleeves, measure me, O merchant! O Rhejbâwi! *Kaggel li jâ tâjer ṣâfi erdâni kaggel li jâ tâjer jâ rhejbâwi.*"

291 554 Some say: "The clothes are the wings of the descendants of Adam, *al-hdûm ǧenâḥ beni âdam*," as people always consider a well-dressed man something better than he really is. Others again claim that the clothes do not add to a man's good qualities. "A good man will be good even if on rising from bed (he has nothing on but his shirt), while a scamp will be a scamp even if he scrubs himself with soap; *az-zên zên low ḳa'ad min manâmeh aš-šên šên low taṛassal beṣ-ṣâbûn.*"

291 832 A maiden suing for a youth's favor is careful of her appearance and dresses to the best of her ability, but as soon as she knows herself to be loved she cares no more for dressing finely and thinks only of her lover's qualities. A popular ditty says:

W-allâh ǧâ ǧerd larmîk w-albes ǧedîd
ajj al-ǧedîd w-ajj al-ǧerdi
ilja šuft az-zên 'aḳli jerdi
eḳrûn aš-šowḳ rumḥ as-serdi.

By Allâh, I shall cast thee aside, old dress, and put on a new one.
But which is the new and which the old?
If I see a noble youth, my judgment is gone,
For has not my beloved plaits as long as a spear carried by the Serdijje?

291 At home in his tent the man can leave off his cloak, *'aba'*, or his sheepskin coat, *farwa*, or he can go, as the saying is, in a dress below his belt, *behdûm al-maḥzam*; outside, however, he must not appear in that condition, for that would be an offence against common decency. If a traveler arrives without his mantle or sheepskin coat, he makes it known either that he has been robbed or has lost those articles. In dangerous districts a Rwejli will only loosen his belt in the evening and will go to bed fully dressed. Elsewhere he sleeps either in his shirt or even naked, merely wrapped in his mantle. If suddenly awakened by noise at night, he jumps out of his bed, snatches up his arms, and pressing the cloak to the body with his left hand, rushes out to see what has happened.

854 The hips of a baby are plastered with dry camel's manure, *dimne*; the baby is then wrapped in a long shawl tied with a thin string and fastened by two ropes of camel's hair to the two main tent stakes, and the cradle, *mhâd*, is ready.

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *mejidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-18
435 *mejidijjât* ($3.60-$18.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Slejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâsek*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ḥnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freiji from a Kwêlbi, and these from a Mur'aṣi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Sḥûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x
539x

When she goes by in her fringed kerchief,
She takes my little heart away in her hand.

Al-Ṛarâwi was a Rwejli whose daughter was famous for her beauty. *Ḥaṣâwi* means the long elaborately twisted fringe of a silk kerchief, *maḳrûna*, with which a belle covers her forehead and face. [291]

Hâḏi ṭwâref ʿarab ḫelli
jâ marḥaba jâ ʿarab Šîḥa
ʿaḏrûb aḫûha jiǧîb aš-šowl
čam râʿijen ʿawwadeh ṣîḥa
jâ ḫdejdeha bwêreẓ al-hemlûl
min miznicten bass laha ẓîḥa.

These are the borders of the Arab camp where dwells
Hail, O Arabs, with whom Šîḥa camps! [my darling.
ʿAḏrûb, her brother, brings sumpter camels as booty.
Oh! how many a herdsman has he taught to utter the warning cry!
Her cheeks are like flashes of lightning from a rainy belt,
From a cloud which appears full of milk.

Aḫûha is the lover of Šîḥa. *Jiǧîb aš-šowl* means "brings, or leads, in from a raid camels able to carry heavy burdens." When the tents are being moved, all supplies are loaded by the women, who therefore like strong camels. The herdsman is not in a position to defend his herd; he merely gives the alarm cry. *Hemlal* is a long, narrow streak or belt of rain coming from a cloud where there is constant lightning which gives the cloud the appearance of being filled with milk. The milky white luster issuing from it reminds the poet of the white, rosy cheeks of Šîḥa. [462]

Jâ wenneti wennet aš-šenne
rabâbaten bjad laʿâbi
rîḥat ʿaṭîri leha beṇṇe
jâ ʿambaren bjad ǧallâbi.

My sigh is like the sigh of the hide stretched
On a rebec in the hand of the player.
The fragrance of my beloved is as pleasant
As amber in the hand of the hawker.

831x
539x

O Mḥejmed, what torment has come upon me!
O sweetheart, what must I do?
She opened her hooked dress revealing to me
A *kudri*'s egg below the slit at her breast.
She has plaits on her temples like cords of gold,
A thirsty one may wish to let down the bucket with them.
Her eyes are like the waves of a pure pool,
Where those fare well who drink from it;
Her breast, a coffee cup like one used in the chamber of the lord,
A Persian jeweler could not make such a one.

The lover complains both to his comrade, Mḥejmed, and to his sweetheart, to whom, captivated by her charms, he has promised to perform a dangerous deed.

[291] *Ṯowb maḳrûm* is the woman's garb when closed below the neck. *Nâḥaẓ al-maḳrûn* means to lift and open this part of the woman's garment on the breast. *Ǧejb* is the slit from below the neck down to the stomach. Farther down the garment is sewn together in the same way as our shirt. The slit of the woman's garb has only one buckle, immediately under the neck. When the garment is lifted, the slit widens, and the woman can nurse her child. *Ṣadîr* is a pool of water in a [574] valley channel. *Dîwân* is a drawing-room of the rich, where coffee is presented in cups often artistically made and expensive.

Jâ ṯemânen 'ala ṣâḥebi low jabî'
miṯl ḥal-barad bilejâli-r-rabî'.

Oh, if the eight teeth could be sold to the lover!
They are like the dew crystals of the frosty spring nights.

Barad signifies crystals of frozen dew.

Jâ ṛazâl ad-daḥal
jâ ḥaẓîb al-ejdejn
ja'lam allâh
ju'azzi 'an al-wâlidejn.

O thou gazelle from the Nefûd!
O thou with the dyed hands!
Allâh knows that a glance from thee
Will comfort me in the loss of my parents.

A daffa is a heavy winter cloak. Men
831* 539* fond of dress buy mantles embellished between the shoulder blades with a broad ornament of glittering silver, or at least copper, threads. The hem made from these threads reaches [291]. as far down as the abdomen. Such an ornament glistens when the night is bright. *Bâdi* (for *sâjer*) is one paying an evening [574] call; *bâdi 'alejna* (or *musajjer 'alejna*), he is coming to spend the evening with us.

Jâ-bu ḫalâḫel w-zmejjem
w-al-ḫadd barrâken jelûḥ
jâ mâ ḥala' ḳazb al-brajjem
w-al-'omr ṣajjûreh jerûḥ.

Oh, she with rings above her ankles and a little ring in her nostril,
Whose cheeks glisten like lightning,
Oh, how sweet to take hold of a little body belt of [leather
For, as for life, its end is sure.

[291] *Brajjem* (dimin. of *barîm*) is a thin belt of leather strips worn by the women on their bare bodies.

Râ'i-l-ḳa'ûd al-mešaddar
ma' wâdi-s-sidr jinḥa'
ḳum ḥebbini lâ te'addar
w-al-'aḏr mâ-ni bṭerijjah.

The rider on an unruly camel
Has turned into a valley overgrown with *sidr*.
Rise, kiss me, and excuse not thyself,
For an excuse I will not brook.

[837] A lover during the march asks a kiss from his beloved, whose husband has just ridden out of sight, for his camel nibbles at every patch of good grass or woody plant. He turns into a valley overgrown with *sidr* trees and full of thorns. If he had to watch his unruly camel before, he must now among the *sidr* be even more careful and is thus prevented from watching his wife riding in the rear.

1. *Jâ barḳ jâ-lli tâli al-lejl lawwâ'*
   šuftak w-ana bheǧ'at an-nâs wâ'i
2. *min rûs 'âlen šummaḥen čedd bihen fâ'*
   biljâl ṛurren biz'aǧelen še'â'i

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831*
539*

11. The daughter with her eyes painted black is every night ready to ride,
And still she defends her back lest a scamp mount it.
12. Her belly gives warmth, though she sups on but two dates
And drinks no more than one fourth of a coffee cup.

By an unknown poet. It was dictated to me by Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

Verse 1. *Lâl* means a level glistening plain. Traveling in a plain of this kind is easy and fairly safe, as enemies may be observed from afar. The poet's life before Laṭîfa was lost to him resembled a journey over such a plain. 2. *Ḥâl*, the brother of the poet's mother, rides with him, sitting on the camel's hips behind him, *mrâdafk*, and comforting him. 4. *Sarḥa* is a plain overgrown with new grass, where the weaned camels are pastured. 5. *'Ančeriše* is a poetical expression for very soft plaits of hair. 6. *Mezâwi* is a silk caftan worn by the wealthier women over the dress, *aṭ-ṭowb*. Its sleeves being narrow, the hands are covered to the wrists, which gives the poet cause for reproach. 12. *Ĝallelat* means "she wrapped herself in the *ĝelâl*", blanket on which the horse or ass's saddle is laid. *Saḥḥa* is a dry yellow date about the size of a hazelnut.

[291]

1. *Naṭṭejt an-al-merḳâb allâh jaḥûneh*
aṭar al-ferîž mužim ṛarbi salamja
2. *ḥaḏra 'an al-merḳâb lâ terčebûneh*
jâ-hl al-ḳlûb alli 'ala-l-ḥebb ẓamja
3. *jaṭri 'alejkom ṛâjiben tertoğûneh*
'onḳ al-ferîd muḏajjereh ḥess ramja
4. *as-sukkar al-maṣri mefâlež esnûneh*
mâkûl bil-ḥukkâm zejn aṭ-ṭa'amja
5. *w-lâ hw min alli riḥeh tekrahûneh*
w-lâ jifhameh kûd ar-reğâl al-fahamja
6. *riḥat eḫẓêra bimeẓâdem eḳrûneh*
jâ 'all 'ajn tabṛoẓ az-zejn 'amja
7. *en aḳbalat jâ nâs teṣḥar 'ajûneh*
w-en sanadat jâ nâs teḏbaḥ šeṭanja.

1. I ascended the lookout — may Allâh grant that it be deceitful!
The tracks show a small camp west of Salamja.
2. Keep off that lookout, ascend it not,
O ye with hearts thirsting for kisses!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

By both the men's and the
women's compartments of the tents blazing fires are kept up, attracting the traveler even at a great distance. *Rwijhom* means water bags, each made from half of a camel's hide and holding about 150 liters of water. If there is a scarcity of water in the *ḳêẓ* season (midsummer) everybody gets it at the chief's tent. *Ḥabra* (pl., *ḥabâri*) are the level spaces of various sizes on a vast plain, in which the rain water from the higher ground accumulates. *Ṣḥûnahom* are extraordinarily large pans with two handles, often as much as a meter and a half in diameter, in which supper is brought to the guests whom either the chief or his representative invites to sit down, calling each by his name. In the dead of night these calls can be heard from afar.

Ṣubjân ṯowb al-mâl	O youths, a costly garb
lâ telbesûneh	Put not on!
jista'helek nawwâf	Of that Nawwâf is deserving
w-ḥejfi zebûneh	Whose caftan is not new,
elja ǧâ nahâr al-kown	When on the day of the fray
w-je'aẖẖed redûneh.	His long shirt sleeves behind his neck he ties.

Ṯowb is the man's long shirt made of white linen. *Towb al-mâl* is a shirt with decorative stitching around the neck and on the breast. The sleeves of this shirt are often as much as a meter and a half long and end in a sharp angle. During a fight or when the wearer is engaged in some hard task the sleeve ends are tied together and thrown behind the neck. *Zebûn* is a garb made from variegated fabric and worn over the shirt. Nawwâf, as the bravest of all, should also wear the best clothes.

Tabaššerû jâ hla-l-ḫejl
nawwâf ḫara-l-ma'naḳijje
eliân meḥâ'el darârij
min taḥat 'âd al-ḥanijje
ḥâl erčabi lâ tḫâfi
mâ zâl râsi 'alijje.

At the glad news rejoice, you riders:
Nawwâf has bought a mare of the *ma'naḳijje* breed;
Meḥâ'el's calves like the rollers appear
Under the pole of a curved litter.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

take to be their sign or omen, *fâl*, and try to guess from it whether their enterprise will meet with success or not. Knowing this the girls begin with the ditty quoted above. A *faḍa'*, or vast plain where the Bedouin cannot be ambushed, is to him a good sign. Better than any sign, however, is the luck itself or the successful result.

Enḫowderû les-summejr
w-as-zemel bel-misrâḥ
min hw jehedd aṭ-ṭejr
ma'lûḳ ḫlejbeh râḥ
jelfi 'ala marteh
jâ niʒmet al-miṣbâḥ
erḫi ṭrejf as-sejr
žifi 'ala-l-mebṭâḥ.

Gather for the *summejr*,
For the pack camels are out in the pasture.
Who is that training the hunting falcon?
The falcon to whom his heart clung disappeared and
Will soon reach its wife.
O morning star!
Loosen the end of thy leather belt
And stand leaning against the long litter pole.

The girls and women invite everybody to their entertainment, *summejr*, as it is unnecessary to get up so early next morning, since the chief's pack camels are not yet back from the pasture. They hear some one training his hunting falcon and later pity him, because the falcon has flown away and returned to its wife. When about to move they call out to the prettiest woman of the camp to stand up in her litter and shed light all around her like the morning star.

The word *enḫowderû*, gather down, come down together, is used because the *summejr* is always held in a low piece of ground protected against the wind. *Erḫi ṭrejf as-sejr* means "loosen the end of thy leather belt." Every woman wears a belt of small leather strips on her bare body. On entering a litter she loosens this belt in order not to be incommoded by it on the journey. *Žifi*, stand leaning, for *žifi*.

Jâ rabbi jâ ḫâleḳ al-lejl
hât al-maṭar min saḥâbeh

2:Musil S-4.5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Thou deprivest an old woman of her only son,
O thou by whose hand the wounded finds no restful sleep!

'Aṣejb eben Mow'ed is a Rwejli hero. He slackens the rein to let his mare take him into the midst of the enemy. *A ǧenîn* is an only son of an aged mother.

Jâ ḥṭejl wa' ḳalbi ṛada'
mâ bên dlejjel w-ar-raṭû'
jâ ḥṭejl low taššûfaha
mâ telbes al-melṭam dalû'.

O Ḥṭejl! ah! my heart is wandering
Between Dlejjel and the mare Raṭû'.
O Ḥṭejl! shouldst thou ever see her,
She wears no veil but keeps her mouth free.

The youth is to take part with his mare, Raṭû', in a raid of at least a month's duration; but, hating to part for that length of time from his sweetheart, Dlejjel, he complains to his comrade, Ḥṭejl. *Raṭû'* is a species of the *kbejše* breed. *Melṭam* is a large kerchief, folded under the chin and sometimes pulled by women and girls up to their noses, thus forming a sort of veil. A *dalû'* is a woman who never covers her mouth.

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Waǧdi 'ala-r-rab'i sanad
ṭannab ar-râ'i jaṭiḥ
zaban al-ḥṣân elja' balad
ar-rab'i ǧasâb al-mediḥ.

My desire takes me after Sanad ar-Rab'i,
As soon as the herdsman's high voice gives the alarm.
He defended the stallion when he stopped from exhaustion.
Ar-Rab'i was a raider of great fame.

Sanad ar-Rab'i, the famous Šammari war chief of the Rbâ' clan, rode a mare whose endurance surpassed that of any stallion. When, in a long fight, the strength of even the most powerful stallion was so far gone that he exposed both himself and his rider to the danger of capture or death, it was Sanad who, appearing in the nick of time on his mare, rescued the rider and the stallion too and never failed to return with booty. When giving the alarm cry the herdsman or watchman holds the palm of his left hand before his mouth and shakes it, at the same time prolonging the vowels. In his

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 726 camp, *tenáwaḫaw menâḫ*. All camel herds were driven into one line, and each animal was made to kneel and was fettered. The women and children sat down by their herds, while the men, posting themselves between them and the enemy, waited for the attack. This situation lasted for four days. On the fifth day, when a few young camels had already died of hunger, the Rwala assailed the Sba'a and Fed'ân with such fury that they drove them out from their tents in flight, *'addawhom ila wara-l-bujût*. Some succeeded in loosening the fetters of their camels and in fleeing with them, *minhom min ḳadar jeṭallek ba'arineh w-inhazam bah 'ala-l-ḫala*, but others were surprised in this act and captured, *w-minhom min a'ğelûh ar-rağâl 'an taṭliž ḫalâleh w-ḫâlaw 'alejh ar-rwala*. The Rwala took all the tents with the sheep which they found near them, also many horses and camels, and continued to pasture their animals in that territory undisturbed until the Sba'a finally made peace with them. The Sba'a asked 'Ali al-Fḳiḳi, chief of the 'Ebede division, to join them in assailing the Rwala in order to eject the latter from their territory, but 'Ali refused. Then they sang the preceding ditty about him.

639[k] *Faḳḳ*, he opened, is an insulting allusion to Fḳiḳi. 'Ali often called himself *al-ğelam*, shears, meaning that he would cut up [291] any hostile raid. *Zebûn* is a garment with narrow sleeves, open in front along its whole length and reaching down to the ankles. It is worn by men over the shirt. *Ṯewb* is a woman's shirt of blue fabric.

Jâ mḥammad já bedîn aẓ-ẓejf
râ'i-l-wa'ide ǧâ' laha
slîmân 'ammar leh sebîl
min ḫufratak wa-dlâlaha.

O Mḥammad! O thou who hast sated thyself with the guest
Who came to the meeting agreed on!
Slîmân has surely well filled his short pipe
At thy fire and did drink from thy coffeepots.

539[k] 721 726 Muḥammad eben Smejr sent word to his enemy Slîmân eben Meršed, the head chief of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, to come for a smoke to his tent. Slîmân answered that Muḥammad should not expect such a guest with much pleasure. Shortly afterwards Slîmân attacked Muḥammad's camp, scattered his warriors, took all his tents with their supplies, smoked Muḥammad's pipe, and drank coffee from his

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Tuēma had meanwhile returned to her own dwelling at the lower end of the valley. Her girl friends had been busy selecting the handsomest camel-litter and decorating it for the occasion. With its ornate marriage canopy it was mounted on a fine, gorgeously caparisoned camel, which slaves then led to Tuēma's tent. There the bride mounted to her lofty seat between the slender horns of the camel-litter and, with songs and shouts and waving of scarves, her girl friends escorted her to the tent of the bridegroom.

Before the women's quarters, but so arranged that Faris on his couch could see everything, Tuēma made her camel kneel down. Faris's mother and sisters, attended by numerous men and women slaves, greeted and received the bride ceremoniously.

Close by, Mnahi held an old white battle-mare by the halter. Auda, "the helper", she was called, and also the "Virginal Kuhaylat-Ajuz", for she had never been mated. The Ruala all but worshipped her as sacred. As a three-year-old she had been presented to Misha'il as a gift, on the birth of her son, Amir Fuaz. The mare was thus twenty-seven years old and her body bore the scars of many a raid. Over her back was spread a white lamb's-skin rug, the "Virgin Fleece" which, according to immemorial custom, the Bedouin bride brings to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Tuēma had disappeared into the harem to be attired in her wedding dress by Faris's mother and sisters. When she came out again, she was resplendent in a rich cashmere gown woven in red and green (it had been worn by Faris's mother at her own bridal ceremony) and a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

585 gold-laced shepherd's cloak floating from her shoulders.
●292 She took her position beside the white mare; and an aged
585 Bedouin, with a little lamb, only a week old, in his arms,
[782] stepped before her, laid the lamb at her feet and slit its throat as a sacrificial offering. Auda snorted and backed away from the blood, but the old man grabbed the halter and, dipping his fingers in the lamb's blood, painted the *Wasm* (tribal mark) of the Ruala on the mare's neck. Then he calmly passed his gory fingers through his white beard. The slaughtered lamb was given, in accordance with the custom of the Bedouins, to an orphan—a little girl selected by a *sheykh*.

Without accepting a helping hand from Mnahi, which he offered because of her trailing garments, Tuēma lightly swung herself on to the back of the white mare and at a walking-pace rode through the camp. The huge Negro strode beside her, holding over her head the great sword of Janla and Jidua and exclaiming, herald-fashion:

"See ye the bride of Faris! See ye the virgin!
O for Tuēma's eyes and Alya's grazing herds!
O for the dark hero and his bride!"

Thus the procession made the round of the camp, all the inhabitants of which were lined up in front of their black tents and, as the bride rode past on her white mare, it was with a joyful "*Zaraghrit*" they greeted her, even though their hearts were heavy within them.

Returning to Faris's tent, Tuēma dismounted, took the white lamb's-skin rug from her mare's back and spread it on the nuptial couch. Then she disappeared

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

291 *ḥâšije*. A silken kerchief is called *maḳrâna*; if interwoven with silver threads, it is known as a *mḳaṣṣabe*. Most popular of all is a dark-blue *maḳrâna* or a violet one shot with red. [292] A pure white *maḳrâna* is worn by the chief alone and that only on festive occasions. As soon as it becomes soiled, the chief gives it to a negro. The kerchief is not tied to the head, but merely fastened with a cord about one inch thick made of wool or camel's hair and wrapped double around the forehead and the skull, *'aṣîbe*. The lappets are crossed under the chin and pulled through under the *'aṣîbe*, so that they project above the forehead like two small horns. A man who has the lappets of the kerchief, *riglên*, crossed under the chin, is known as *mutalaṯṯam*. If he does not wish to be recognized, he simply pulls them up above his chin, even over the nose, so that only his eyes are uncovered. Whoever meets a man thus disguised, shouts: "Remove the curtain, so that I can recognize thee; *fukk al-luṯma ḥatt-a'refk*."

The most important part of a man's dress is the cloak, *'abe'*. It is made from two pieces, each 2.5 meters long and 60 centimeters wide. These are sewn together along their long sides; the narrow edges are folded, and their upper ends also sewn together. In the two folds at the top, which are about sixty centimeters broad, holes are cut about fifty centimeters long. The cloak is then thrown over the shoulders and the [531] hands thrust through the holes. Around the neck and along the breast the mantle is often embroidered, or a strip woven of yellow and gold threads is added. A light-gray mantle shot with yellow is called *bišt*; a light-gray one made of fine wool is a *ḥâčije*; a light-gray one of half cotton is a *lûmijje*; one of medium weight with long white and dark-gray stripes about ten centimeters wide is a *mubaddaḥe*; one of the same color but made of good wool is a *rḥejbâwijje*; one of good wool with white and reddish stripes is a *sa'dûnijje*; a good woollen one with white and dark-brown stripes and ornamented at the neck and above the shoulders is a *ḥasawijje*; one of good wool or camel's hair, not striped, of a plain color (generally black or brown) shot with pink is a *merwi*. The inhabitants of the oasis of al-Ǧowf manufacture mantles of the *bišt* (Fig. 33) and *merwi* varieties.

In the winter time a sheepskin coat, *farwe*, is worn by the Rwejli instead of the mantle. If it covers only the breast, it is called *obṭijje*. A *ḥarrâṭijje* is a sheepskin coat of white

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

woven of red and black cotton or woollen threads and called *šuṭṭi*. At the front the woman tucks up the long shirt under the belt so that her ankles are free, forming the shirt into a kind of a skirt, *kṭūl*. Her head she wraps in a large dark ker- 291

FIG. 34—Rwala women.

chief, *makrūna*. This she folds in the middle into a triangle. Holding the left lappet to her left cheek, she throws the kerchief over her head in such a way that the middle lappet falls on her back; the right lappet she then passes under the chin, covers with it the left lappet on the left cheek, and folds it over her head again, making it hang down the right side of the face. Then she folds a *mindīl*, or dark cotton kerchief, into a band about five centimeters wide and winds it around the *makrūna*, or large kerchief, on her head and forehead. In place of the ordinary *mindīl* she may use a band of some fine material, such a band being called *ṣafa'a* (or *mer'ez*), or a *ḥrajša* of fabric so loosely woven that it may be stretched as if it were crochet work. The wrap made from these finer goods is called *šiffa*.

A woman's cloak is made like a man's, except that it never has the long stripes and is either black or dark-brown *merwi*.

The wealthy Rwejlijje wears a short jacket of blue cloth 292
with narrow turned-in sleeves. This is called a *ǧibbe*. Good

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

292 cloth is known in the trade as *ǧôḫ mdâwwid*, common cloth as *ǧôḫ ḫafîf*. *Mezâwi* is a silk caftan worn by wealthy women over the dress, *ṯowb*. It has narrow sleeves and covers the arms down to the wrists.

301 Almost every Rwala woman goes barefoot, but all possess some jewelry. Around the neck they wear a *maḫnaḳa*, or necklace of red coral; on the breast a *ʿelâde*, or pendant of glass pearls; on the elbows small black glass rings, *naʿâzed*; on the wrists similar trinkets, *sbaʿ*; above the ankles small glass or copper rings, *ḫǧûl*; in the ears copper rings, *turžijje*; on the fingers rings, *ftâḫ*; and sometimes in the right nostril a copper ring, *zmâm*. The women dearly love this cheap jewelry; they save up camel's hair for a long time and often steal grain in order to buy it.

292 The wealthier women wrap, *jetalaffaʿen*, their heads in a covering called *šumbar*. This is a red shawl 42 centimeters wide by 3.2 meters long. They dye it black, leaving only about six centimeters as red stripes at both ends. Next they cut the shawl lengthways down the middle and sew both parts together in such a way that a covering is formed 84 centimeters wide and 1.6 meters long. If they want to wrap their heads in this shawl, *jetalaffaʿen beh*, they lay one lappet on their left shoulder, stretch the shawl over the head, throw the other lappet from the right under the chin, and cover with it the lappet on the left shoulder. Then they fasten the shawl with a folded kerchief to the forehead and skull, pull both lappets up the back, and tuck up the shawl in the front till it covers the chin. Young girls like to wear both the *maḳrûna*, or large kerchief, and the *šumbar*. Both lappets of the *maḳrûna* hang loosely down the breast, while the *šumbar* is crossed under the chin. If a girl who is fond of dress, *bint ṛawjâna*, owns a *maḳrûna* only, she will not tie it to her head with the *mindîl*, dark cotton kerchief, but prefers it to fall down a little, as then her tresses can be seen to advantage.

302 Every woman likes to dye her palms and nails, and if she be old also her hair, with yellow henna, either of the Egyptian variety, *maṣrijje*, or of a variety brought from Mecca, *makkâwijje*; the latter is the better.

302 826 Both the youths and girls are fond of dyeing their eyelids black with *koḥl*, collyrium or antimony powder, using a small sharp knife, *mirwad*, in this operation. Moistening the *mir-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 539 to Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ǧebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejḥ min aḍ-ḍahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṯoxb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ǧemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ǧa'al min tabṛoǯeḥ tenlâ'
jamût wlédaha-r-rzâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [842 thin and loses her healthy color. A *wléd*, baby boy, is preferred 554] by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's [586 happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband 754] and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mohra ḫdat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazléni Between the two camps!
ḳawwâdha ḫâled She was led by Ḫâled,
lâ jâ ba'ad 'éni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mohra means in this case the young wife of Ḫâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḥorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf

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in constant fear and therefore keep a sharp lookout all the time. In the same manner the daughter of Eben Ḳublân watches for danger from the enemy and wishes that her lover may always be ready to go to her assistance. 539ᵏ

La'ujûn min labes al-ḥarîr
Ḥukran ḏwâjeb râseha
w-elja' talâḳow bel-wa'ed
w-aš-šejḫ bimaḥâseha.

For the eyes of her who wears a silk garment
And has braids of fair hair!
When men shall meet in the fight appointed by Allâh,
The chief himself will be the first on the battle ground.

The daughters and wives of the chiefs wear silk kerchiefs. [292] Fair hair is rare among the Rwala women; they generally dye it. [142 Our beauty with braids of fair hair has a suitor in the person 302] of the chief himself, who therefore hastens to her aid when the migrating clan is attacked and fights on the battle ground before her eyes. *Wa'ad* is a fight ordained by Allâh himself. *Maḥâs* means the place of an encounter, a battle ground.

Arḫaṣt 'omrî w-al-faras
dûn al-ǧemal w-alli 'alejh
jâ-bu ḳrûn čaha-l-maras
ḳalbi muštâḳen 'alejh.

I risked my life and my mare
Before the camel and her who sat on him.
For her with braids like this rope,
My heart is longing for her.

Kill jowm 'ajdeh lal-bandt
w-al-jowm hâḍa 'ajdana
narm-al-'aša lal-ḥâjemât
lal-'ujûn min teridana.

Every day is a holiday for the girls,
But this day is a holiday for us,
As we shall throw a supper to the birds of prey
For the eyes of her who longs for us.

The girls sing, amuse themselves, and turn the heads of the young men every day, but the youths show them their real qualities on the day when they repulse a hostile raid.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in number to the guardians of the herds. No woman if married to a coward will ever fall in love with a man like him. 539*

Já rákeben ḫorrun ma'anna
we-mḫaḍḍarun zejn al-fedíd
má nuḫalli waṭanna
la'ujún min lebsek ǧedíd.

O thou who ridest a thoroughbred camel making a straight course,
A camel looking round in fear, with a back falling away to its tail!
[Know that] our homeland we shall not desert
For the sake of the eyes of her who has put on a new dress.

Ma'anna is one who follows a straight, well-defined course. "*Ewt la wên ma'anna*; where art thou headed?" or "Where art thou going?" "*Ana m'anna* (or *náḥer*) *eben Ša'lán*, I go to Eben Ša'lán." *Fedíd* is the sloping of the back to the tail, beginning at the hump. The more simple and symmetrical this line, the handsomer the camel. *Waṭen* has the same meaning as *dire*, a region, country, territory belonging to one of the tribes.

Lábes zebún ḫmáš w-ǧibba
w-al-mowt w-alláh má ṭara'
la'ujún min 'aṭáni ḫubba
w-ummaha w-abúha má dara'.

I put on a silk *zebún* and a *ǧibba*,
And, by Allâh! it never occurred to me to die.
[I wish to fight] for the eyes of her who gave me a kiss
Unknown to her mother and her father too.

Zebún ḫmáš is a silk coat open at the front and reaching to the ankles. *Ǧibba* is a waistcoat with narrow, tucked-up sleeves. It is worn only by the wealthier youths who wish to be admired. [292]

La'ujún min faǧǧ aḍ-ḍra w-jwíš
'aṭán w-jabri ḫowfana
'ádátuna fakk al-wáš
ǧejb al-ḫaláje' ḫowfana.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 weak sight, but its sense of hearing and smell are excellent. The female protects her young with her horns.

The *baḳar al-maha* (or *baḳar al-waḥaš*), Beatrix antelope, attains the size of a one-year-old calf. It is white and has straight sharp horns, with which it defends itself against dogs. During the day it is most fond of frequenting the deep funnel-shaped pits of the sandy desert an-Nefûd. In the summer, when the Bedouins do not encamp in the Nefûd, it grazes quite freely even during the day, while in the rainy season it goes out to the pasture only at night and is very timid. If it is alarmed it will flee for a whole day without stopping. [224] Its sight is bad. A huntsman in a white shirt can approach to within gunshot of it if he advances against the wind behind a white horse or camel. The male is called *ṭôr*, the female [281] *bḳara*, the young *'eǧel*. Its flesh is very tasty. The skin is used for making water bags or coverings, and from the fat [293] skin at the back of the neck, known as *'ar'ara*, the Bedouins sew gauntlets, *daraḳe*, for protecting the hand against saber wounds.

The *ẓbi*, gazelle, forms whole flocks, *ǧemîle*, in al-Ḥamâd, especially in the territory of al-Manâẓer on the southern border of Palmyrena. The male is called *teǯs*, the female *'anz*, the young *ḥišf* (or *ṛazâl*). The gazelle is known as *rîm* if it is white, *'efri* if it is white beneath its belly and yellowish on its back, and *ḥemri* if it is of a pinkish tint.

224 The best gazelle hunters are the men of the Ṣlejb tribe. Their favorite method is to hunt in twos. One does the driving, *ḥawwâš*, the other the hunting, *ḳannâṣ*. The one who does the driving wraps skins, *ḥabbâǰât*, round his knees and elbows and crawls on them towards the flock of gazelles, endeavoring to drive them up to the hidden marksman. In a single day they capture ten to twenty gazelles.

In al-Manâẓer the gazelles are driven into extensive enclosures. A wall about one and a half meters high, shaped like a figure eight, is built of stone without mortar. The lower loop is only half finished. Where the two loops meet, a narrow opening, *ṭenijje* (or *ẓeǰǰ*), is left. At several places portions of the wall enclosing the upper loop are a little lower than the rest of the wall. At each of these places a hole two or three meters deep is dug outside the enclosure. The flock of gazelles is cautiously driven into the lower uncompleted loop. This is soon accomplished, because the two walls are about

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The dry manure absorbs the baby's urine and excrements. In its second year the child gets a dark-blue shirt, *ṯwêb*, and its little head is covered with a hood, *ḳaba'*, tied with two cords, *'elṭa*, under the chin. Likewise shoes, *ḳzejme*, are put on its feet.

Every Rwejli carries a stick, as staffs are generally needed for directing the riding camels. These sticks are thin and about eighty centimeters long; they are called *meḥǧân* and are as a rule made by the Rwala themselves from strong saplings, preferably those cut from almond trees. One end is perforated and a strong cord tied into a sling pulled through the hole. The hand is then passed through the sling and the *meḥǧân* hangs from the wrist. The other, or thicker, end of the stick is carved into an ibis head to the length of about eight centimeters and a width of, say, three and a half centimeters. The *bâkûr* is a stick also provided with a cord at one end, the other being bent in a semicircle. The *maṭraḳ* is entirely straight. Both the *bâkûr* and *maṭraḳ* are bought from the peddlers; they are rattan, *ḫajzarâni*, sticks. The *ḳana'* is a heavy cane about seventy centimeters long and ending in a knob. The *maslût* is a staff 1.2 meters long, stout but not too heavy. In the first third of its length it is perforated and a thin strap forming a sling is pulled through the hole; the staff hangs from the saddle by the sling. The *maḏrûb* closely resembles a *maslût* but is much stouter, heavier, and from the middle upwards visibly thicker. All three, *ḳana'*, *maslût*, and *maḏrûb*, are properly weapons.

SMOKING PIPES

Many Rwala — both men and women — are fond of smoking. Every smoker has a pipe. A man's pipe is called *sebîl*, a woman's *ṭaljûn*. The Rwejli either carves a *sebîl* himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsi. The *sebîl* is a one-piece pipe, forming an elbow. Its thinnest part is the horizontal mouthpiece, which is about nine centimeters long and is called the *ḏêl*. The angle of the elbow is named *ṭiz*; the vertical bowl about five centimeters long is the *râs*, and the inside the *baṭn*. The mouth of the bought *sebîl* is enclosed by a brass ring, *ṭowḳ*, from which hangs a chain, *sinsile*, with a brass cap, *ḳab'ijje*, to prevent the smoldering tobacco from falling out. A wire, *mibḫâš*, serves as the pipe

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala add to the last verse: 539x 276

Jistâkel at-tumbâk miṯl eben ḥaḏḏâl
alli jaṣurreḥ bimṭâni redûneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Ḥaḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Ḥaḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḥḥar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧnâd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *bsîm*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwe'*, of a dagger, *ḫibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *upâb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṣ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *raṣâṣ*, and caps, *ḫubṣân*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḫarn eḍ-ḍaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḫauṣa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks. 224 463 293 411

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *eṣ-ṣam'*, *eṣ-ṣâḥâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *ṣam'*, an old English military gun, was the most 913 435 439

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *meǧidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
913 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-10
435 *meǧidijjât* ($3.60-$13.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
• [296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ṣnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freǧi from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aẓi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Skûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 shall never be at peace until the slender blossom bends before the storm of my love," he said.

A few hours later Tuĕma came. Her friend had given her the good news of her lover's return.

[492] She appeared over the brow of a hill. Then she drew rein and leapt from her sorrel, drawing the halter between its forelegs and tying it over the left hock; thus the mare was free to graze, but could not run away.

Tuĕma walked toward us with the grace of a fawn and we went to meet her. She put her arms around Faris's neck and said tenderly: "O thou, my life." And he replied: "O thou, my faith." Then we sat down together on the hill-top.

584, 431 Tuĕma cast her eyes about and asked with a mischievous laugh: "Where is my bunch of wild flowers? My big beautiful bouquet?"

"Thy bunch of flowers?"

"Yes, and the silver anklets?"

Faris put on an air of importance and jingled the trinkets which he had in his pocket. Tuĕma then gave him a look of surprise and, jumping up, reached for the hand which he had thrust into his pocket; but with the other he held her arm fast and said: "Thou must shut thy eyes and not open them until I have kissed them."

[301] She did as he bade her. Then he drew from his pocket the silver bangles which he had procured in Jauf and slipped them on Tuĕma's ankles. She begged and begged to be allowed at least one look at the gift. "Not yet," cried Faris; "first I must deck thee with the flowers of the desert, the imperishable ones."

One by one the enamoured youth unloosed the ends

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

292 cloth is known in the trade as *ǧôḫ mâhûd*, common cloth as *ǧôḫ ḫafîf*. *Mazâwi* is a silk caftan worn by wealthy women over the dress, *ṯowb*. It has narrow sleeves and covers the arms down to the wrists.

301 Almost every Rwala woman goes barefoot, but all possess some jewelry. Around the neck they wear a *maḫnaḳa*, or necklace of red coral; on the breast a *želâde*, or pendant of glass pearls; on the elbows small black glass rings, *na'âzed*; on the wrists similar trinkets, *sbat*; above the ankles small glass or copper rings, *ḫǧûl*; in the ears copper rings, *turkijje*; on the fingers rings, *ftâḫ*; and sometimes in the right nostril a copper ring, *zmâm*. The women dearly love this cheap jewelry; they save up camel's hair for a long time and often steal grain in order to buy it.

292 The wealthier women wrap, *jetalaffa'en*, their heads in a covering called *šumbar*. This is a red shawl 42 centimeters wide by 3.2 meters long. They dye it black, leaving only about six centimeters as red stripes at both ends. Next they cut the shawl lengthways down the middle and sew both parts together in such a way that a covering is formed 84 centimeters wide and 1.6 meters long. If they want to wrap their heads in this shawl, *jetalaffa'en beh*, they lay one lappet on their left shoulder, stretch the shawl over the head, throw the other lappet from the right under the chin, and cover with it the lappet on the left shoulder. Then they fasten the shawl with a folded kerchief to the forehead and skull, pull both lappets up the back, and tuck up the shawl in the front till it covers the chin. Young girls like to wear both the *maḳrûna*, or large kerchief, and the *šumbar*. Both lappets of the *maḳrûna* hang loosely down the breast, while the *šumbar* is crossed under the chin. If a girl who is fond of dress, *bint ṣawjâna*, owns a *maḳrûna* only, she will not tie it to her head with the *mindîl*, dark cotton kerchief, but prefers it to fall down a little, as then her tresses can be seen to advantage.

302 Every woman likes to dye her palms and nails, and if she be old also her hair, with yellow henna, either of the Egyptian variety, *maṣrijje*, or of a variety brought from Mecca, *makkâwijje*; the latter is the better.

302 826 Both the youths and girls are fond of dyeing their eyelids black with *koḥl*, collyrium or antimony powder, using a small sharp knife, *mirwad*, in this operation. Moistening the *mir-*

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my
road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâǧ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sǧile* is a sheet of paper. *Ziž* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhiǧ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which knelt, *mabrak*, over a snake hole, *ṯâǧ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṛamâliǧ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳejṣ* or *meḳiṣ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ğaw Fertež lies southwest of Ḥâjel. *Ṣarâhiǧ* (for *ṣahârîǧ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḳamḥ*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *sâǧ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâǧ*, or *felǧ*, for *ṯelǧ*, means snow or ice. *Šuḏḏab* are small pieces of dry *ṛaṣa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḏeb* (pl., *šuḏḏab*) is equivalent to *bejaṣ* (pl., *biṣ*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭe'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wudâǧ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *šîžân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darârîǧ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tensef*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâǧ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâliǧ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[301] 539 831 trinkets knock together at each motion of the wearer, the chains rattle, the bells jingle, and the sounds thus produced remind the poet of an approaching or departing procession of pilgrims riding on camels covered with ornaments and bells. *Dwâliž* are slender shins above the ankles, which allow the [481] rings to move around freely. 10. A fine firm step finds much praise with the Rwala. Every herd of gazelles has its own leader, usually an old animal which walks a few steps in advance of the others with a firm but prudent step, looks both forward and sideways, catches every scent, and is always ready to flee, should a suspicious object come into view. *Ḥadâlîž* signifies expressive, lively eyes or persons. 12. *Riḥâne* is sweet basil or other scented plants thriving especially at the edges of water holes in the channels where rain water remains for a long while. Before this water reaches the putrid stage it is pure and clear, and during that time the *riḥâne* grows luxuriantly, its juicy twigs, *razzât al-roṣûn*, rising and falling with the slightest breeze. 13. The fingers of the poet's sweetheart are so small and beautiful that he calls them all little fingers. 14. The name of the maiden is not easy to ascertain. 16. *Al-menâhîǧ* are men who repair the roads and thus enable the laden camels to move along easily. Here the maiden's kin is meant, who refuse to permit the poet, a member of another tribe, to marry her.

1. *Bint eben lîfa w-al-mšaḳḳa ḥalîfa*
   abči laṭîfa ḥâl min dûnaha-l-lâl
2. *lejtah radîfa foug warč al-ʿasîfa*
   aladd w-ahla min mrâdafk jâ ḥâl
3. *lejtak fedâha w-ashanak bedwâha*
   w-abîʿ belâm al-ḥebajjeb mijjet ḥâl
4. *šifetah bsarḥa wa-mtalaʾ-l-ḳalb farḥa*
   min kubr ǧarḥa mâ žuwît ankol al-hâl
5. *šifetah bekîše tenḳoz al-ʿančerîše*
   w-lâ-rîd ʿîše illa rîžah elja sâl
6. *lâbesat al-mezâwi zâwi ar-rûḥ zâwi*
   ḥasaʾ-l-fedâwi mâ jiǧîb ṭîb al-afʿâl
7. *ǧîtah bʿašwa mizneten taw našwa*
   alli mṭarha zerʿ ḳalbi minneh ṭâl
8. *ǧîtah telumma râḥ ḳalbi jehummah*
   w-jaʿan abû-mmah mâ tesammih čattâl

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

8. The bridge of her nose glistens like the blade of an Indian sword;
   To pearls and corals her teeth I compare.
9. Oh, her spittle! Like viper-wine it is used,
   For it heals one bitten by a snake as soon as he drinks of it.
10. Oh, the neck of my darling! like that of a gazelle
    Or the white antelope which men hunt on horseback.
11. Her breasts are adorned by tattooing with gems precious and costly.
    Which neither the wealth of Persia nor of Syria could buy.
12. Her breasts, they are apples, — alas, for my loss that has bereft me of reason! —
    A china cup set on a tray.
13. Her arms glisten as a silver pot,
    And her little finger is a burnished gold stick.
14. How slender is she! I think not she has yet born children.
    To a sprig of wild cherry I liken her, as it sways in the air.
15. O ye who hear this voice, have mercy on me!
    O Moslems! will you not pity one dead?
16. Bring here my mistress, set her before me
    And on my breast lay her when I die.
17. Oh, may he who reviles me have no kin,
    Or become a captive seized by unbelievers.

The poet was Nimr eben 'Adwân; the reciter, Ğwâd al-'Âni. The poet sits on a steep stone pile, laments, and describes the beauty of his dead sweetheart, with whom he wishes to be buried. Verse 1. *Ḥorr šemâli* is a camel recognized as pure-blooded by the tribes camping in al-Belḳa' and the Ḥawrân districts, whereas the tribes living farther east and south deny this, declaring it is by no means certain that both of its parents were thoroughbreds. 3. *Riğm* is an artificial pile of stones. Such piles are usually found on the most prominent hills and serve as shelters for the watchers or spies, who, lying down at their post, may observe the whole country around. *Ṣadir* is a hollow in a channel where the rain water remains even when the stream had dried up. 5. *Ṣalab* is a feather from the hips of an ostrich, used as an ornament or bouquet. 9. *Dâbb* is any poisonous snake of some length; short ones are known as *efê'i*. 11. The breasts are often covered with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels.

831+
539x

1. *Lêk teṣfeẓ zamlana jowm jîlarrê*
rûḥ min mojj al-baḥar dawḥ heǰâni
2. *la'all mâ teṣfeẓ ḥaṭṭât al-medarrê*
min fowḳ mâ tekṣom 'aḍûd al-'anâni
3. *lâ wa' ḥasâjef ḥebbeti jowm afarrê*
jowm az-zmejjem ḥûrê beẓ-ẓemâni.

1. Why dost thou strike our pack camels when they come near the water trough?
Water them with the water from the basin [coaxing them with the words:] *dawḥ!* my white one.
2. Thou wouldst better strike an armed man,
While thou sattest in the saddle, than kick the shoulder blades where the bridle rests.
3. Alas, woe is me! I regret the kisses at the time when I loosened my hair
And when my darling drank from my teeth.

Verse 1. *Al-baḥar* is a leather trough resembling a deep basin and fastened to wooden legs. It serves for watering camels, who are coaxed with the sounds *dawḥ! dawḥ!* and *ati! ati!* 2. The maiden doubts if her lover would strike his mailed foe with the same courage; she thinks he would kick or press, *tekṣom*, with his left foot the upper part of the left foreleg of his camel, thus forcing him to run away. 3. *Az-zmejjem* means a small ring hung at the left side of the nostril, in this instance an ungrateful lover.

[301]

1. *Šallejteni jâ-l-ṛazi ḥella*
ḥali ba'idîn w-ana ḥâfi
2. *ar-riǰel mâ tadni al-mella*
w-ana 'ala-l-ḥarr waḳḳâfi
3. *aḳfejt jâ râčeb aṣ-ṣella*
w-ana 'ala darbeṭ naḳḳâfi
4. *'ajnen terčîč lel-ṛalla*
ḥalben terâǰîč lil-ḥâfi
5. *jâ-l-bîṣ mâ-uten 'ala mella.*
ḥâda tharraǰennek w-ḍa lâfi.

1. Far out hast thou enticed me, O beloved one!
Far live my kin, and bare are my feet.
2. The foot cannot touch the red-hot soil,
And yet motionless I stand in the heat.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-ʿezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin. owning them. *Ġâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enǧâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
ʿaṭni faṛa bâli
fowḳ awṛaḥen ʿâli
maʿ waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ǧowzen ʿala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faṛa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben ḥumejlaʿ
râʿîḥ mâ jûmi ʿaṣâḥ
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereh jâ min laḳâḥ
erʿeh maʿ ḏwejden ʿazîb
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-felaʾ
waʾ lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏîb ǧellâni ʿawâḥ.

539* him who grants a safe asylum to one imperiled by a blood feud or in battle, or to those who are persecuted.

Lâ tâḫedî alli šarad jâ ḥâjibe
w-al-mesč w-ar-rejḥân bedwâjibeh.

Wed not him who cowardly fled, O maiden who loves a coward,
Even if his braids were scented with musk and other perfumes!

Ḥâjeb is a man who returned without booty. Such a one brings no luck, for he is predestined to evil, *fâleh šên*. He who runs away from fear deserves no booty, and the maiden who loves him is in danger of forfeiting all good fortune and is, also, a *ḥájibe*. The messenger bringing the first report that the raiders are returning is pressed with questions: "A raid with or without booty? *al-ġazw ḥâjeb walla' ġâjeb.*" Many young men plait their hair in the female style into *ḏwâjeb* and then scent it with musk and other perfumes.

[302]

Râ'anê jâ-bu zmejjen râ'anê
ḥatta tšûf muṭâ'anê
jâ-bu zmejjem lâwîteh
čejf an-neḏel mhâwîteh.

Look at me, thou with a nose ring;
Behold how I fight!
O thou with a nose ring which thou squeezest!
How couldst thou fall in love with a coward?

[301]

Zmejjem is a brass or silver ring, about one or two centimeters in diameter, worn in the left nostril. *Muṭâ'anê*, properly *muṭâ'ani*, means a contest with spears, a contest in general. *Lâwiteh* or *lâwajteh*: she kept pressing the ends of the ring together to prevent it from falling out of the nostril.

Jâ šowk jâ zejn al-meḏâre'
jâ 'awd rejḥânen raǧûḥ
en mâ ḥamajna lak meḏâre'
w-allâh 'an ad-dire narûḥ.

O sweetheart! O thou with fair elbows!
O fragrant flower stalk to all sides inclining!
Know that if we hold not the watering places,
By Allâh! we shall move from our territory.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

One in that condition cannot be frightened. The fatter a camel, the more spirited and nervous it is. *Muṭrašâni* is a camel used mostly on shorter journeys. 2. Muḥammad eben Smejr lost his honor, therefore he should lose his beard too. To shave a man's beard is the greatest punishment among the Rwala. *Ehšâa* or *ḥašâni* is a razor used in shaving, *jehasscaû*. 4. Ṭwîl al-Felǧ, the High Mountain Covered With Snow, here means Hermon, inhabited chiefly by the Druses. 5. *Zahhâd, 'ajjâf*, or *za'lân min ṭoll* are men who cannot show their hatred. *Al-man'* means pardoning an enemy who yields. The pardoned enemy, *mani'*, may remain in the tent until he has an opportunity to return home. Muḥammad and Ḥasan Pasha, the commander of the Turkish soldiers, declared that every Rwejli — even if he had yielded — should be slain. 6. The *awlâd meǧles* were members of the Ša'lân reigning kin. They with their servants and slaves were the first to attack the Ešâǧe'a, Muḥammad's allies, whose war cry was: "*Râ' al-ǧeḍ'a aaubeu me'ǧel*; O protector of Ǧeḍ'a, I am Eben Me'ǧel!" 8. *Suâd* denotes a definite course. *Mâ bcha suâd* means either that the Ešâǧe'a were compelled to change their direction or that their counter attack did not meet with success. Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ and Ḥamâmde are kins of the Weld 'Ali, subject to Muḥammad eben Smejr. 9. Awlâd Ǧam'ân was the name given to Da'mân, Nṣejr, and Šlâš, the three heroes of the Ša'lân kin. The Kurdish volunteers wore red waistcoats and red tunics. 10. *Maḳrûra* is a rifle of the original make, not an imitation. *Ṣoub beṣmâd*, direction to the goal; *ṣâmed ṣoub* signifies a marksman who hits his target, *mâ jihṭi*. 13. *Mouteh ḥakîk*: as if a sacrifice, *ḥakîku*, had been brought for him; his death is atoned for. In the opinion of the Rwala fallen warriors are allotted wide pastures in Paradise by Allâh. 14. *Ṭurṭumâni* is a derisive name for the Turks, Turcomans, and Kurds, whose languages the Rwala do not understand. 17. Aš-Šejḫ Aḥu Dinja alludes to Nâjef aḥu Dinja, the first of the Ša'lân family to rule the Rwala. 18. The camels of the attacking Rwala were so spirited that they neighed as if rutting and dashed at the enemies as if they were camels for whom they were craving. Sbejbeḫ was the commander of the regular cavalry. 19. 'Aǧel al-Jâḳîn, an officer subordinate to Sbejbeḫ, wanted to ambush the camels carrying grain and other foodstuffs to the Rwala before their return to the inner desert. A horse usually has two halters, one without a bridle, which holds the rope for

l: Radwan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 "In truth, loveliest maid, O my mistress, I shall pick for thee a bunch of rare flowers wherewith to adorn thyself for our festive hours in the hills," he insisted.

Still incredulous, she mocked at him, gaily rumpling his head till she had pulled off his *agbal* and *kaffiyah*.

"Oh, how untidy thou art!" she exclaimed.

302 Six dishevelled tresses had tumbled over his shoulders. She drew him closer and put his head in her lap. Then she set about rebraiding in proper fashion his Ishmaelite locks. From the flap of her head-cloth she took a handful of dried gazelle dung; small blackish-green capers. They spread an odour of thyme and camomile as she crumbled the pellets between her palms and rubbed the stuff, like a scent-powder, into the long strands of hair. Faris kept as still as a mouse, without a word.

000 At last she had completed her task. Faris replaced his head-dress; then he declared: "Now it is the turn of Aziz!"

Whether I would or no, I too must put my head in Tučma's lap and let her, with Faris's assistance, plait my mop into little pigtails and powder them with her exotic perfume. What a sight I must have looked! I always regret that I did not have my photograph taken then. At all events, Faris and Tučma grew so merry over their handiwork that people from the neighboring tents came running up and burst out laughing at "Aziz Radhwan."

As Faris and I were leisurely riding homeward that night, we heard distant hoof-beats behind us. The sound rapidly grew, and there came a rush of riders—twelve or more Bedouins on swift steeds. In the moonlight I saw their long locks and head-cloths fluttering, their shep-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

fires and their hides[1] are cut up for water-bags, belts, and sandals. 231 [281]

In the grey of one morning I noticed a woman moving amongst the resting animals. Whenever she saw a female camel get up, she would hurry and catch the urine, for which she was waiting, in a bowl she carried for the purpose. The camel's urine smells sweetly of herbs and aromatic plants, it must be remembered. Returning to her tent, one side of which was open, I saw her gather the loose tresses of her little daughter's hair in her hand and dip them into this much-prized hair-wash. She then combed, parted and braided the damp black hair into the usual lovelocks. Again I saw her return to the camels; but suddenly she sat down. A moment later she rose again, threw away her bowl, and hurried back toward her tent, but collapsed before she had gone far. I sprang up and ran to her. 515 302

She said never a word as I tried to help her to her feet; she only withdrew her arms from my hold and cowered on the ground. Then I noticed that she was in labour. As there was no adult within hearing, I called to the woman's little girls to bring bedding and sheepskins. With these I made a couch for her, right among the camels, sent the children back to the tent, and planted myself as a screen before the woman with a sheepskin held over her. Thus she gave birth to her first son. 844

Presently her husband arrived and two slaves of Faris's. The father picked up the newly born babe, and the three men ran to a camel, kicked it in the hip to make it rise, and with their right hands continued to massage the beast's right flank until it let down urine. With this

1 - [Of Camels -- Analyst]

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Bedouin Boy with "Horn" Headdress

Note the Heavy Robes of the Women and Children

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Mawia Climbing into Camel-Litter

opposite page 97

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab. 769

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyye was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala. 619 721

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black. [302]

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates. [164]

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my 619 721 576

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VI

DRESS AND WEAPONS

THE BEARD AND HAIR; TATTOOING; BODY BELTS

The Rwala devote much attention to the body,[1] especially to the hair and beard. Almost everyone can shave and cut hair, and they render this service to one another, as they have no mirrors to shave by. Calling on his comrade with the words: "Shave me, *ḥassenni* (or *zajjenni*, or *ehlekni*)," a Rwejli sits down on his heels and patiently waits till his friend has prepared his soap, razor, and scissors. If he merely wishes the beard growing under his chin on the throat, *ǧarǧûr*, shaved, he says: "*Ǧarǧerni.*" If he wishes the back part of his head up to the ears, *ṣôra*, shaved, he asks: "*Ṣawwerni.*" Otherwise the barber will shave both the half of the back of his head and the beard under the chin, trim his thin chin beard, *ʿaḥje* (or *daḳne*), and his goatee, *ʿadesa*, shave off his side whiskers, *ʿawârez*, trim his moustache, *šwâreb*, clipping off its ends, *subaḳ*, and comb the hair over the forehead, cutting it short, *ḳuṣṣa*, at the same time. Individuals especially careful of their appearance have their front hair made into two, four, six, or even as many as eight plaits, *ḳrûn*. A man wearing his hair

[1] The big toe (thumb) is called *bidn*: the second and third toes, *ḥowṣer*; the fourth toe, *ḥowṣjer*; the little toe, *ḥowṣjer*; a finger (or toe) nail, *gafer*; the toes, *aṣâbiʿ ar-riǧlên*; the sole of the foot, *ḫrîf*; the arch of the foot, *ḥabd ar-riǧel*; the heel, *ʿaḳb*; the instep, *ʿard*; the ankle, *ʿaṣṣjm al-ʿarḳûb* or *ḥaʿâb*; the ankle joint, *mifṣâḳ*; Achilles tendon, *ʿarḳûb*; the shank, *sâḳ*; the calf, *ḥarbâʿa*; the extensor of the leg, *ʿaṣṣ ar-rukbe*; the kneecap, *ruddêa*; the hollow of the knee, *mâbaṣ*; the thigh, *faḫḏ*; the mons Veneris, *ḥaddê*; the penis, *ʿuṣṣ* or *zobb*; the testicles, *ḥaṣâṣ*; the glans, *faṣ'a*; the groins, *ḥâgra*; the hip, *wirk*; the buttock, *ḥaṭṭîṭa* or *fê*; the navel, *sirre*; the loins, *ḥaṣṣ*; the ribs, *ǧnûb*; the breast, *ṣadr*; the breast nipple, *dîḳ*; the cartilaginous, *ʿaṣṣ ad-daḥḥ*; the stomach, *ḥabd*; the intestines, *ḥaṣâṣîr*; the kidneys, *ḥalwa*; the spleen, *ṭḥâl*; the liver, *ʿakbr*; the gall, *marâra*; the heart, *ḥabb al-ʿaṣṣâfîr al-ḥamâm*; the lungs, *rîʾa*; the back, *ẓahr*; the lower part of the spine, *ḏnâṣîl*; the vertebrae, *ḥarûs aṣ-ṣahr*; the shoulder-blade muscles, *daffîn*; the shoulder blade, *ḥalf*; the small of the back, *rummâna al-ḥalf*; the neck, *rugbaba*; the two fleshy parts of the back of the neck, *ʿâbe*; the hollow between them, *nâṣîra*; the atlas, *fâʿda*; the collar bone, *tarḥa*; the pit of the throat, *ḫuṣṣra*; the external jugular vein, *warîd*; the throat, *ḥarrâṣa*; the Adam's apple, *ʿenâba*; the chin, *ʿaḏnen*; the jaws, *ḥaddê*; the lips, *barâṭem*, or *bilâṭem*; the corners of the mouth, *ḥâlîḳ*; the cheeks, *ʿafâdîd*; the nose, *ḫaḍm*; the nostrils, *menâḫîr*; the ridge of the nose, *ʿarnûs*; the bridge of the nose, *waṣṣrra*; the cheek bone, *rummâna*; the eyes, *ʿuyûn*; the pupil of the eye, *ḥbaj*; the eyelids, *ǧfûn*; the eyebrows, *rimâ*; the eyebrow, *ḥâǧâǧ*; the forehead, *ǧabha*; the temples, *ṣuddûr*; the ear, *ʿiḍn*; the lobe of the ear, *ḫamma*; the teeth, *ʿenâb*; the incisors, *ṣanâṣîr*; the four eye teeth, *nâbâ*; the molars, *raḥâ*; the glottis, *ḥaṣîl al-maṣṣrî*; the gullet, *laʿ'ûm*; the top of the head, *ṣâṣîa*; the cranium, *ḥâmî ar-râs*; the brain, *ḫuḫ*; the elbow joint, *ʿaṣṣ*; the elbow, *ḥâʾ*; the forearm, *ǧrâʿ*; the arm hollow, *daṣṣra*; the back of the hand, *wâḳ*; the palm of the hand, *daff*; the thumb, *bâbem*; the index finger, *ṣaṣṣâ*; the little finger, *ḫanṣṣer*; the hand, *ʿaṣṣd* (or *îd*; dual, *ʿîḏ*; pl., *ʿîḍa*); three hands, *ṣalâṭ îdâṣ*; five feet, *ḫamas riǧlên*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

302 305 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-ernam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak 'al-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭa'ab al-ḥorr murr*."

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Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak 'arâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 685 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*) or mounted (*mu'ajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *ḳowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying this action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana mu'tekk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥîtak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭa' râsak*. It is much easier for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

was indemnified, *jeddûn 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they

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FIG. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḫûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḫûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḫûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Jeḫûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣla'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *aḳra'*.

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A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

302 it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos,
515 refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a
825 peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids
302 it, *telemm râsah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *ḳuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḏâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *ḳuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *žiḏle*, *'erf*, or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ḳa'ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

832 Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a
302 woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telahha' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧîk al-manḳûše*."

304 Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *nûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *daḳḳ al-wšâm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *min šân zerâfa*.

291 Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gazelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *ṛusejni*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *ma'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *meǧîdijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ṭowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

292 cloth is known in the trade as *ǧôḫ mâkûd*, common cloth as *ǧôḫ ḫafîf*. *Mezâwi* is a silk caftan worn by wealthy women over the dress, *ṭowb*. It has narrow sleeves and covers the arms down to the wrists.

301 Almost every Rwala woman goes barefoot, but all possess some jewelry. Around the neck they wear a *maḫnaḳa*, or necklace of red coral; on the breast a *želâde*, or pendant of glass pearls; on the elbows small black glass rings, *ma'âẓed*; on the wrists similar trinkets, *sbat*; above the ankles small glass or copper rings, *ḫǧûl*; in the ears copper rings, *turžijje*; on the fingers rings, *ftâḫ*; and sometimes in the right nostril a copper ring, *zmâm*. The women dearly love this cheap jewelry; they save up camel's hair for a long time and often steal grain in order to buy it.

292 The wealthier women wrap, *jetalaffa'en*, their heads in a covering called *šumbar*. This is a red shawl 42 centimeters wide by 3.2 meters long. They dye it black, leaving only about six centimeters as red stripes at both ends. Next they cut the shawl lengthways down the middle and sew both parts together in such a way that a covering is formed 84 centimeters wide and 1.6 meters long. If they want to wrap their heads in this shawl, *jetalaffa'en beh*, they lay one lappet on their left shoulder, stretch the shawl over the head, throw the other lappet from the right under the chin, and cover with it the lappet on the left shoulder. Then they fasten the shawl with a folded kerchief to the forehead and skull, pull both lappets up the back, and tuck up the shawl in the front till it covers the chin. Young girls like to wear both the *maḳrûna*, or large kerchief, and the *šumbar*. Both lappets of the *maḳrûna* hang loosely down the breast, while the *šumbar* is crossed under the chin. If a girl who is fond of dress, *bint ṛawjâna*, owns a *maḳrûna* only, she will not tie it to her head with the *mindîl*, dark cotton kerchief, but prefers it to fall down a little, as then her tresses can be seen to advantage.

302 Every woman likes to dye her palms and nails, and if she be old also her hair, with yellow henna, either of the Egyptian variety, *maṣrijje*, or of a variety brought from Mecca, *makkâwijje*; the latter is the better.

302 826 Both the youths and girls are fond of dyeing their eyelids black with *koḥl*, collyrium or antimony powder, using a small sharp knife, *mirwad*, in this operation. Moistening the *mir-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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soad slightly, they touch the *kohl*, which is kept in a tiny tin box, *mikhale*, and then rub the color along the borders of the eyelids, believing that the use of *kohl* strengthens the eyesight. Many therefore even rub *kohl* on the edges of a telescope, being firmly convinced that the instrument then gives a much better view.

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The woman's dress costs:

barim, body belt	1/4	*mejidijje*	($ 0.22½)
ṭowb, shirt	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
ḥzâḥ, belt	1/4	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
makrûna, kerchief	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
šitfa, head band	1/4	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
ǧibba, jacket	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
mezwi, cloak	3	*mejidijjât*	(" 2.70)
maḥnaḳa, coral necklace	4	piasters	(" 0.18)
šelâde, pendant	4	"	(" 0.18)
ma'ḍed, elbow ornaments	4	"	(" 0.18)
faṭḥa, finger ring	4	"	(" 0.18)
zmâm, nostril ring	1/4	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
Total	10	*mejidijjât*, 16 piasters	($ 9.72).

PEDDLERS; CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE; INFANTS; STAFFS AND CANES

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Whatever the Rwala need for their finery and ornaments they either buy from the merchants who visit them when they are camping in the settled territory in the months of July and August, or from the peddlers, who accompany them the whole year through, even going to the inner desert with them. A peddler or wandering merchant is called either Rḥejbâwi or Kubejsi: Rḥejbâwi after the ancient town of ar-Raḥba, Kubejsi after his native place, the little town of al-Kubejsa. The terms Rḥejbâwi and Kubejsi have come to mean any wandering seller of textiles or general merchandise and are now applied even to merchants known to hail from other places. Thus a peddler from Bagdad is called a Rḥejbâwi Baṛdâdi or Kubejsi Baṛdâdi. When a youth overfond of dress, *dâḳḳân*, visits a wandering merchant to be measured for a suit of clothes, he gives his order in the words of the ancient verse: "Measure me, O merchant! for a shirt with long sleeves, measure me, O merchant! O Rḥejbâwi! *Fappel li jâ tâǧer ṣâfi erdâni fappel li jâ tâǧer jâ rḥejbâwi.*"

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâğ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sğile* is a sheet of paper. *Zîž* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhîğ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which knelt, *mabrak*, over a snake hole, *ṭâğ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṛamâlîğ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳejẓ* or *meḳîẓ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ğaw Fertež lies southwest of Ḥâjel. *Ṣarâhîğ* (for *ṣahârîğ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḳamḥ*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *sâğ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâğ*, or *felğ*, for *ṭelğ*, means snow or ice. *Šuḏḏab* are small pieces of dry *ṛaṛa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḏeb* (pl., *šuḏḏab*) is equivalent to *bejaẓ* (pl., *bîẓ*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭe'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wudâğ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *sîžân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darârîğ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tensef*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâğ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâlîğ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

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3. She never drew the knife with blacking around the edge of her eyelids,
   And never raised her hand to threaten the neighbors.
4. I swear to Allâh, oath upon oath I swear,
   As well as by the life of him who spurred her,
5. That as soon as she saw me wrathful she tried to appease me
   As a kind mother tries to soothe her boy.
6. She came to me as a gift, not in exchange for animals of value,
   She was the boast of the kin, for all who came praised her.
7. O ʿAḳâb! that bliss of mine! thou hast buried her in Nimrîn
   By the impassable crags, O ʿAḳâb! opposite the water.
8. Five of my sons died, O ʿAḳâb! five, and my two brothers,
   And none can say that my eyes had a sleepless night.
9. No one with grief filled me, O ʿAḳâb! except the one who dwells—who knows where?
   And whose body was scented with the fragrance of *ḥẓêra*.
10. Never did my heart prove faithless to my love, nor my eyes,
    And whenever she whispered, my eye was as if with ophthalmia struck.
11. No matter if in two long rows come the Bedouins' daughters, O ʿAḳâb,
    Thou little brother of mine! I would take none but Wazha alone.

The poet was Nimr eben ʿAdwân from al-Belḳa'; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

Verse 1. *Jâ sîn* (or *jâ ḥejf*), Ah me! 3. A *raṭrûf* is a *mil*, or small knife for rubbing on the eye black. 4. A married woman is often likened to a saddled mare and her husband during sexual intercourse to a rider. 6. Among the ʿAdwân a fixed number of she-camels, sheep, or mares must be given in compensation to the father of the girl whom a man wishes to marry. This custom is known as *sijâḳ*. 7. Nimrîn is the name of a small creek in al-Belḳa, where lies the burying ground of the ʿAdwân. 9. *Ḥẓêra* is a plant which emits a strong smell.

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themselves with grain. Our Šammari can therefore meet his Rwala maid, Zahra, only in the inner desert, *šerḳ*. Women fond of dress dye their hair yellow with henna.

Fâṭeri taẓla' al-jowm min riǧlaha
jâ ba'ad žâḏelen ḳarḳašaw ḥaǧlaha.

My old she-camel with her hind leg lame today,
Oh, may she live longer than she with hair clipped above her brows and ankle rings clashing together.

Ajj as-samar walla'-l-bajaẓ
low čent ani 'aššâḳeh
ḥebb as-samar ḥelwt al-ǧowf
lâ wa' hani min ẓâḳeh.

Whether black or white,
If I were only his sweetheart!
The kisses of a negro are like the *ḥelwa* dates from al-Ǧowf;
Truly, much relish to one who has tasted them.

A paramour was reproached with having been intimate with a negro; she answered with the ditty just cited, which is very popular, especially with the negroes.

Ḥelwa is the most delicious variety of dates raised in the basin al-Ǧowf. Some of these dates are as much as five centimeters long and two centimeters thick; they are black with a bluish tinge.

1. *Naṭṭajt râs al-'abd w-lâ šufet al-adbâš*
   w-lâ ǧâni min maẓnûn 'ajni munâbi
2. *mâ šufet ṭurkijje w-lâ šufet al-awnâs*
   min dûn maẓnûni telâla'-s-serâbi
3. *hani lowni lil-ma'âlîḳ fattâš*
   w-alli bḳalb ṣwejḥebi miṭl mâ bi.

1. The summit of al-'Abd I climbed, but saw no herds,
   Nor did any one come to bring word to me from the one for whom my eyes watch.
2. No travelers, no man at all I sighted;
   Between me and my ward a mirage quivers.
3. Oh, may he who examines the heart bring my desires to a good issue,
   [Allâh] who dwells in my mistress' heart and in mine too.

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[302] top of the head. As a rule only a tuft of it is left standing, 539x the rest being shaven. *Mušarred* (or *jifekk*) *bowšeh*, liberates 852 his loot. Fighting with the Turks (i. e. with the regular army) [721] was difficult for the Bedouins and therefore greatly desired by them.

Jâ mnîfe jâ miznet aṣ-ṣejf
jâ brûḳaha jil'aženni
tel'ab 'ala-l-bîẓ bel-kejf
waš 'âd low jiz'alenni.

O Mnîfe, O thou rain cloud of the early summer!
How dazzling its lightning is to me!
Thou canst play with the fair ones at thy will,
For I [in thy place] should not care if they grow angry with me.

[132] At the close of April, when summer begins, each rain is accompanied by a violent storm by which the atmosphere is greatly refreshed. Mnîfe, the wife of the head chief, needs not envy her female companions, as she excels them in both beauty and power.

Jâ bejt abu nawwâf
jâ minwet al-bâdi
w-rwijhom bel-ḳêẓ
ḥabra lel-warâdi
wa-ṣḥûnahom bel-lêl
tawḥi lha menâdi
teḥûfehen mnîfe
jâ bint al-aǧwâdi.

O thou tent of the father of Nawwâf!
O thou goal desired of the night pilgrim!
In summer their large water bags are
As a great rain pond from which water is brought.
To their dishes at night
The criers noisily invite;
They are prepared by Mnîfe,
A daughter of noble ancestors.

Abu Nawwâf is Prince an-Nûri; his wife Mnîfe is a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm. *Bâdi*, like *sâjer*, means a traveler by night, or a visitor. By both the men's and the

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He holds the rope end when it slides down from the roller of the water hoist and then again he waits till the full bucket comes up. *Ṛabûḳ* is the milk which serves the herdsman as a substitute for supper. If no supper has been left for him he milks a she-camel. During the watering he has no time to do any milking; furthermore, the owner has generally milked all the she-camels before they are driven to the watering place.

Al-bel wurdat jâ bazbûz
w-ent trâhez lak ʿağûz.

The camels have moved to the water, O thou thin skeleton!
While thou wert playing with an old hag.

Taw hom ğaw	They have but just come;
mûs w-zaw	Hither with knife and shears
lelḥâḥom	For the chins of those
lalli ğaw.	Who have arrived.

The helpers of the watering herdsmen were late in returning; wherefore, to disgrace them, their chin beards are to be cut short. *Zaww* are the scissors with which the chin beard is trimmed, and *mûs* the knife with which the beard is shaved.

Bâčer raḥîlen žible	Tomorrow we move south;
šuḥ al-ṛazi w-eržib leh.	Beckon to thy sweetheart and then watch her.

Eržib leh means "look out," "have a care," "watch" when she leaves camp with the laden tent and in what direction she drives her camels; for on the march there is many a chance to speak to her unobserved.

Ḏawdak mâ hen šarrâbât
jâ rafîž al-ḥaṭṭâbât
rağol al-ḥâjel ḳâlow mât
min šaharna ḏâk all-fât
ḥalleh jewalli leḏ-ḏalfât.

Thy little herd has not yet been watered,
O thou companion of women seeking fuel!
The husband of the childless is said to have died
The month before that which has just passed.
May he be sent to the darkness!

787 herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a 721 number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḫoḏ lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḫûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭî'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḫûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

787 A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard ●302 shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

513 While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes 774 sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

628 A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

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in constant fear and therefore keep a sharp lookout all the time. In the same manner the daughter of Eben Ḳublân watches for danger from the enemy and wishes that her lover may always be ready to go to her assistance.

La'ujûn min labes al-ḥarîr
šuḳran ḏwâjeb râseha
w-elja' talâḳow bel-wa'ad
w-aš-šejḫ bimaḥâseha.

For the eyes of her who wears a silk garment
And has braids of fair hair!
When men shall meet in the fight appointed by Allâh,
The chief himself will be the first on the battle ground.

The daughters and wives of the chiefs wear silk kerchiefs. Fair hair is rare among the Rwala women; they generally dye it. Our beauty with braids of fair hair has a suitor in the person of the chief himself, who therefore hastens to her aid when the migrating clan is attacked and fights on the battle ground before her eyes. *Wa'ad* is a fight ordained by Allâh himself. *Maḥâs* means the place of an encounter, a battle ground.

Arḫaṣt 'omrî w-al-faras
dûn al-ǧemal w-alli 'alejh
jâ-bu ḳrûn čaha-l-maras
ḳalbi muštâḳen 'alejh.

I risked my life and my mare
Before the camel and her who sat on him.
For her with braids like this rope,
My heart is longing for her.

Kill jowm 'ajden lal-banât
w-al-jowm hâḏa 'ajdana
narm-al-'aša lal-ḥâjemât
lal-'ujûn min terîdana.

Every day is a holiday for the girls,
But this day is a holiday for us,
As we shall throw a supper to the birds of prey
For the eyes of her who longs for us.

The girls sing, amuse themselves, and turn the heads of the young men every day, but the youths show them their real qualities on the day when they repulse a hostile raid.

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539* him who grants a safe asylum to one imperiled by a blood feud or in battle, or to those who are persecuted.

Lâ tâḫedî alli šarad jâ ḫâjibe
w-al-mesč w-ar-rejḫân beḏwâjibeh.

Wed not him who cowardly fled, O maiden who loves a coward,
Even if his braids were scented with musk and other perfumes!

Ḫâjeb is a man who returned without booty. Such a one brings no luck, for he is predestined to evil, *fâleh šên*. He who runs away from fear deserves no booty, and the maiden who loves him is in danger of forfeiting all good fortune and is, also, a *ḫâjibe*. The messenger bringing the first report that the raiders are returning is pressed with questions: "A raid with or without booty? *al-ṛazw ḫâjeb walla' ṣâjeb.*" Many young men plait their hair in the female style into *ḏwâjeb* and then scent it with musk and other perfumes.

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Râ'anê jâ-bu zmejjen râ'anê
ḥatta tšûf muṭâ'anê
jâ-bu zmejjem lâwîteh
čejf an-neḏel mhâwîteh.

Look at me, thou with a nose ring;
Behold how I fight!
O thou with a nose ring which thou squeezest!
How couldst thou fall in love with a coward?

[301] *Zmejjem* is a brass or silver ring, about one or two centimeters in diameter, worn in the left nostril. *Muṭâ'anê*, properly *muṭâ'ani*, means a contest with spears, a contest in general. *Lâwîteh* or *lâwajteh*: she kept pressing the ends of the ring together to prevent it from falling out of the nostril.

Jâ šowḳ jâ zejn al-meḏâre'
jâ 'awd rejḫânen raǧûḥ
en mâ ḥamajna lak mešâre'
w-allâh 'an ad-dire narûḥ.

O sweetheart! O thou with fair elbows!
O fragrant flower stalk to all sides inclining!
Know that if we hold not the watering places,
By Allâh! we shall move from our territory.

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it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos, refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids it, *telemm râsah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *ḳuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḏâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *ḳuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *žiḏle*, *'erf*, or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ka'ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telahha' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧîk al-manḳûše*."

Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *nûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *daḳḳ al-wšâm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *min šân zerâfa*.

Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gazelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *rusejni*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *ma'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ṯowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

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8. The bridge of her nose glistens like the blade of an Indian sword;
   To pearls and corals her teeth I compare.
9. Oh, her spittle! Like viper-wine it is used,
   For it heals one bitten by a snake as soon as he drinks of it.
10. Oh, the neck of my darling! like that of a gazelle
    Or the white antelope which men hunt on horseback.
11. Her breasts are adorned by tattooing with gems precious and costly.
    Which neither the wealth of Persia nor of Syria could buy.
12. Her breasts, they are apples, — alas, for my loss that has bereft me of reason! —
    A china cup set on a tray.
13. Her arms glisten as a silver pot,
    And her little finger is a burnished gold stick.
14. How slender is she! I think not she has yet born children.
    To a sprig of wild cherry I liken her, as it sways in the air.
15. O ye who hear this voice, have mercy on me!
    O Moslems! will you not pity one dead?
16. Bring here my mistress, set her before me
    And on my breast lay her when I die.
17. Oh, may he who reviles me have no kin,
    Or become a captive seized by unbelievers.

The poet was Nimr eben 'Adwân; the reciter, Ğwâd al-'Âni. The poet sits on a steep stone pile, laments, and describes the beauty of his dead sweetheart, with whom he wishes to be buried. Verse 1. *Ḥorr šemâli* is a camel recognized as pure-blooded by the tribes camping in al-Belḳa' and the Ḥawrân districts, whereas the tribes living farther east and south deny this, declaring it is by no means certain that both of its parents were thoroughbreds. 3. *Riğm* is an artificial pile of stones. Such piles are usually found on the most prominent hills and serve as shelters for the watchers or spies, who, lying down at their post, may observe the whole country around. *Ṣadîr* is a hollow in a channel where the rain water remains even when the stream had dried up. 5. *Ṣalab* is a feather from the hips of an ostrich, used as an ornament or bouquet. 9. *Dâbb* is any poisonous snake of some length; short ones are known as *efâ'i*. 11. The breasts are often covered with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels.

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12. She is clear white, pink, and bordered with red,
And her glory exceeds the beauty of Joseph.
13. No untruth I speak, nor is it a fable,
For, after all, I am no maker of stories.
14. He who will revile me must have less wisdom than a bull or she-ass,
For easier it is to persuade a bull which when bidden turns.
15. By Allâh! I shall not find her even among the houris.
Therefore, to describe what has passed away is of no help.
16. By Allâh himself! with her death my life is destroyed;
Hence wise is moderation for the sake of Allâh, who knows all secrets.

This poem, composed by the poet Nimr eben ʿAdwân, was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm, who learned it from his mother, who hailed from the Sirḥân tribe.

Verse 1. *Ḳalam* is a pen cut from stout reed. *Zejzaf* or *nâʿem* means "smooth, soft." 2. *Ḥilb* is a she-camel, old, toothless, and therefore very emaciated. *Ṭâwi* denotes such a beast which can kneel but on account of its weakness cannot rise again. Sometimes a feeble she-camel of this kind is left behind on the camping ground; the poor beast tries to get up, but every time sinks down again uttering bitter moans. Her deep sighs are heard far around. She longs for her companions whom she is not to see again, and is afraid of the wolves. 4. *ʿAḏâra* is the name for all young women, whether virgins or not. A virgin is called *bikr*; a female who has lost her virginity, *mâḥûḏa*. Sinǧâr is a mountain ridge southwest of Mosul. 5. The daughters of the Ṣlejb excel by their perfect shapes. *Šihâra* is the name given by the Ṣlejb to their pure-blooded asses, which they often cross with the wild asses. The Ṣlejb women are often elaborately tattooed on their cheeks. 6. *Hawâdeǧ*, quiverings, shakings, the poetical term for *ʒetab*, means "large richly colored litters which rock freely." *Hawwâr* signifies a camel of the inner desert, inured to thirst, whereas a *ǧûdi* is a camel from districts with plenty of water. A *ǧûdi* is stronger, but a *ḥawwâr* will endure more fatigue. 9. *Ṭobb* denotes "come near," "step into the center." 12. The cheeks are clear white and pink and red at the edges. According to the story, Joseph, the son of the patriarch Jacob, was very handsome. 13. *Ḳamâra* is a story pleasant to hear but fictitious. A *beǰṭâr* is a blacksmith, who beside swinging the ham-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VI

DRESS AND WEAPONS

THE BEARD AND HAIR; TATTOOING; BODY BELTS

The Rwala devote much attention to the body,[1] especially to the hair and beard. Almost everyone can shave and cut hair, and they render this service to one another, as they have no mirrors to shave by. Calling on his comrade with the words: "Shave me, *ḥassenni* (or *zajjenni*, or *ehlekni*)," a Rwejli sits down on his heels and patiently waits till his friend has prepared his soap, razor, and scissors. If he merely wishes the beard growing under his chin on the throat, *ǧarǧûr*, shaved, he says: "*Ǧarǧerni.*" If he wishes the back part of his head up to the ears, *ṣôra*, shaved, he asks: "*Ṣawwerni.*" Otherwise the barber will shave both the half of the back of his head and the beard under the chin, trim his thin chin beard, *aḥje* (or *daḳne*), and his goatee, *'adesa*, shave off his side whiskers, *'awârez*, trim his moustache, *šwâreb*, clipping off its ends, *subaḳ*, and comb the hair over the forehead, cutting it short, *ḳuṣṣa*, at the same time. Individuals especially careful of their appearance have their front hair made into two, four, six, or even as many as eight plaits, *ḳrûn*. A man wearing his hair

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[1] The big toe (thumb) is called *bkâm*; the second and third toes, *ḥonejer*; the fourth toe, *ḥonejer*; the little toe, *benejer*; a finger (or toe) nail, *zafer*; the toes, *eṣâbi' ar-riǧlên*; the sole of the foot, *ḫeff*; the arch of the foot, *dahd ar-riǧel*; the heel, *'aḳeb*; the instep, *'erḍ*; the ankle, *'aṣafa ab-ar-raḫam* or *ba'ûb*; the ankle joint, *mifakk*; Achilles tendon, *'erḳûb*; the shank, *sâḳ*; the calf, *ǧarbû'a*; the extensor of the leg, *'aṣa ar-rukbe*; the knee-cap, *zelîla*; the hollow of the knee, *mâbag*; the thigh, *faḫḍ*; the mons Veneris, *ḥadîd*; the penis, *'ajr* or *nebb*; the testicles, *ḥaṣîda*; the glans, *faṣ'a*; the groins, *ḥâora*; the hip, *wirk*; the buttock, *ḥaṭîjje* or *ṣî*; the navel, *sirra*; the loins, *ǧamb*; the ribs, *ṣlê'*; the breast, *ṣadr*; the breast nipple, *dîd*; the ensiform cartilage, *ṣaqrîf al-ḥalb*; the stomach, *ḥabd*; the intestines, *ḥeṣbân*; the kidney, *ḥelwa*; the spleen, *ṭḥâl*; the liver, *eḍḍr*; the gall, *mardra*; the heart, *ḥalb* or *qandîl al-ḥalb*; the lungs, *rîje*; the back, *ṣahr*; the lower part of the spine, *ḏinâjeḥ*; the vertebrae, *ḥerûz aṣ-ṣahr*; the shoulder-blade muscles, *ḥaffa*; the shoulder blade, *ḥaṭf*; the small of the neck, *ruwwâda al-ḥaṭf*; the neck, *ruḳuba*; the two fleshy parts of the back of the neck, *'alba*; the hollow between them, *aḥejra*; the atlas, *fe'da*; the collar bone, *ṭarfa*; the pit of the throat, *ṭrejra*; the external jugular vein, *wrîd*; the throat, *ḥarrâṭa*; the Adam's apple, *erwâa*; the chin, *'adasa*; the jaws, *ḥadîr*; the lips, *ḥardḥoun*, or *ḥeldḥoun*; the corners of the mouth, *ḥâḍḍ*; the cheeks, *wṭnêt*; the nose, *ḫešm*; the nostrils, *mendḫer*; the ridge of the nose, *'irnâs*; the bridge of the nose, *ensḫrus*; the cheek bone, *rumemâs*; the eyes, *'ujûn*; the pupil of the eye, *ṣbaj*; the eyelids, *ǧfûn*; the eyelashes, *rimš*; the eyebrow, *ḥâǧǧ*; the forehead, *ǧabha*; the temples, *ṣaudḫer*; the ear, *iǧen*; the lobe of the ear, *ḫamma*; the teeth, *senân*; the incisors, *ṣenâǧe*; the four eye teeth, *nâbâ*; the molars, *rahâ*; the glottis, *ḥlejt al-mezrî*; the gullet, *bal'ûm*; the top of the head, *ṣâǧîn*; the cranium, *ḥâmt er-rês*; the brain, *dmâġ*; the elbow joint, *'aṣl*; the elbow, *ḥâ*; the forearm, *ǧrâ*; the arm hollow, *ḍarḍar*; the back of the hand, *mišš*; the palm of the hand, *ḫeff*; the thumb, *bâkom*; the index finger, *ṣaṣrâ*; the little finger, *benejer*; the hand, *ied* (or *îd*; dual, *îdâ*; pl., *îdên*); three hands, *ṣalâṯ îdâr*; five feet, *ḫamse riǧlên*. 826

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302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad ǰenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-eṛnam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak 'al-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for
[576 pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more
181] disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭa'ab al-ḥorr murr*."

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak 'arâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâǰef*)
685 or mounted (*mu'ajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *kowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana mu'težk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥîtak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as
302 bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭa' râsak*. It is much easier
628 for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣeǰri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

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VII

Death in the Desert

FARIS AND HIS band marched along in high spirits. The sky was blue, the earth a verdant green, the scented air full of sunshine; and from horizon to horizon stretched the wilderness in one unbroken expanse.

At times one lost the sense of progress. Were we standing still? Riding in a circle?—so unchanging was the landscape. Yet one never tired of it, nor could one have enough of this exhilarating motion.

Steppe, desert, rising and falling imperceptibly; ridge hardly distinguishable from valley; except, perhaps, that the valley still glistened a little from the last shower and showed a more vigorous touch of fresh green.

Three days we thus journeyed. For three days no tents, no herds; nothing but the empty wilderness under the serene sky; now gay with herbage, now grim with gravel, stones, and lava.

On the fourth day, from the edge of a steep escarpment, as from a sea-cliff, we suddenly saw spread before our eyes the Wadi Sirhan, here immensely wide. A medley of chalk-coloured banks rising from lime rock, stony plains, salt marshes, sand dunes, grey shrubs, tablelands, deep-furrowed, loamy beds of rain torrents, called *wudian*, covered with black rubble.

Towards the evening of the next day we reached Mayku', an old watering-place of the Ruala. Some hundreds of them were still under tents there in the shadow

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

312 of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All
[406] through the night they kept watering their herds at the deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bearings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

133 A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which extends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste without water, without pasture, on which it seems to have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards
[137] avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended
[262] on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta —the *samh*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed granules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark, bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

726 After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well, we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

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one or two layers deep. If you raked them away, you found underneath yellowish and reddish sand intermingled with flints. Under the glare of the sun, the ground glittered unbearably, so that one could not look at it long without causing the eyes to smart. There was a steady crunching and clattering as we rode over the stony field, which made very difficult going for our camels. The leathery hoof-pads slipped on the polished stones and they often lost their footing. This unfriendly desert did not please me at all. I must admit, however, that the air was pure and bracing.

When we reached Rueyshdat on the day agreed, Fuaz was already there, back from Damascus; and there also was gathered most of his tribe, for the region of Rueyshdat seemed to be the only one in Northern Arabia where enough rain-water could be found this spring.

Here the Ruala were watering their camels, probably for the last time before they reached the wells of Abu Rijmeyn, two hundred and sixty miles away. A forced march—a gamble with life and death as the stakes—confronted the whole of the Ruala tribe. They could not go back, neither into the Wadi Sirhan nor into the Jauf Basin. They must go forward, right through enemy territory, under the threat of skirmishes, perhaps real war, with hostile Bedouin tribes. But far more dangerous appeared to the Ruala the contest with Nature. Scanty pasture still clothed the stony uplands and hills; the stems of the tiny plants still held a sprinkling of sap, so that the camels could still find a little nourishment and moisture. Perhaps also God the Merciful would show indulgence to the Ruala and on their march into the

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him; but where should he be but here, with his dead friend? 765

I was on the point of guiding Sadha away when I noticed a rider coming in my direction—a Bedouin on a white-stockinged sorrel mare, who had just detached himself from a moving group of *kethabs* (riding-litters) and pack camels and was coming along at a tearing gallop.

It was Tuëma.

A short distance from where I was waiting for her she pulled up. Her horse snorted impatiently.

"Peace!" she called to me, lifting her hand.

"Peace, Tuëma," I called back. The tears came into my eyes.

"Shushan!" she called. The dog on the grave got up and walked slowly and reluctantly toward her, then stopped and turned his head.

"Shushan," she called again, and as she rode away, the dog followed her.

The Ruala were on the march and the land was covered with their camels. 731 x 221 x

Within a few days Tudmur was engulfed in the maelstrom. Day after day, with never a pause, fresh swarms of camels came out of the arid waste to stop at the foot of the hills and drink their fill. The sulphurous but wholesome water here issues from the hills in a clear stream, which branches out into a hundred rivulets in the plain and the small gardens surrounding the ancient city. [312] •

In the midst of the marching Ruala I rode again with

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the tiny pale-green leaflets of annuals, which the Rwala call "grasses," *'ešeb*, whereas the perennials are called by them "woody plants," *šağar*. If the *wasm aṭ-ṭrûwi*, the rain of the Pleiades, is likewise abundant, the grasses attain their full growth and the camels pasture on fresh *'ešeb* even before the winter, *aš-šta'*, sets in. 132 137

The most important rain of all is the *wasm aṭ-ṭrûwi*; it is the decisive factor for the future grazing. A copious rain of Gemini extending over wide areas assures the growth of both the grasses and the woody plants and banishes the dread of hunger. Sometimes at the end of the *ǧôzâwi* rain period comes a rain called *at-twejbe'* (of Aldebaran), which completes the fertility brought by the rains of Gemini, although not sufficient in itself to take their place altogether.

The *šitwi* rain, called also *an-nežžân*, will not assure a successful growth of the grasses if they have not already sprouted after the *wasm* rains. In the *smâk* and, especially, in the *ṣejf* seasons there are many very hot days, so that the grasses which came out from the ground after the *šitwi* rain grow yellow before reaching their full development. But the *šitwi* rain fills all the reservoirs with pure healthful water, which evaporates but slowly during the cold winter days and nights and in consequence remains pure for a long time. [312]

The rain of *as-smâk* is beneficial only when the soil has been thoroughly soaked by some autumnal rain, especially that of Gemini, for then both the grasses and woody plants are rapidly developed by *as-smâk* and the prosperity of the Bedouins in that particular season is well-nigh assured. Yet even the most abundant *smâk* rain is of but little account if it falls on ground already parched from lack of moisture from the preceding autumnal rains, for the hot sun of the following season, *aṣ-ṣejf*. will consume everything that the *smâk* has called to life.

An abundant *ṣejfi* rain leads to the destruction of the annuals, strengthens the perennials, and fills all the spring wells. The grasses refreshed by copious summer rain become luxuriant, quickly sending out new leaves and blossoms; but in a few days the scorching sun absorbs all their sap, withering them more prematurely than if *aṣ-ṣejfi* had not awakened them. The woody plants, on the other hand, having a longer period of vegetation, acquire from abundant summer rain so much moisture that they can attain their full development.

132 137 A luxuriant growth of perennials in the autumn is a sure sign that the particular district has been visited by good *ṣejfi* rains, whence the saying: "O that lovely little gazelle! it will eat its fill of the autumn pasture after the summer rain; *jâ 'ajn al-ḫšejf tar'-al-ḫelfi 'oḳb aṣ-ṣejfi.*" Abundant summer [312] rain also fills both the natural and artificial reservoirs, but such water soon swarms with frogs, *daṛâliṣ*, and all kinds of worms, which render it foul-smelling and undrinkable in a short time.

PRAYERS FOR RAIN

539 789 If the earth does not receive abundant autumnal rain, the danger of a failure of the pasture, *maḥal* (or *muḥṭi*), arises. In order to prevent it, the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of the rain (Fig. 1). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession, which wanders from tent to tent singing:

1. *Jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   belli bšejt râ'îna
2. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   min al-maṭar eẓîna
3. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   min midd allâh meddîna
4. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   min al-wabel enṭîna.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Wet the mantle of our herdsman.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
With pouring rain allay our thirst.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
From Allâh's measure measure out to us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
A real flood let our share be.

[291] Verse 1. *Ṛejṭ* signifies a rain of at least four days' duration extending over a vast region. *Bšejt* is a cheap gray cloak made of wool or cotton waste. 2. The girls gradually increase their prayers for rain. At first they want the rain only to wet the herdsman's mantle; then they pray for a downpour, *maṭar*,

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831x
539x

May Allâh bring thee back from the raid!
May Allâh rescue thee in the attack!

The maiden wishes her lover, who is taking part in a raid against the Sinǧâra, all success. *Mezwi* is a light woollen mantle of black color shot with red. *Lâ jâ ba'ad* means: "mayst thou not depart." The Sinǧâra is one of the four main tribes of the Šammar.

Jâ ḥabîbi jâ-l-ḥebbe
w-ḥelw ṭari an-nakâjef
fowḳ aš'alen muṭlaḥebbe
jeǧfel min ẓell as-sefâjef.

O darling! Oh, that kiss!
Sweet is the news of their return from the raid.
He is mounted on a broad-breasted dappled camel,
Which shies at the shadow of the gay ribbons.

Nakâjef are returning raiders. *Muṭlaḥebb* is a camel broad of breast and bony. *Sefâjef* are long multicolored ribbons, hanging from the back of the saddle.

Elfen hala beš-šaḳra
w-elfên hala brâ'iha
en čân 'aṭšâne šaḳra
bedmû' 'ajn aššîha.

Welcome a thousand times, O sorrel mare!
And two thousand times, thou who ridest her!
Should the sorrel be thirsty,
I will water her with the tears of my eyes.

Jâ-hal al-'aḳla	O you who tarry by the well,
jâ-lli želî'en madâh	Which is so far a journey,
lâ te'ezlûn nafsen	Drive no one away
ǧazat 'an hawâh.	Before he has satisfied his desire.

[312]

'Aḳla is a well in a valley or dry river bed, which must be cleaned after every heavy rain. *Želî'en madâh* (or *ba'iden madâh*) refers to a long road or journey leading to the well, *Ḳala'na madâh* (or *ab'adnâh*) would mean: "We moved it farther, extended the distance between it and ourselves." A man comes from afar for water to an *'aḳla*, and it is a sign of cruelty to drive away such a person, *nafs*. *Hawa'*

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831x
539x

Jâ lahad ḳum ʿaṭni al-maḥzam
nabṛi nuṛarreb ʿala-n-nuḳra
jâ ḥajji w-ḳalbi al-wâred
waredat ʿaṭšânen ʿala muḳra.

O Lahad! rise and hand me my bandoleer,
For we wish to go to the settlers of an-Nuḳra.
There, little brother of mine, my heart is speeding,
As speeds the thirsty to a rock well with rain water.

The lover in the desert longs for his sweetheart, already camping in an-Nuḳra west of the Ḥawrân.

A *maḥzam* is a broad leather belt with pockets for cartridges. *Nuṛarreb* is an expression used by the Bedouins when they wander from the inner desert into a settled country in no matter what direction. *Muḳra*, or *moḳr*, is a half natural, half artificial cylindrical well dug in a rock to a depth of five to ten meters, where rain water accumulates. Its opening is usually narrow, so that any large stone can close it. In a rock well of this kind the rain water will remain as long as a year and a half before evaporating. As there are no large watering places in the regions where such fountains are dug, the thirsty man hastens to them full of nervous fear, since he knows that he will die of thirst if the *moḳr* contains no water.

[312]

Jâ wanneti wannejtaha
baḳṣa'-ṣ-ṣumâjer ḥâjera
lejteni šenâšel ṭowḳaha
w-al'ab ʿala ẓumâjerah.

This is my lament; I weep for her,
I who in the depth of my soul am troubled.
Oh that I might be a chain on her necklace
So that I could play on her bosom!

The lover longs for his sweetheart, who camps far away from him.

Jâ râčebînen hafâhîf
jâ wâredînen ʿala ẓmejr
jâ mufarrežîn al-alâjef
ana-šhad mâ-ntom ʿala ḥejr.

tried to telegraph for everything the riders asked for, but could not get them anywhere. 28. *Ḥafâje* is the name giv to she-camels with bruised soles which bleed at every ste such camels cannot, therefore, be used on long marche *Erte'âdi* means shaking of the loins, a sure sign of fever a sickness. 29. Having been deceived by his friend Fejḥân, 'Ab allâh sought help from other chiefs in Neǧd and was in su haste about it as to rouse everybody's wonder. 30. He a dresses Fejḥân. "*Jâ šên*, O shameful!" O rascal! is used in bo a friendly and hostile sense. 31. Fejḥân would reproach hi with fearing to win the beauty for him. 33. *Radij al-ǧelâ* is a bald-headed man. 34. *Ḥaẓîẓ* is what remains of water a folded leather water bag. 35. He woos for Fejḥân a girl his own kin, as a kin usually forms a *ferîž*, smaller can of their own. 37. He can see her cooking behind the narro partition which protects the fireplace from the wind, *der* 38. *Al-ḥeǧa'* denotes the corner in the women's compartme where women in childbirth or with abnormal menstruati rest. 39. Fejḥân viewed his beloved's beauty with his own ey but other people judged it differently. In Neǧd almost eve settlement has its own valley without an outlet. These valle are mostly large basins where the rain water accumulat there soaking into the sandy ground and keeping fresh f a considerable time. None of these basins are connected, that the water cannot flow on the surface from one to a other. 41. He who is careless will perish, be he the most powe ful. A person on foot carrying a pouch with cool water w overcome a rider dying of thirst. 43. A Bedouin may not mar a *ṣâne'*'s daughter.

'Obejd Eben Rašid Lies in Wait in a Ravine to Fight the Âl 'Ali

1. *Hejh já-lli lak ma' an-nâs widdâd*
   má tarḥamûn al-ḥâl jâ 'azwati lejh
2. *má tarḥamûn alli ṛada dam'eh abdâd*
   ṭowl az-zemân w-ḥarrak ad-dam' ḥaddejh
3. *min šowfeti lel-ṛarw mazbûr al-anhâd*
   mutmašleḥen jâṭa' 'ala-ždâm riǧlejh
4. *aš-šowḳ má leh 'an mwâṭih raddâd*
   ejẓan w-lá sibten žiwijjen jewaǧǧejh

539[x] 3. O thou, whose donkeys have trampled down every fountain where they have drunk,
What is destroyed thou must repair with timber and stone.

The Rwejli warns the Ṣlubi not to change his vocation and urges him to return to his people.

[619] Verse 1. The Rwala call every Ṣlubi Abu-l-Ḥala, the father of the desert, i.e. the dweller in the barren desert. *Al-ḥala* is to the Bedouin any region where his camels cannot subsist in a particular year. But the Ṣlubi remains with his asses and a few goats even in such places. In the plural the Ṣlejb are not called Awlâd al-Ḥala, but Awlâd Ṛânem, owing to their belief that they all have the same progenitor, Ṛânem. The Ṣlubi has laid up sorrow in his heart because he will be disappointed. The word *kubb* is used of spilling dirty water or [224] casting aside a useless occupation. *Zanâniḥ* are oval pieces of antelope skin which the Ṣlejb tie over their knees and elbows when crawling after game. They usually cover themselves with the twigs of perennials, giving themselves the appearance of long bushes, and then crawl carefully on their elbows and knees to the herds of gazelles, of antelopes, and even of ostriches. [231] 2. The Ṣlejb keep many common dogs, which guard their flocks against the wolves and hyenas by day and night. 3. They never [312] camp near the large watering places, where they might meet with the Bedouins, whom they avoid as much as possible. However, they know every shallow well in channels filled with coarse sand. In the rainy season the water flows down into the rocky channels, forming after long rains a stream which fills the scorched channel for several days, until the surface water evaporates in the hot sun and only the remainder flows under the coarse sand, filling all the hollows and pits of the rocky bottom. These hollows are known to the Ṣlejb, who shovel away the sand and gravel, wall in the hollow so that it may not sink in, cover it with branches and turf, and then pile on sand, to keep out the sun and hide the water from strangers. When in need of water, they open these hollows, water their donkeys, fill their water bags, and carry them to their tents. The thirsty donkeys frequently trample down the water hole which they have just emptied, compelling the Ṣlubi to repair it before the coming of new rains, if his family and his flock are not to suffer from thirst.

233 some nights far out alone; *nazalow al-ǧaw w-je'azzebûn jâḥe-ḍûn ḥems aw semḥ.* A traveler who does not see the herds in a camp where he has stopped for the night is told when asking about them: "The camels sleep out in the loneliness guarded by our warriors, *al-bel 'azîb w-ǧenabha ra'ah.*"

233 312 The watering of camels is done either at the wells or at rain ponds. If there is nobody at the well, it is called *firže*; if surrounded by a throng, the saying is: "*Hal-želîb 'alejh 'ark*, at this well there is a crowd (or noise)." A man called *ṛarrâf* crawls into the well and fills the leather bucket, *delw*, which is let down to him. The full bucket is pulled up by another man, *mattâḥ*, who empties it into a leather trough, *ḥowṣ*, and lets the emptied bucket down the well again, *fajjaṣha bel-bîr.* The larger the bucket and the deeper the well, the more men pull the rope, *jesnûn* or *sannâjin.* Often also the rope is tied to the saddle of a camel which is then made to pull.

Fig. 36—A water hoist, *maḳâm.*

406 In case the Rwala want to draw water from a deep well for some time they put up a water hoist, *na'ûr* or *maḳâm* (Fig. 36), over it. This consists of two stout poles, *'amûdên*, made fast in the ground in such a way that they lean over the well. In holes bored through these poles an iron rod, *muḫṭar*, is then fitted, with a wooden roller, *maḥâle*, over which runs the rope, *rša'*, holding the *delw.* "Put up the hoist" is expressed by a Rwejli with the words: "*Erḳeṣ an-na'ûr*" or "*raff an-na'ûr* (or *maḳâm*)."

312 Watering from an *'aḳla* well causes the herdsmen much labor, as such wells are partially filled or even entirely caved in after each heavy rain and have to be cleaned or dug anew. Their depth varies from two to five meters; they are never walled around. The silt or earth dug out is usually just dumped about the mouth of the well, often forming a mound half a meter or a meter high. In this two or three passages are left

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

312 to admit the water carriers, who pour out the water outside of the mound either into the leather troughs or into a large bowl, or finally into pits dug in the earth and covered with leather. The mound also prevents the camels from coming too near and falling into the well.

312 When a leather trough, *ḥowẓ*, is lacking, a shallow pit called *ǧâbija* is dug and the water for the camels poured in.

233 The watering of the camels is carried out at the various rain pools and reservoirs in the same way as at the wells, and only at the large pools, *ḫabra'* (pl., *ḫabâri*), can whole herds go right into the water and drink. But, as the camels generally drop their excrements while drinking, the *ḫabâri* are soon defiled beyond measure. At their edges a layer of offal is formed; the water smells of urine and becomes dirty yellow and brackish, *ṭoba'* or *maṭrûḳ*.

233 When the camels have drunk their fill, the herdsman drives them away from the water, allowing them to kneel or graze for about half an hour, *jenadden*. Then he drives them back to the water again, urging them to drink more, *jeḥaṭṭen*. If they do drink again even a little, both the herdsman and the host are satisfied that the animals have drunk enough to last them until the next watering. If there is not enough water in the place, the herdsman drives the herd away after the first watering, complaining to the host: "Our camels did not get their second drink today, for there was not water enough; *abâ'erna al-jowm mâ ṣâḥ leha ḥaṭṭa al-ma' želîl*."

To make the camels drink the herdsman uses the words: "*Ṯerr ṭerr ṭerr!*" In urging them to the morning pasture: "*Di di di mẓaḥḥow di!*" In the evening: "*M'aššow he' he' duh!*" If he wants to calm his she-camel he calls: "*Ethi hî hî ethi!*" To halt the animal: "*Kḫa kḫa!*" To make her kneel: "*Ethi ḫ ḫ ḫ!*" To make the resting she-camel rise quickly and flee from the enemy her rider shouts: "*Jâ' jâ' jâ'!*" shaking his sleeve or mantle at her, *jenfoẓ 'alejha*.

Ditties Sung When Camels are Watered

539* While watering, the herdsmen sing the short *ḥedâwi* ditties.

233 *Jâ 'aḍâbi min 'aša* Alas, I have been kept from my supper
kaẓben ḍêl ar-raša' By holding the end of the bucket rope.
lâ ṛabûḳ w-lâ 'aša. Not a drop of milk nor bite of supper have I had.

539r 233

Jâ marḥaba jâ belna O hail, O ye camels of ours!
jâ mab'adat manzelna Oh, how far is our camping ground
w-elja baṛejna-ḥelna. Faith! if we wanted to cheat you we could

The owners of camels which are to be watered live in a distant camp and cannot watch their herdsmen, who could therefore water the animals only partly. By this they would save themselves much labor, but, of course, the insufficient watering would make the camels grow thin.

Jâ bîr low tšûfi O well! if thou couldst see
sûd al-'ajûn wukûfi The black-eyed ones bending over the
ẓemmar miṯl al-ḫsûfi. Slender, like young gazelles!

Girls very often help with the watering; when they come for water they must bend over the wide well, *'aḳla*, only two to five meters deep where the underground rain water accumulates, in order to fill their bucket or to hand it to the person standing in the well.

Dârana bel-ḳnêne Our camp at al-Ḳnêne
saḳâha-r-ra'ad Was filled, after thunder peals, with water
dâr majjâḥ al-ardân That is the camp for him who would draw water with sleeves
w-ẓâfi al-ža'ad. And desires a warm place to abide in.

[312]

Al-Ḳnêne is a watering place. The rocky bottom of the broad channel there is covered with gravel and sand to a depth of about a meter. After heavy rain the water remains on the rocky bottom for a long time, being protected by the gravel from evaporation. The Arabs dig little wells, *ḥesjân*, in the gravel, which are filled with water to the depth of half a meter so that it can, as the Bedouins say, be drawn even with sleeves. *Majjâḥ al-ardân*, drawing with sleeves, is a lazy fellow who does not like the fatigue of drawing water from a deep well and praises the shallow sources from which he can water his camels without any effort. *Ẓâfi al-ža'ad* signifies camps protected against the wind, therefore pleasantly warm.

Mâ jimess al-ṛarab mess He will not firmly grasp the rope with the bucket
ṛejr alli mâkûleh dess Who does not eat hidden food,
allâh min jiḥebb w-ḥess. Who, by Allâh, does not kiss and touch

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Jimess means, properly, a steady and equal pull on the rope. It is held in the left hand, caught below with the right, and is thus pulled up hand over hand. *Ṛarab* is the same as *rša*, the rope to which the leather bucket, *delw*, is tied. As some of the wells are as much as a hundred meters deep, the drawing of water is very fatiguing, especially on account of the bulges in the rocky sides which impede the bucket in coming up. The right hand must not only hold the rope firmly, but must shake it most of the time so as to keep it in the center. *Alli mâkûleh dess* means "he who finds his food by feeling or searching for it." He eats more than the others, because his sweetheart has hidden something for him in a place he knows of, in order that he may eat it at night after returning from the pasture.

LOST CAMELS

233

Many camels get lost. Finding good grazing in some deep gully, they stay there, kneel down during the hottest part of the day, and, having rested, graze again. When there is a spot with good soft sand, the truant animal rolls about in it, grazes once more, and when the sun sinks in the west cannot find its herd, which, pasturing slowly, has in the meantime passed out of sight. Sometimes a she-camel may like only certain plants. She is rested, fat, and can satisfy her desires. Some days she will not touch anything except her favorite dainty, hunting for it on all sides, leaving the herd, and moving on. At noon, kneeling for a while to chew her cud, she catches sight of her plant at some distance, sets off for it, and, then, in the evening moans for the herd she can no longer find. The lost she-camels run around all night and kneel down before sunrise, but with the evaporating of the dew they get up and run in almost any direction. They seem entirely to lack the sense of smell or the natural instinct which might enable them to find their herd. Being accustomed to follow the leading she-camel, they are at their wit's ends when they do not see her, and they wander aimlessly even if only one kilometer from the camp. On the other hand, the herdsman cannot look for a lost animal for long. On returning to his tent towards evening he rides through the camp in all directions calling in his singing voice, *meššje'*, for the

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Al-bel eḥmû laha-l-bîr
samnat w-ṭâlat ḏerâha
wa' ḳorob ḥajjen tenaṣṣâh
wa' ba'ad ḥajjen warâha.

Go, seize the well for camels!
Their humps have become fat and have grown high.
Ah, how near the kin to which they hasten!
Ah, how far the kin they have left behind!

Whenever the Bedouins intend to encamp at a large watering place consisting of many wells, their youths ride ahead of the moving tribe on horseback or on camels and each seizes some of the known wells to make sure of water for his herds. Having seized a well, he unsaddles his animal, sits down by the saddle, and waits for the arrival of the tribe. At its approach he beckons to his own people to pitch the tent where he is sitting. If the spot is not suitable, the tent is put up farther away, but the youth watches the well till all the Bedouins are encamped and everybody knows to whom each of the wells belongs. As the water is not equally divided among all the wells, the owners of smaller herds to whom no well has been allotted ask their happier fellow tribesmen for leave to water from theirs. [484 312]

Ḏelûli jâ ša'êle O thou, my dark ashen-gray riding camel,
ḏelûl eben 'îd Camel from the Eben 'Îd breed,
žirbeti šowšelijje Know that my water pouch is but small
w-al-mrawa ba'îd. And the watering place distant.

The rider urges his camel to keep up her speed. *Žirbe šowšelijje* is a leather water pouch holding no more than six liters.

Al-heǧen jâ ḫaj jâ ramṭân
mâ jenlaḥež ǧezâhenne
ams aẓ-ẓaha bidjâr al-ḳowmân
w-al-jowm bidjâr ahalhenne.

For the riding camels, O Ramṭân, thou little brother of
Naught can be found that would reward them. [mine,
Yesterday when dew evaporated they were still in hostile
And today they are in the land of their owners. [land

Mâ jenlaḥež ǧezâhenne, no reward will be found for them. When a man does a kind act for another, the recipient acknow-

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2. Where there is room for camps both small and large,
And where all prepare the water hoists and the needed gear.
3. I saw a conquering maiden there, with her dress tucked up above her calves
And sleeves tied behind the neck, stretching taut a rope with the bucket.
4. By Allâh I swear! if the rope were twice or four times as long,
The pourer out would not be obeyed, even if he shouted:
"Come back with the rope!"
5. With my hand I felt her arm down to the elbow,
Drawing back my hand ninety times at least that day.
6. Mayst thou keep the secret like Ǧedû',
That noble man who never told when he saw some game of love.
7. He protects a scamp when every idler is afraid,
And he has a saber, the edge of which splits heads.
8. If I had fared yesterday as today, hunger would not have pained me,
For as I look at myself I see my fat is restored
9. By thee who didst allay my thirst when I kissed thy teeth.
O sweetheart, how sweet a permitted love kiss tastes!
10. By Allâh, I shall not suffer a violated or a violator to be in camp,
By Allâh, I shall not permit one tribe to come out against another.

The poet was Zejdân ar-Rwejli; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. The poet is drawing water at Majḳû', the last large watering place at the south end of the Sirḥân depression, the vicinity of which is always full of both small, *farâžîn*, and large, *nǧû'*, camps. As some of the wells are as much as thirty meters deep, a hoist is set up in the stony ground by the mouth of the well. The free end of the rope is held by one or two persons who draw the water. A third person stationed close by the hoist takes care that the rope does not slide off the roller, *bakra*, and shakes it occasionally to submerge and fill the bucket; he tells the drawers to walk till the bucket comes in sight. Then he shouts to them to stop, catches hold of the bucket, empties it into the leather trough, *ḥowż*, and then bids them return and let the bucket down

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The sleeves of the woman's dress, *ṯowb*, are very broad but comparatively short, leaving the arms bare up to the shoulders. *'Awd* is a stalk holding blossoms. If these are too numerous or heavy, the *'awd* bends with the breeze, *raǧûḥ*. *Mešâre'* is the term for places with abundant and good water, where, besides watering the herds, the women also get all the water needed in the camp. In our ditty it is from the watering places in the Ḥawrân territory, south and southeast of Damascus, that Muḥammad eben Smejr wished to drive the Rwala. This territory is called *ad-dire* by the Rwala.

Helli-ḏ-ḏwâjeb	Loosen the plaits of thy hair,
hellihen	Loosen them,
w-eṭla'î nhûdeč	And uncover thy breasts
kellihen.	Altogether.

Ḏwâjeb are a girl's hair plaits. She usually keeps them covered with her kerchief. *Hallat aḏ-ḏwâjeb* is said of a girl who has thrown the kerchief off her head and has unplaited and loosened her hair. This is done only by girls or young women accompanying the men into battle, *manâḫ*, or when an attack is made on a migrating clan.

Jâ ḥmûd ballâh ḥebbeni
lâ jâ ba'ad ḥebb al-banât
al-ḳarm marḫi râsaha
jowm as-sebâja mowžifât.

O Ḥmûd, by Allâh, I implore thee, kiss me!
O mayst thou yet kiss maidens!
A hero gives his mare's head freedom,
When all the plunderers have stopped.

The maiden wishes in the thick of the fray to inspire the youth Ḥmûd with a kiss and give him courage. A hero disdains, even when the danger is at its highest, to restrain his steed, but will let it gallop at will into the midst of the enemy although he sees that his comrades have halted and therefore will not come to his aid.

Ṛazw al-ḳarâri rawwaḥat
bên ar-rwejšed w-al-ǧeṣ'
jâ ṛazweten mâ ḥawwedat
ajtam biha mâjet raṣ'.

539 K 726 K order to reach the rolling country where he can prepare supper for himself and let his camel graze at will. *Nazarha*: he urged it to greater speed with the words *"Hejh! hejh!" Mu-'anna* is equivalent to *ṭâreš, ṭurki*, a rider, a traveler. 3. Mehda' al-Hebdâni, a Fed'ân poet. 4. The Fed'ân war cry is: *"Ana-ḫu ḳuṭne*, I am the brother, protector, of the Ḳuṭne!" as they call all their herds. *Eḫwât ḳuṭne* are the camels of the Fed'ân, who had attacked and captured many herds owned by the Rwala. 5. The news reached Prince Saṭṭâm, who was not in favor of making a raid in retaliation. This made the Rwala *neğnâğ*: shake their heads and criticize Saṭṭâm's love of peace. Public opinion proving too strong for him, Saṭṭâm had finally to declare a raid. 7. Ḥzejl ar-Ru'ûği and his brother Ḳâjem were Fed'ân heroes. 8. *Ḳešṭ* means the rattling of the falling rain and the rumbling of thunder. *Has-saḥâba leha ḳešṭ*: this cloud is bringing thunder and rain. 10. *Hebğe* is a roiling country where it is possible to hide but also to be ambushed. In such a terrain the Rwala herds could easily be approached by the Fed'ân. After Turki's death the victorious Rwala threw themselves on the tents and looted at will. *'Ejlâtakom* are the Fed'ân women and children. 11. Haddâğ is a famous well in Tejma, from which as many as eighty buckets of water are drawn at once. The Rwala sabers, in like manner, drew the blood of Turki's men. 12. *Al-ḳafr*: pastures which have not as yet been visited by anybody. The better the pasture the stronger becomes the sexual desire of both male and female camels in the second half of December and in January, and, as the retaliatory raid against Turki was made in February, the poet uses the words *ǧejjâğ*, rutting, for both camels and she-camels. 13. Al-Ḫôr is a depression of some length in the center of the desert of al-Ḥamâd, overgrown for the most part with *rûṯe*. When they eat this the camels rapidly fatten. *Naḥar* is the part of the she-camel's breast directly under the throat. To say of a she-camel that she lays al-Ḫôr before her breast means that she goes directly there.

● [312]

Two years after Turki's death the Fed'ân tribe made a fresh raid against the Rwala. Allâh led them to a camp of the Ša'lân kin, pitched, for lack of pasture, in a wholly isolated place at the beginning of the valley of as-Subîḥi in the district of ar-Rwêšdât. Far and wide there were no Arabs who could have come to their aid. The raiding troop of the

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Maḥîra: a small flat area flooded and thus fertilized by rain water 133 104

Marabb: low-lying ground where the rain water of a channel is absorbed

Maṣmad (pl., *maṣâmed*): an extensive but shallow crevice at the foot of a hillside, where the rain water remains. It is of greater dimensions than the *žalta*

Maṣna' (pl., *maṣâne'*): a rocky flat area artificially changed into a large reservoir

Maṭabb: a junction of two channels

Matne: flat-topped elevation rising gradually from the surrounding plain

Ma'w: hollow on two sides bounded by sand dunes and on two merging into rocky plain

Mefâze: barren tract between two camping grounds

Meğneb: a slope shutting in a valley through which a creek runs

Meḥîr (pl., *maḥâjer*): a basin where much water is absorbed; small hole in clay soil where the rain water accumulates

Mehmehijje: waterless desert

Mela': a plain covered with a thin layer of alluvium

Mellâḥa: salina

Meẓî' (pl., *meẓ'ân*): a shallow branch channel in a valley through which the rain water runs off into the main channel

Miz'aže: the highest conical hill near a camp, whence warning signals can be given to herdsmen and watchers on similar hills near other camps

Mšâš: a shallow well in a clay basin into which rain water slowly percolates through the soil

Muḳra or *moḳr* (pl., *mḳûr*): half natural, half artificial well, five to ten meters deep, dug in a rock, into which the rain water flows. The opening, which is usually narrow, can be covered with a stone of moderate size [312]

Munṭâr: a conical hill

Mutribe: a path through a lava field

Nab': spring water

Nâzije (pl., *nawâzi*): a vast sand plain

Nâẓra: height conspicuous from afar

Neba' (pl., *nebjân*): isolated dome-shaped hillock

Nedra: spur of a rock

Nedwijje: a small spring disappearing in gravel

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to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish. They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧǧân*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *'eǰš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the following:

'aṣîde, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

beṭîle, a paste made from dates and flour,

basîse, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmeǰ'a, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat and rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberûn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǧîdijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *'aẓîẓ* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sabḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṭḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *ǯedaḥ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣâd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

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272 and, as the cup is often as much as a meter below the pot, great dexterity is necessary in order not to spill a drop. But even the best pourer spills when jostled — whence the sayings: *"Čefâk al-ʿawḳ*, may Allâh save thee from an obstruction!" *"Čefâk aš-šerr*, may Allâh save thee from evil!" 20. *Arnâḳ* signifies anything that resembles a round grain, as, for instance, several kinds of spice, drops of water, etc. Instead of *ṣinijje* the poet uses the word *kursi*. 21. The coffee, very strong in itself, acquires through the addition of five different spices, as is the custom in the towns of inner Arabia, still more body and leaves on the cup a fine sediment, which the poet compares to red fringes, *šebrâḳ*, and to the blood of a heart, from which the main artery has been torn out, *maʿlûḳ*. 23. When he has drunk the strong coffee, he again [326] longs for his sweetheart, *ṛarw*. 24. *Saʿûḳ* and (16) *aš'âḳ* signify the grip of a sword or dagger, richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. In the larger towns of inner Arabia there are craftsmen, thorough artists in their work, who make to order such handles, often of wonderful beauty. 26. The ladylove laughs at one moment and cries the next. When she smiles her white teeth glisten. *Ḥâḳ* is the name for the quick flash of the lightning. 27. The calf of her leg [201] is well turned and firm. 28. The town dweller in inner Arabia stretches out his fingers when surprised. 30. Ǧwâd did not know whether to say *minn* or *min*, and was unable to explain what the word meant in this connection. *Ḍubbal* signifies the incisors, *min fowḳ*, of the upper row. 31. The poet's heart is agitated, as if the town crier or auctioneer had carried it about the market places, offering it for sale. *Mawsûḳ* has the same meaning as *maʿḥûḍ*, a captured or imprisoned one. The clerk Ǧwâd knew the Rwala dialect well and adapted himself to its pronunciation.

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584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ṣâfi ar-rdân ṣallejt.*"

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor her daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭijje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭijje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḫuṣara*, or protected neighbors.

619 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem,
554 al-Fhejğât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called
582 Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization,
565 they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins, and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes, they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫwân*, they pay *ḫwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors, *ḫuṣara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje*, free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith,
326 *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣunnâ'*, that they are no *aṣîlîn* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns,

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settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves.

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Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *ahl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin.

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Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the 'Aneze group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks:

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-'Amm

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The children of parents descended from the respectable old 'Aneze families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-'amm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-'amm* occasionally claims the girl, *jeḥağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *'oḳdha w-ḥallha bjad eben 'ammiha* (sic!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha lnafseh*, is the *eben al-'amm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-'amm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation.

If the *eben al-'amm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

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If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-'amm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥağğir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee

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567 murder they avenge not only among themselves, but on the
627 free Bedouins as well. The master who kills his slave exposes himself to the vengeance of the latter's kin and must pay the blood price. Should he refuse, the avengers place themselves under the protection of a more powerful slave, generally the head slave of a chief, who soon compels the Bedouins to assist him in humbling the guilty person. A slave can pursue or protect, *leh waǧh je'addi jesaddi*, in the same manner as his master. Whoever hurts his protégé gains the enmity not only of the slave but of his whole kin, and of the slave's master as well, who must support the slave in order to have peace in the tent and his usual comforts.

567 Yet, no matter how powerful, a slave can never marry the
582 daughter of even the poorest Bedouin; and, on the other hand, the least of the herdsmen would not think of marrying a slave's daughter. For even the poorest Bedouin is independent, *ḥorr*, while the slave remains subject, *'abd*, for ever. Not even the members of the most despised tribes, like the Ṣlejb, Šarârât, Htejm, etc., would marry a slave. In a certain manner they all are *ḥorr*, despite the low esteem in which they are held, and a slave remains *'abd*, no matter what power he wields.
●326 Only the sons and daughters of white blacksmiths, *ṣunnâ'*,
567 enter into blood relations with slaves. If a black slave marries a white girl, the daughter of a *ṣâne'*, and their son also marries a daughter of a *ṣâne'* again, the third and fourth generations are quite white, and yet they do not become free, *ḥorr*, but always remain slaves, *'abîd*. In the settlements — especially in the cultivated regions — the origin of such whites is sometimes forgotten, but never among the Bedouins of the desert.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND THEIR AGENTS, THE 'AḲEJL

442 As the Rwala are occupied almost exclusively in camel breeding, it is only in exchange for camels that they can get grain, clothing, arms, saddles, and other necessities of life. The camels they sell either in the inner desert or in the settled territory, nearly always to the same wholesale merchants who live in the larger towns on the borders of Arabia as well as in Egypt and India. The most prominent among these is the Eben Bassâm family, from the settlement of Bassâm in al-Ḳaṣîm. Its members own large business houses at al-Baṣra, Bombay, aṭ-Ṭâjef, Cairo, and Damascus. They export camels

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

camels into his own herd and waits till some ʿAḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the ʿAḳejl even during their absence, *ʿajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâneʿ* (pl., *ṣunnâʿ*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâʿ* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-ʿamm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâʿ*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâʿ* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâʿ*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâneʿ* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *heżże*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

326 sells for his own profit. When the Bedouins procure supplies of grain in the tilled territory for their stay in the inner desert, the blacksmith demands one *meğidijje* ($0.90) on each horse in order to buy his provisions. Whoever slaughters a camel must give the blacksmith all its entrails and the shins of its hind legs.

326 582 564 No Bedouin, not even a member of despised tribes like the Šarârât, Ṣlejb, Ḥawâzem, etc., would marry the daughter of a blacksmith nor let his daughter marry him. For the *ṣâne'*, although white, is not independent, is not *ḥorr*.

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrû lan-*
[554 *nâr.*" With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always
463] dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty
412 to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement
● 332 called *fâz*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden
354 helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *kaddûm* or *tubal*. The ordinary
354 Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *ḥufrat an-nâr*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are
[574] shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *neṭile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may
372 warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *ṛaṛa'* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *šiḥ* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers
[462] and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the divid-
[251] ing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

and plants on cool days. 8. *Jankûš* is said of one who delights in quarrels and in setting people against each other by carrying gossip and distorting their words. *Zibdet al-mḏâb*, melted butter, signifies invented, false stories, or calumnies. Melted butter is liked by everybody but cannot be the exclusive food, as it would cause death from dysentery; thus it is also with false stories. Pleasant to listen to, should the hearers make them a foundation for their acts, they would not meet with success. 9. He that cannot work, but lives and thrives on the sweat and toil of others, must perish as soon as they cease to support him.

Prudence

1. *Al-ḥâjeṭ bâlak tebni*
   illa-s-sâs ḥeğâreh kbâr
2. *w-al-bâjeh ḥaḏrak teẓnih*
   damhât al-bawwâh kṭâr
3. *w-al-marʿi ḥaḏrak terʿih*
   eljaʾ raʿejt erʿa-n-nwâr.

1. Beware of building a wall,
   Except when the foundation is of big stones.
2. Beware of taking an ingrate for thy companion,
   For much trouble he will cause thee.
3. Of land that has been grazed upon beware;
   If thou desirest to pasture, on blossoms pasture.

The poet was a settler from the oasis of al-Ğowf; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd.

Verse 1. As the houses in al-Ğowf (as in all the settlements of inner Arabia) are built comparatively high, their walls must have solid foundations. During the fights in which the settlers frequently engage among themselves a weak foundation could be easily broken through by the enemy, and the wall would collapse. For this reason only big boulders are used in foundations. 2. *Al-bâjeh* is a man without a heart, *mâ beh ḳalb*, devoid of sympathy, gratitude, and even of morals. Whoever takes such a man for his companion, *ḫawi*, on a long trip will suffer more troubles than could be found even in hell. 3. *Al-marʿi* is either a woman divorced by her husband or a widow. Do not marry such a one; rather take a blossom, a virgin.

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. 516 From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

233 A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive 609 tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

[342]

142 She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

000 In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

IV

I Meet My Blood Brother Again

PEACE AND HAPPINESS smiled on the world. Here and there a rain pool still shone in a hollow; wind and sun had already dried the hill-crests. A whirlwind rose ahead of us: it swept the ground like a broom; uprooted, snapped, and scattered small plants and flowers, and left behind it a narrow zigzag track, like that of a monstrous snake. We were coated with a dust of fine sand and pollen. Crickets chirped in the herbage. Bustards and pintail grouse were busily hunting for woolly red caterpillars. Suddenly and quite unexpectedly, on topping a rise, we caught sight of black tents at the foot of the opposite slope. Very soon now I should see Amir Fuaz again.

The tent of ceremony in which, long exciting years before, I had enjoyed Nauaf's hospitality and had come to know his small son, was pitched far from the place on which it stood then. Yet everything seemed the same. I felt myself spirited back to that time and place. There were the same far-scattered lines of low black tents, open in front; the same camel-herds stringing out into the endless desert under the brilliant sun. The cushioned camel-saddle in the guest-tent against which I reclined, the very fire on the hearth where the coffee-water was

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

574 609 On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent. From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamin we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings. [201] With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.

[352] The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe; Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 to fifty miles from our last camp by the Jabal Tawil—
731 we found all the pasture gone, consumed to the last blade by the locusts. It was only in the plain of Biyaz that we found a depression which was untouched and with plenty of forage. There we made camp under the shelter of a *wadi*.

342 The women and slaves unloaded the camels and at once proceeded to put up the tents. The tent-cloth is spread on the ground, looking like a long, black, hairy hide; the lines are drawn east and west, tent-pegs driven home with wooden mallets, and the long tent-poles, properly spaced, are inserted under the roof-strip. Then, by dint of lifting and pushing, up goes the structure; first one pole in place, then the next, and so on until the whole goat-hair "house" rests securely on its supports. Row after row of tents rose, casting long shadows as the last sun-rays gleamed on their peaked roofs.

264 I bought a weakly camel from my fellow-travellers, had it slaughtered and the meat distributed to all and sundry. The flesh-pots of Ishmael were soon steaming and the savour of them attracted a horde of hungry dogs. One of the tribesmen was to play host to myself, Faris, and a number of others. Out of the dark his troop of camels stole up silently, showing suddenly in the light of the fire as if they had come from nowhere, and lay down before his tent. It was comfortable and homely there by the fire, in the wide circle of men and beasts.

272 Our cook had transferred a turbid, muddy mess of old coffee grounds and water from a goatskin bag to a pot with a long spout, which he put on the hearth. Now the black, bitter brew foamed up again, and after it had

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaẓar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *ʿarab*, or those who dwell in
101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
829 the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase is used: "*ʿArabna raḥalow, ʿarabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *ʿarab al-ẓebîla* are members of the same tribe. *ʿArab ad-dîra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *ʿorbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *ʿOrbân ʿala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Dmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-ʿarab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn annak min al-ʿarab mâr min ajj al-ʿorbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaẓar*, are divided into *ḳarâwne*
221 (the individual is known as *ḳarwâni*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *raʿw* (or *raʿijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *raʿw* or *raʿijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *šwâja* (or *šûjân*). The
233 *šwâja* have two things black, *lehom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

CHAPTER IV

THE TENT AND ITS FURNISHINGS

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT

The tent is made of pieces of coarse black cloth known as *šuḳḳa* (pl., *šḳaḳ*). The *šuḳḳa* is usually 60 to 70 centimeters broad and 15 to 60 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 to 45.6 meters) long. The tent cloth is woven either of pure black goat's hair — both the heavy variety, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, and the light, *nôl*, being used — or else of cotton, with which only a small amount of goat's hair is blended, this being called *kumbok*. The weaving of tent material is carried on by many inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the Rwala buy it from itinerant traders, Rḥejbâwijjât or Kbejsât, or from those who make it. An ordinary tent with one main pole, which is about twelve meters long and nearly four meters broad, requires at least eight *šḳaḳ*, each 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) in length. If they are of pure goat's hair, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, 1 *šuḳḳa* costs 8 *meǧidijjât* ($7.20); if they are of *kumbok*, a *šuḳḳa* costs 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70); a *šuḳḳa* of *nôl* costs 5 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50). The back wall, *rwâḳ*, of such a tent costs 3 *meǧidijjât*; the lower part, *sefle*, of it, 1 *meǧidijje* (90 cents); 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) of a narrow strip of goat's hair for strengthening the tent material, *ṭarâjeẓ*, costs 2 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80); two poles cost 9 piasters (40½ cents); and then there are the ropes, sold by weight: 1 *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) for 13 piasters (58½ cents). Thus the smallest tent made of heavy goat's hair costs at least 33 *meǧidijjât* ($ 29.70). Every four years, or five years at the most, a new tent has to be set up.

When a man has bought the tent material, he hands it over to the women, who sew the tent under the supervision of an experienced old woman. The old woman gives the following directions: "Draw the separate pieces, *šḳaḳ*, close together, *ṣaffenhen*; sew them with coarse threads of goat's hair, *ḥajjeṭenhen*; in the middle sew on the *ḳoṭb* [a small round board measuring about ten centimeters in diameter and having in the middle a circular opening cut out, through which the top

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 of the pole passes]; sew a strip of coarse goat's hair, *ṭarâǰež*,
286 along the edges of the tent; at the end of these *ṭarâǰež* sew (Fig. 3)[5] on leather loops, *ḫurb* (*l*)[6], fastened to strong pegs [about ten centimeters in length]; through the leather loops draw and hook the ropes, both those which hold the tent on its long sides, *aṭnâb* (*h*), as well as those which hold it on the short sides [of which the front rope is known as *ǰad* (*i*), the back one as *riǧel* (*k*)]; *ḥoṭṭen aṭnâb ḥoṭṭen idên w-riǧlên*. Turn down as a hem the upper edge of the back wall, *rwâḳ* (*f*), and sew on this hem [which is about ten centimeters broad], *maḫalla*, a strong thread, *ǧerîr*, in order that it may be fastened by means of strong pins, *ḫella*; to the lower edge of the *rwâḳ* sew on a strip of inferior material [about fifty centimeters broad], *sefle*; to both the short sides [for a distance of fifty centimeters from the edge] sew on pieces of lighter tent material [about a meter and a half long]." This border strengthened to a breadth of fifty centimeters is known as *'amâra*, and the material which is sown forms the side wall, *ruffa* (*d*).

342 When the tent is to be pitched, its owner calls out to his
284 sons, servants, slaves, or women: "Spread out the tent, *fellû al-bejt* (Fig. 4); extend all the ropes, *marreṭû al-aṭnâb*; drive in the pegs with a wooden mallet, *eṭebṭû* (sic) *al-awtâd bel-mîǧema* (Figs. 5, 6); wind the ropes round the pegs; tighten the ropes, *ekrebû*, at the front, *al-meždem*, at the back, *ḳafa'*, and at the sides, *ćeser*, by loosening their ends in the loops, *ḫruba*, drawing them taut, and securing them, *'alîṭ* or *'aljeṭ* (Fig. 3, *m*); prop the poles up, *'emdân* (Figs. 7, 8), first those in the front on the side away from the wind, *esemkû al-mežâdîm* (Fig. 3, *a*), then the main pole, *esemkû al-wâseṭ* (*b*), thrusting it into the *ḳoṭb* opening in the middle of the tent, and finally the two poles at the rear corners, *ćeser* (*c*); when all the poles are standing, tighten all the ropes, *karrebû al-aṭnâb*; attach the back wall to the windward side (Fig. 9) with iron pins, *rawwežû al-bejt*, and peg its lower part, *sefle*, down to the ground so that the wind may not lift it; do the same also with the side walls, *ruffa*; from the main pole and from two loops sewn on the edges of a *ṭariḳa* strip hang a central partition, *ḳâṭe'a*." This dividing partition, 1.6 meters high, cuts the tent into two compartments, the right-hand one

342 592

[5] This figure represents my large tent of the kind used by the 'Abeǧi camel traders. Its rear wall and pegs differ from those of the common Rwala tent.

[6] In the following descriptions of the tent the text letters refer to Fig. 3.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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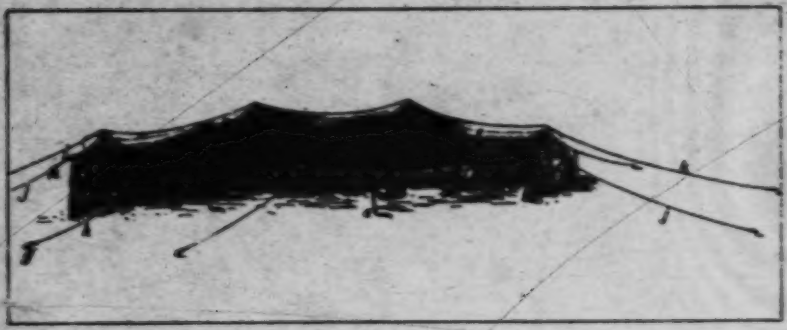

FIG. 3

FIG. 4

FIG. 5

FIG. 3—The author's tent.
FIG. 4—A tent spread out.
FIG. 5—Pitching a tent: driving in the pegs.

342 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarîm*, the left-hand one for
592 the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes
283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into
286 it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efeḥḳû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes
[291] or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *muṛtači*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meẓ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥeṭ*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jeznčče'* (or *jînûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalli 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minǧeda'*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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FIG. 6

FIG. 7

FIG. 8

FIG. 6—Pitching a tent: driving in the pegs.
FIG. 7—Pitching a tent: setting up the poles.
FIG. 8—Pitching a tent: setting up the poles.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

against the back wall. The sacks are either black, made of goat's hair, *ḫaras*, or gray, made of wool and camel's hair, *'edel*, and there are also colored ones woven by the Rwala women and known as *ṣaffârijje*.

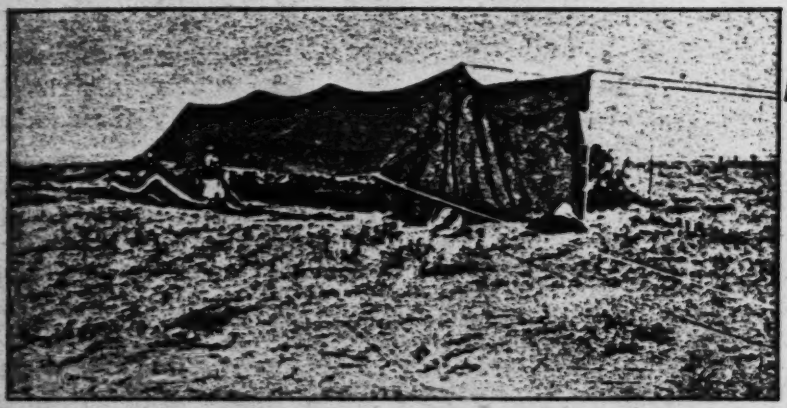

FIG. 9—Pitching a tent: attaching the rear wall.

The spindle, *merzel*, is shaped like a four-pointed star measuring nine centimeters in diameter and provided with an opening in the center. From this there projects the end of a pole, *'ûd*, 35 centimeters long, in which a small iron hook, *sunnâra*, is passed. The woman who spins takes the camel's hair or sheep's wool under her right armpit, while with her left hand she twists a thread about thirty centimeters long, ties it to the lower part of the spindle pole, and thrusts in under the hook. Then she raises her left knee and, placing the lower end of the pole upon it, twirls the spindle on her knee with the palm of her left hand, while with the fingers of her right hand she winds the thread. This, running through the hook, is now twined around the whirling pole, which once again has been allowed to hang freely. If the movement of the spindle gives out, it is set whirling again in the same manner. The women do their spinning while riding on camels and also while marching on foot. They keep the wool or camel's hair either in their laps or in their bosoms. If they wish to have a stronger thread, they weave two or three prepared threads together on the spindle.

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṣṣ*, the names of the dif-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

415 (Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent
417 into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *šaṛûr* (pl., *šwâṛîr*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *waḏm*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *ʿarḳa* (pl., *ʿarâži*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

354 By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies
252 a *sâǧ*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

484 During long marches in the summer season the tents are
342 not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṭawleṭ*; with four, *mrawbaʿ*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sabʿa wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *aṭlaṭ*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳafa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *wağh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *kṣûr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb šala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebûneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *ǯabbelû al-bejt ǧâna-l-hawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *rwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *rwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *rwâḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *rwâḳ*! *šawre'û al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *rwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *dên w-riğlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥağğar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *mâ huna anğas min al-čalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'ejš*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *sâǰ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampment during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 [825]

2:Muzil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs,
492 *emsaw* (or *emṣa'û*) *al-wted.*" The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḫuḏû al-'amed*; spread the tent out, *eṣfeṭû al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *eṭwû al-bejt.*" With the large tents the ropes, which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *daraǧow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *krâṭ* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesâme* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *nawwaḫow al-ba'ir*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ṭawwarow al-ba'ir*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ǧindib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *maṣhûr* (pl., *meṣâhir*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *salaf*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are tied to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *raḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *raḥala ǧajjede*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêẓa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *ṛaẓîẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamîsa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

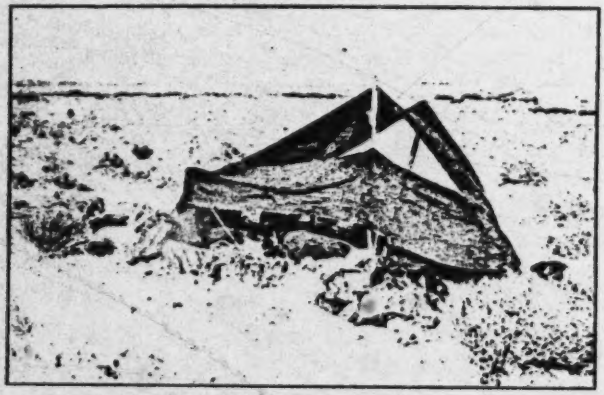

FIG. 24—A small tent, *ṭuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Mâ-rîd ana nâzel aṭ-ṭaffa
w-lâ-lli saken ʿaḳlat al-wâdi
laʾ mâ ḥala mḳâbel aṣ-ṣaffa
w-al-ṛašmeri ḳarm al-awlâdi.

I desire not him who camps on the plateau,
Nor him who lives at the well down the valley.
How sweet is he whose tent is pitched on the opposite side,
For he is the subduer, the flower of all youth.

It is the maiden's wish that her lover may pitch his tent
he other side of the valley. *Ṭaffa* is a plateau intersected
deep valley. In a territory where no hostile attack is
ed the clansmen pitch their tents where it suits them.
y choose the plateau itself, where their camels can graze
ly; others prefer to be near water and therefore pitch
tents near the *ʿaḳla* well; others again — and these are
most numerous — select some wider and more level part
he channel bank, protected against the wind and sand
where they are also safe from the herds crowding down
he water. The tents are generally pitched in two rows
rated by the channel. The sides of these tents as a rule
closed towards the wind, so that it is impossible to look
one into the other. But the women like to lift the can-
in the back of the tent and to peep through the chink
hat is going on in the tents on the opposite side. To
last song they add:

Alli ḏelûleh leha ʿhaffa
min fowḳeha-l-ḫurǧ w-šdâdi
jâ mâ ḥala lamʿat ad-daffaʾ
čân al-ṛaẓi jammana bâdi.

Whose she-riding-camel is swift as a tempest
With a bag and a saddle on her back.
Oh, how sweet is the glitter of his mantle,
When the desired one rides hither in the evening!

Haffa means a gallop as fast as a gale or tempest, an
rpassed speed, during which the wind resounds in the
Ḫurǧ is a double bag that can be thrown across the
l saddle and also a smaller bag of the same kind to be
n the horse saddle. A *daffa* is a heavy winter cloak. Men

831x
539x

Dear brother mine, do not set off on a visit in the nighttime,
Do not put on the bridle, O thou paragon of mine!
If thy heart longs passionately for me,
Carry away that which I owe thee in daylight.
I bless him who has built for himself a strong house,
For his kinsmen dwell in the same place every day.

[342 592]

Ḳaṣr is the name of any house built of stone or mud bricks. A desert *ḳaṣr* forms a square courtyard enclosed with a high wall, against which abut the dwellings of the several families. Thus the whole kin lives together. In the desert the members of one kin also usually pitch their tents together, but sometimes one or another joins another kin, so that the lovers become separated. The maiden fears lest some one attack her lover at night and asks him therefore to call on her in the day time.

Hala hala jâ daḫîlallâh
jâ-lli ʿelûmek teʿazzîni
wuddi bikom mâr ḫalk allâh
čaṭrat ʿelûm all farrâžîni
oḫtak lja rčebat aẓ-ẓalla
jâ ʿejn nâder šijâhîni.

Welcome, welcome, O Daḫîlallâh!
O thou, to hear of whom so gladdens me!
I would fain go to you, but Allâh's creatures
Have spread reports which prevent me.
Still thy sister, when seated in a shaded litter,
Looks like a noble falcon.

Daḫîlallâh, a Šammari, falling in love with a Rwala maiden, was frequently a welcome guest with her parents. Unfortunately a near relative of the maiden was found killed with his herds, and the murderer could not be discovered. The kinsmen suspected Daḫîlallâh of having killed his rival from jealousy, and pressed the girl to refuse the stranger. But she remained faithful and sang these verses. *Aẓ-ẓalla* is the *žetab* litter with a covering thrown over its upper horizontal pole, so that the woman is shaded. She speaks of herself as sister, thus a blood relation of Daḫîlallâh, as a proof that she will not give him up. She contemplates the threatening faces of her kins-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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5. *ʿal-esrija telḳaṭ laḥalha ʿarûbi*
w-ḥomṣ w-ḥama laha mebîʿ w-mešrâ.

1. O Meḥsen, at your wish the Welde have deprived me
Of this bliss to which a broad passage leads.
2. I sent a messenger, but he did not carry out my bidding,
Brought no refreshing news, nor returned at all.
3. O Lord, withhold gain from a heedless liar,
Who takes messages but delivers them not to those
for whom they are destined!
4. I could not eat even if they laid before me, on rice
boiled in sour milk,
Pieces of warm roast from this year's lamb.
5. At Esrija she used to gather fuel for her kinsfolk,
And Ḥomṣ and Ḥamaʾ were her market towns.

The poet hailed from the as-Sbaʿa tribe. He loved a daughter of Meḥsen Raḥîṣarrûḥ, the chief of the ʿEbede, who refused her to the poet and sent her to his sister, who was married to a chief of the Welde encamped on the left bank of the Euphrates. The poet camped with his Ḳmuṣa division of the Sbaʿa west of Palmyra, longing in vain to meet again his sweetheart. I took down his poem as it was recited to me by my companion, Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

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Verse 1. A *ṭenijje* (pl., *ṭenâjaʾ*) is a passage between two rows of tents. The clans engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep arrange their tents in the form of an ellipse. The side ropes of the different tents meet, only two wide openings, by which the camp is entered, being left on the two narrow sides of the ellipse. In contrast to this, the Rwala, who breed only camels, usually put up their tents in parallel lines. The space from end to end between these tents is also called *ṭenijje*. The wider such an opening or space, the more room for the guests; hence the saying *wasîʿ ṭenâjâh* has the same meaning as *bâleh wasîʿ* or *ḥalḳeh wasîʿ*, his heart, his nature, his solicitude is wide, he is generous. *Ḥẓûẓ* are expressions of bliss or love, *ḥaẓẓ*. 2. *Kazzejt* has the same meaning as *baʿaṭṭ*; *nowbi* (or *nebâi*), my commission. *ʿElem* is a detailed report, a long message. 3. *Ḥaṭât* or *ḥaṭwa* means many a one, someone, or anyone. *Melfaʾ* is the person for whom the message is intended. *Melfâk ʿala flân* means "thou wilt go to this or that one"; *min hw melfâh*, "to whom shall I deliver this?" 4. *Šetel* or *tummen* is the rice grown on the lower Euphrates and Tigris.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tried to telegraph for everything the riders asked for, but he could not get them anywhere. 28. *Ḥafâje* is the name given to she-camels with bruised soles which bleed at every step; such camels cannot, therefore, be used on long marches. *Erteʿâdi* means shaking of the loins, a sure sign of fever and sickness. 29. Having been deceived by his friend Fejḥân, ʿAbdallâh sought help from other chiefs in Neǧd and was in such haste about it as to rouse everybody's wonder. 30. He addresses Fejḥân. *"Jâ šên.* O shameful!" O rascal! is used in both a friendly and hostile sense. 31. Fejḥân would reproach him with fearing to win the beauty for him. 33. *Radij al-ǧelâdi* is a bald-headed man. 34. *Ḥaẓîẓ* is what remains of water in a folded leather water bag. 35. He woos for Fejḥân a girl of his own kin, as a kin usually forms a *ferîž*, smaller camp, of their own. 37. He can see her cooking behind the narrow partition which protects the fireplace from the wind, *dera*ʿ. 38. *Al-ḥeǧaʾ* denotes the corner in the women's compartment where women in childbirth or with abnormal menstruation rest. 39. Fejḥân viewed his beloved's beauty with his own eyes, but other people judged it differently. In Neǧd almost every settlement has its own valley without an outlet. These valleys are mostly large basins where the rain water accumulates, there soaking into the sandy ground and keeping fresh for a considerable time. None of these basins are connected, so that the water cannot flow on the surface from one to another. 41. He who is careless will perish, be he the most powerful. A person on foot carrying a pouch with cool water will overcome a rider dying of thirst. 43. A Bedouin may not marry a *ṣâneʿ's* daughter.

ʿObejd Eben Rašid Lies in Wait in a Ravine to Fight the Âl ʿAli

1. *Hejh jâ-lli lak maʿ an-nâs widdâd*
   mâ tarḥamûn al-ḥâl jâ ʿazwati lejh
2. *mâ tarḥamûn alli ṛada damʿeh abdâd*
   ṭowl az-zemân w-ḥarrak ad-damʿ ḥaddejh
3. *min šowfeti lel-ṛarw mazbûr al-anhâd*
   mutmašleḥen jâṭaʾ ʿala-ždâm riǧlejh
4. *aš-šowk mâ leh ʿan mwâṭih raddâd*
   ejzan w-lâ sibten žiwijjen jewaǧǧejh

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 x
577 x

7. *tarârow al-merḳâb miṯl aḏ-ḏijâbe*
   wa-tḳâbalow miṯl al-ḥarâr al-mefâliḥ
8. *w-ḳâmat ǧenûb al-bel tsallel ḥarâbeh*
   w-ḳâlow ǧanabha ʿâšežîn aṭ-ṭamâmiḥ
9. *čam wâḥeden bel-kown jeʿṣer ṣuwâbeh*
   min čaff kowḥân al-ʿajûn aḏ-ḏuwâbiḥ.

1. O Allâh! I beg of thee, who art quick of hearing,
   To open for us with thy keys the gate of freedom;
2. It is the prayer of a servant to his master who will hear him,
   O thou creator of wealth for those who live in tents as well as in houses!
3. Sleep is the cause of reproof, for it reflects evil,
   While the sleep of an eye that longs for power is but short.
4. He that would have praise must tire his riding camels,
   For the booty depends on the long pace, O ye owners of fine camels!
5. With his heels he tears the skin of the riding animals,
   Which must run over the wide plain, if they would arrive in the evening.
6. All he carries is a water bag, food for the journey,
   And long fancy ribbons, streaming after him like the cloth with which the falcon is coaxed.
7. In full gallop with his comrades he rode up a high hill like a pack of wolves,
   And they threw themselves upon the foe like well-born warriors meeting success.
8. But the camel guards resisted, brandishing their spears,
   So that they said: "They are protected by the gallants of women displeased with their husband."
9. How many are pressing their hands to their wounds
   Dealt by the hand of him who (when aiming) half closes his death-dealing eyes!

The author of this poem was an unknown Šarâri; it was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Bâb al-faraǧ* is a gate leading to spacious regions where the Bedouin is not threatened with danger. 2. *Al-ʿarab* live in tents, *al-falâliḥ* in houses. Whenever the *fellâḥîn*, or townsmen of some of the border settlements, leave for their herds and settle in tents, they are at once spoken of as *ʿarab*. 3. *An-*

[361
●342]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

574 609 On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent. From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamin we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings. [201] With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.

● [352] The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarîm*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

● 352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efeḥḳû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâl*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *mirtaḳi*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meẓ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥeẓ*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jenâčče'* (or *jinûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalži 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minǧeda'*.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

353 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

181 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys
157 seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given
628 me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrú lan-*
[554 *nâr*." With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always
463] dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty
412 to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement
332 called *fáz*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden
354 helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *ḳaddûm* or *tubal*. The ordinary
354 Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *ḥufrat an-nâr*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are
[574] shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may
372 warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *rṯm* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *šîḥ* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers
[462] and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the divid-
[251] ing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tammen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

against the back wall. The sacks are either black, made of goat's hair, *ḫaraṣ*, or gray, made of wool and camel's hair, *ʿedel*, and there are also colored ones woven by the Rwala women and known as *ṯaffârijje*.

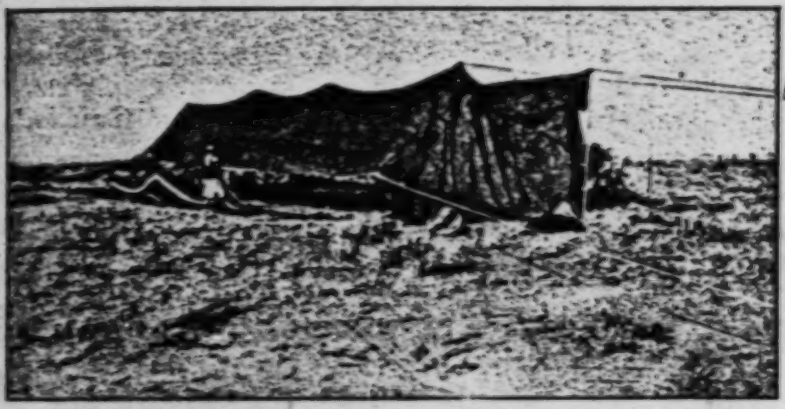

FIG. 8—Pitching a tent: attaching the rear wall.

The spindle, *meṛzel*, is shaped like a four-pointed star measuring nine centimeters in diameter and provided with an opening in the center. From this there projects the end of a pole, *ʿûd*, 35 centimeters long, in which a small iron hook, *sunnâra*, is passed. The woman who spins takes the camel's hair or sheep's wool under her right armpit, while with her left hand she twists a thread about thirty centimeters long, ties it to the lower part of the spindle pole, and thrusts in under the hook. Then she raises her left knee and, placing the lower end of the pole upon it, twirls the spindle on her knee with the palm of her left hand, while with the fingers of her right hand she winds the thread. This, running through the hook, is now twined around the whirling pole, which once again has been allowed to hang freely. If the movement of the spindle gives out, it is set whirling again in the same manner. The women do their spinning while riding on camels and also while marching on foot. They keep the wool or camel's hair either in their laps or in their bosoms. If they wish to have a stronger thread, they weave two or three prepared threads together on the spindle.

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṯw*, the names of the dif-

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrá lan-nár*." [554] With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. [463] The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty to which chief the tent belonged. 412 It is dug with an implement called *fáz*, 332 which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden helve; 354 the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *kaddúm* or *tubal*. 354 The ordinary Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *kufrat an-nár*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are [574] shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may 372 warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *hatab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *rugr* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *lih*, which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the [462] *female slaves and women. If the chief has* not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the dividing wall. [251] Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

(Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *ḥaṛûr* (pl., *ḥwâṛir*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *waḏm*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *'arḳa* (pl., *'arâḳi*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies a *ṣâǧ*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

During long marches in the summer season the tents are not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *beṭ ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṭawleṭ*; with four, *mrawba'*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sab'a wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *aṭlaṭ*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳafa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ksûr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb šala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebûneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *ʒabbelû al-bejt ǧâna-l-hawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *rwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *rwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *rwâḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *rwâḳ*! *šawre'û al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *rwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *îdên w-riǧlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *mâ ḥuna anǧas min al-čalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'ejš*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *sâǧ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampment during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 [825]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siż*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enḍama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ẖfâḳ*. *Enẖafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḏf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *ṛaṛa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

539[K]

5. *ekfaw čema' ṭejren ḳalab râseh al-ḥûm*
bfeğğen 'amîḳ w-lâ jindara' wên ḥâmi
6. *adna' manâzelhom šeṭâṭa w-lamlûm*
w-aḳṣa' manâzelhom medâḥ an-na'âmi
7. *elja lefejt ad-dire aṣḥâb min ḳowm*
ehreğ tara' ḥamṣ ar-rağâl al-'elûmi.

1. I lament for my kinsmen, O people! I am not among those who are abused,
For I think that one who laments for his kinsmen deserves not abuse.
2. I reached the spot where the herds used to rest and where my heart was light,
Where stood the tents of beloved friends and uncles.
3. This is the fireplace with the small pit half covered in,
And the spot where so often rested the coffeepots from Damascus.
4. Here always were tied up their horses
With the white circle round their eyeballs and their heads almost four-cornered.
5. They departed like a falcon whose head has been turned by yearning for flight, circling
Above a broad ravine, so that no man can tell where it flies.
6. Their nearest camping places are between Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm,
Their farthest where the ostriches are hatched.
7. If you reach their territory, bring tidings unto my friends who are amid enemies.
Behold! tidings are for men what *ḥamṣ* pastures are for camels.

The poet was a negro encamping with the 'Amârât, who fell in love with a Bedouin woman and was driven away by her relatives. They threatened him with death if he returned to their encampment. The poem was recited by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. It may be interpreted thus: the poet longs for his friends. He visits the place where he was last encamped with them, remembers and laments, not knowing when and where he will meet with them.

Verse 2. *Ḥullân* here means the negro's faithful friends and also his beloved. *'Amâmi* are the Bedouins with whom he encamped and whom he served, for every negro has among

● 357
563

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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the Bedouins a family whom he serves and whom he calls his uncles. 3. In the men's compartment a small pit varying in shape and size is dug for the fire, so that years afterwards it shows who had encamped there previously. 4. Some clans have a preference for horses whose eyeballs vanish in a white circle; they call them *ḥowḳa'*. 6. Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm are settlements in Irak. Ostriches are hatched in the Nefûd southeast of Šeṭâṭa. 7. The plants upon which the camels thrive best are called by a single word, *ḥamż*.

1. *'Ajni ğezat 'an nowmiha bân al-aṣbâḥ*
   w-'ajni ğezat 'an nowmiha w-asharatni
2. *ğît al-manâzel rab'ana w-ğît al-emrâḥ*
   w-laḳejt marka' delâlahom ḏakkaratni
3. *jâ dâr lâ tebčîn amren maża' w-râḥ*
   dowr as-sene jâ dâr erğîhom etni
4. *fâraḳatni jâ dâr čal-bedr w-enlâḥ*
   jowm erḥalat jâ dâr mâ šâwaratni.

1. My eyes have had enough of sleep, morning has appeared;
   My eyes have had enough of sleep and have awakened me.
2. I went into the encampment of our comrades and to the spot where the herds had passed the night,
   And I found where their coffeepots had rested, and these brought back much to my mind.
3. O camping place! mourn not for the thing which has passed away and vanished;
   After a year, O camping place! hope and wait.
4. She left me, O camping place! like the full moon when its luster wanes.
   And when she departed, O camping place! she asked not for my counsel.

The poet was a member of the Fed'ân tribe, who went on a warlike expedition against the Šammar. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and when he had fully recovered he returned after about six months. His wife, of whom he was very fond, had fallen ill and died. Having learnt of his grievous loss, the Fed'âni hastened to the camping place where he had last been with his wife and described his memories in a long poem, of which Blejhân communicated this fragment to me.

In verse 4 *jowm erḥalat* has the same meaning as *jowm mâtat* (or *râḥat*), she died, passed away.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

361

The Great Nomad City of the Rwala. Seven Thousand Tents Assembled together with Three Hundred and Fifty Thousand Camels

opposite page 49

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

619 ●[361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

769 [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiyukhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeġarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'ᶜw* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *baᶜîdîn aẓ-ẓaᶜna wâsiᶜîn aṭ-ṭaᶜana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-eᶜnân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

[1] [The šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

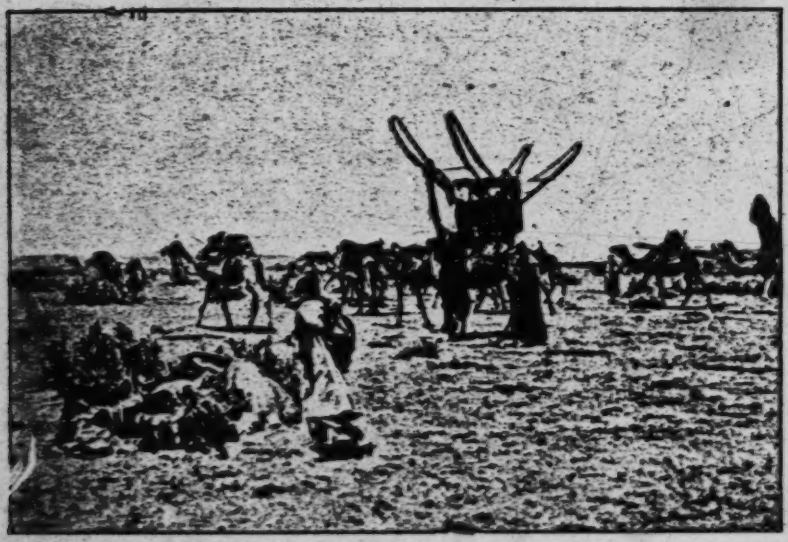

FIG. 18—*Ṣetab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'aššow*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *feriž*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *neǧe'*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *kallaṭ leh ḳallâṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *maṭṭa* (pl., *maṭâṭi*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥôr, of the Hebra 'Anka, as well as of Ṭâha. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Rowb, also known as *leben râjeb*, is sour goat's or sheep's milk. 5. Esrija, the ruins of a town north-northwest of Palmyra, is one of the main camping grounds of the 'Ebede division of the Sba'a. Ḥoms and Ḥama lie west of Esrija.

831* 539* [361]

1. *Jâ râčeb min 'endana tisa' mâjât*
   w-tisa'în w-elfen tizâdi
2. *mrabba'ât ḳejẓahen misterîḥât*
   w-en saneden limrêṭbe w-aṭ-ṭanâdi
3. *jilfen abu sbejjel 'adîm al-me'eğzât*
   jeḳẓi ṛaradna min ğamî' al-bwâdi
4. *bâṛi jidûr ṣwejḥebi bel-mhâfât*
   jidawwer al-bedw hamm jidawwer al-blâdi
5. *ḳil jâ bint ana min 'oḳbîkom šu'et lô'ât*
   ḥâli naḥat jâ bint w-al-hamm zâdi
6. *al-ḥalḳ tebât al-lejl bel-'own mâ-bât*
   w-al-'ajn 'an nowm al-mela mâ twâdi
7. *mâ-lûm ana râ' al-hawa kiṭr mâ fât*
   w-iblîs ma' râ' al-hawa biğithâdi
8. *en mâ laḳejteh ḥajj telḳâh žid mât*
   ḥaffet 'alejh al-ḳabr w-ermel hwâdi.

1. O thou who ridest from us, leading nine hundred
   And ninety and still another thousand [camels],
2. Almost square with fatness, rested during the midsummer;
   When they go up to the wells of Mrêṭbe and aṭ-Ṭanâdi
3. They will reach Abu Sbejjel, who knows no fatigue
   And who will do all that we need among the Bedouins.
4. I desire him to search for my sweetheart, no matter where she may be;
   Let him search among the Bedouins and in the settlements, then.
5. Speak thus: "O daughter mine, I have suffered without you heart's torments;
   My content is gone, and the torment grows.
6. At night all creation sleeps, but verily, I do not.
   For the eye will not catch the sleep of riffraff."
7. I reproach not my beloved with what is already past,
   As Iblîs is wont to tease every beloved one.
8. If thou shouldst find her not alive, if thou shouldst find her dead already,
   Make lighter her grave and strew with sand the three stones on which she used to place her kettle.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

mad and Ğwâd, who claimed that *jerješ* means brows, whereas Ḥmâr said "*jâ riš al-ʿajn*," which, of course, means the same thing. An *eğra* is a small village or hamlet with huts built of mud bricks. *Taṣfiḥ* or *taḥrîf* signifies any act performed for money or simply as a display. 2. *Ḥabîna* stands for the activity of the participators in small predatory excursions or of the scouts sent to find out by whom certain herds are owned and the whereabouts and size of the enemy's camps. They often have to crawl on their bellies so as to escape notice and avoid bringing destruction upon themselves and their comrades. 3. *Ḫwaʿ* is the call to supper during a raid. Fejṣal enumerates his deeds among the Bedouins. 5. *Habbt ar-rîḥ* is a favorable wind, a good opportunity for success, booty. The partakers in a raid shout when mounting their animals: "*Habbî lana jâ rîḥâna*, blow us, O breeze [to our success]!" 7. *Senîna* is a sharp saber.

831[x] 539[x] [361] [579]

Difficulties Due to Kinsmen

Jâ ḥamâd jâ-l-ḥnejdi O Ḥamad al-Ḥnejdi!
žetalni ḥawâk Love for thee has been the ruin of me;
w-an-nâs braǧaʿ-llâh While others put their hope in Allâh,
w-ana birağâk. I put my hope in thee.

Enḥazem jâ selîm It were well for thee to flee;
lâ tabet al-ḫalaʿ Do not pass the night behind the camp!
ṣâḥebi min žedîm My friend has long ago
sammani bel-ṛalaʿ. Poisoned me with love.

The maiden warns her lover against the meetings at night behind the camp. *Ḫalaʿ* means everything behind the camp. *Ṛalaʿ* is the passion of love.

Jâ šowḳ mâ taʿṭi-l-mabṛi
ḳalb al-maḫâlîž jadrîni
jâ bint ana ḫâreben ṭabʿi
lijje ʿala-l-bîz ʿorbûni
jâ bint ana-ḫâf min rabʿi
w-al-kill jabṛîč miṉ dûni.

Sweetheart, wilt thou not give me what I most desire
Before the creatures discover me?
O maiden! I am ruining my character,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters or the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-ejd w-mežfini
w-mnaššerîn ad-dallâli
'allemi bihon bel-maḳâṭini
w-mrakkezîn al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite [direction,
Their best clothes donning.
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist. [to stay

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *aẓ-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Mežfin* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâṭini*. The word *meḳṭân* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭana 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 111). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munaššerîn ad-dallâl*.

Ed'û râ'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ajla' howšeh
jâ mušarreden 'ar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Ed'û for jâ ṭawîl al-'omr. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

639X
857

mâ zâl nawwâf 'ala-l-ḥejl
w-al-mâl killen jahâbeh
jista'hel al-wared w-al-hejl
w-an-naḏel jaḳmaḥ šebâbeh.

O my Lord! O creator of the night!
Let us have rain from thy clouds,
Nawwâf goes out on raids constantly
And all the property of the enemy fears him.
Of both rose and cardamom he is worthy,
And the overcautious only hold back his youthful courage.

Al-wared means the fragrance of roses as well as the rose itself and the love of women. *Hejl*, cardamom, is added to coffee, which thus prepared is to be served to none but heroes. *Naḏel*, cowards, vile ones, signifies here the older, more cautious chiefs, who with Prince an-Nûri at their head would not allow Nawwâf and his youths incessantly to raid even hostile tribes. They feared revenge.

Jâ rabbi jâ m'awwel
t'awwel 'ala-helna
nabni bujût al-'ezz
nanzel manâzelna
narḥal 'an had-dire
w-'an wasṭha ǵilna
jislam abu nawwâf
jarḥal w-jenazzelna.

O my Lord! O thou who returnest!
Lead us back to our kin,
Where we may pitch our tents as is seemly
And encamp on our own grounds.
We shall move away from this region
Forever to disappear from its midst.
Hail to the father of Nawwâf!
Would that he may move and allot to us new camps.

221 361 If the pastures in the territories owned by them do not suffice for their needs, while the territories in dispute abound in plenty, *rabî'*, the Rwala march as a rule to some of their tributary settlements in the inner desert, unload their supplies, litters, and large tents, usually leave the women, children and aged persons there, and move with their herds to the disputed

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-'ezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin owning them. *Ĝâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enĝâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
'aṭni faṛa bâli
fowḳ awṛaḥen 'âli
ma' waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ĝowzen 'ala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faṛa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben ḥumejla'
râ'ih má jûmi 'aṛâḥ
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereḥ jâ min laḳâḥ
ar'eḥ ma' ḏwejden 'azib
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-fela'
wa' lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏîb ĝellâni 'awḍḥ.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 x
577 x

7. *tarûrow al-merkûb miṯl aḍ-ḍijâbe*
wa-ṯkâbalow miṯl al-ḥarâr al-mefâlîḥ
8. *w-ḳâmat ǧenûb al-bel tsallel ḥarâbeh*
w-ḳâlow ǧanabha 'âšeṯîn aṭ-ṭamâmiḥ
9. *čam wâḥeden bel-kown je'per ṣuwâbeh*
min čaff kowḥân al-'ajûn aḍ-ḍuwâbiḥ.

1. O Allâh! I beg of thee, who art quick of hearing,
To open for us with thy keys the gate of freedom;
2. It is the prayer of a servant to his master who will hear him,
O thou creator of wealth for those who live in tents as well as in houses!
3. Sleep is the cause of reproof, for it reflects evil,
While the sleep of an eye that longs for power is but short.
4. He that would have praise must tire his riding camels,
For the booty depends on the long pace, O ye owners of fine camels!
5. With his heels he tears the skin of the riding animals,
Which must run over the wide plain, if they would arrive in the evening.
6. All he carries is a water bag, food for the journey,
And long fancy ribbons, streaming after him like the cloth with which the falcon is coaxed.
7. In full gallop with his comrades he rode up a high hill like a pack of wolves,
And they threw themselves upon the foe like well-born warriors meeting success.
8. But the camel guards resisted, brandishing their spears,
So that they said: "They are protected by the gallants of women displeased with their husband."
9. How many are pressing their hands to their wounds
Dealt by the hand of him who (when aiming) half closes his death-dealing eyes!

The author of this poem was an unknown Šarâri; it was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Bâb al-faraǧ* is a gate leading to spacious regions where the Bedouin is not threatened with danger. 2. *Al-'arab* live in tents, *al-falâḥ* in houses. Whenever the *felláḥîn*, or townsmen of some of the border settlements, leave for their herds and settle in tents, they are at once spoken of as *'arab*. 3. *An-*

[361 342]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siž*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ḫfûḳ*. *Enḫafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḏf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *ṛaṛa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

there came over a slope, with slow, long strides, a troop of eleven ostriches—three cocks and eight hens—magnificent birds. An inquisitive gazelle-buck stole after them, but the ostriches dropped into a long trot and disappeared in the labyrinth of sand dunes.

As I rode in the wake of my comrades, a fox crossed my path, and from some acacia bushes rose many ravens. The sun was already setting and the dry air was rapidly cooling. Ahead of me the sand-waves, their crests glowing golden red, cast deep shadows towards the East. The face of the wilderness was wrapped in a violet veil. A wondrous silence rose from the Nufud. Brief dusk—then night, and a voice faintly borne to me by the wind. It was Faris looking for me. I called back; and side by side we rode into a sheltered gully surrounded by high dunes, which made an excellent camel paddock and an ideal camp site.

"Let us break our fast," said Faris, as he pulled the heavy saddle and the water-skin from the back of his *dhalul*. A fire of *ghada* sticks was soon lighted. In a few seconds this became very warm and burned without smoke and with an almost colourless flame. The men fed it with roots and sticks as thick as a man's arm. Meanwhile the bread-dough was being kneaded. As soon as there was a good heap of glowing ashes, the iron baking-sheet was placed over the fire. Together with the warm bread-cakes, the dates, honey, and hard camel-cheese tasted delicious.

Faris posted sentinels on two commanding sand-hills. One watch I had to take myself.

A clear, still night enfolded the desert. The starlight

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

been properly skimmed, the cook poured a part into the smallest jug available and from this served his coffee a few drops at a time, a single stoneware cup making the round of the company. The mound of camel dung heaped by the women was glowing red, and everyone was on the tiptoe of expectation when Faris rose and went over to the women's side of the tent. A cheerful bustling sounded from it—supper ought to be about ready; and sure enough, there appeared a woman and a slave, carrying between them a huge platter piled high with meat, which they set down on the threshold. Faris shouted into the night, to call all stragglers who might be in the vicinity.

We grouped ourselves round this mountain of flesh. I saw in the flickering light wild-looking, hungry men squatting opposite me, with black plaits of hair showing under their white-and-red head-cloths, the tips of which were flung over the shoulders. They fell to with their fingers, tore the meat from the bones and devoured it in great gulps. Our host flung titbits to me across the platter. It was embellished with the camel's head split open, but without the brains. Only the women will eat them, for they are supposed to make men faint-hearted. The hearts of bustard and other fowl are also disdained by these gallant lords of the desert.

We lingered four days in this depression, as we had enough food and fuel. The camels scattered to graze in the surrounding country. The women, too, were busily employed in hoeing up the roots of the small shrubs and gathering their twigs, which they carried to camp on their backs in large bundles. Many of the women had

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731 221 [372] [252 262] sheltered position at the foot of a rugged hill, and gathered roots and dry weeds to make a fire by which to roast the bustards shot on the way by our slaves. The roughly plucked birds were cut into pieces, which were thrown on the hot ashes. The crops and intestines still full of partly digested herbs and red-haired caterpillars were also roasted in this way, and eaten with relish as a delicacy.

It was our intention to rest here awhile. From a point above our camp we surveyed the surrounding country from time to time for wandering herds, mounted Bedouins or automobiles, but as far as we could see there was nothing living within view; the wilderness stretched away to the horizon undisturbed.

579 As we chaffed and laughed over our meal, six savage figures stood suddenly before us, as if they had risen out of the ground. They could not have ridden upon us, for Mijhem and Sleyman had, but a moment previously, scanned the whole neighbourhood with field-glasses. The six fellows must, therefore, have crept up on hands and knees from some spot close by, where they had been lying in hiding. They had no rifles, but nevertheless, they had us covered with pistols which they held under their cloaks.

At first they did not speak, and not one of us dared to move. Two of the strangers then commenced to argue with each other, eyeing us the while in a most unfriendly manner.

Unmounted wayfarers met in the desert in this way are usually common robbers and murderers, who will stop at nothing to attain their purpose. They have

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrá lan-*
[554 *nár.*" With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always
463] dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty
412 to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement
332 called *fâz*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden
354 helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *ḳaddûm* or *tubal*. The ordinary
354 Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *ḫufrat an-nâr*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are
[574] shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may
372 warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *raṭa'* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *ḥâ* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers
[462] and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the divid-
[251] ing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tammen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

264 *snûneh*. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al-wasṭa*, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; if 574 by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejš* with *mraḳa* gravy and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mḥelijje*. What is left over, *ṛarîme*, is received by the poor children who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed the head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare together with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made of dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast not supped; *râs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-žedaḥ bečile w-tḳûl mâ ta'aššejt*."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

252 All food is prepared in the camp by the women in their compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made. 372 At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb an-nâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa*," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughter, or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark, lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šiḥ*, whirls it round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it under the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this also catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplace 272 long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32) 415 from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The largest one is called *maṭbâḥa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds from which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several days. A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fire. The other three pots he rinses out, *ješarreb*, pours the contents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster made of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of the fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *beriž*, as well as a *žedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring about 20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and with a narrow edge. From the *žedaḥ* water is offered for drinking.

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leather canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes a handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iron pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roasted, *miḥmâse*, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

276 cleaner. A chief shouts to his negro: "Fill my pipe, *'ammer li-s-sebîl*. Clean the pipe so that it will not clog, *ebḫaš as-sebîl lâ jinsedd*." A *ṛaljûn* consists of three parts: the pipe proper, *bûz*, a long wooden stem, *ḳṣuba*, and the mouthpiece, *maṣṣa*.

276 415 372 Both the tobacco and steel and tinder for lighting it the Bedouin carries in leather pouches known as *sfara* and *ṣifen* respectively. The flint is called *ṣalbûḫ*, the steel *zenâd*, and the tinder *ǧadḫa*. The last the Bedouin either prepares himself from dry, powdered *šiḥ*, or *ḳuṭejn*, or buys from a merchant.

Poems Relating to Smoking

276 539* The pipe and the effects of smoking are mentioned in more than one poem. The first two verses of the following poem composed by Nimr eben 'Adwân are universally known, while the rest could be recited by a few only:

1. *Jâ šama'at aṣ-ṣubjân 'ammer lena-l-bûz*
   w-emlih min at-titen al-ṛwejri w-nâseh
2. *aḫejr 'endi min ḥebb kill mambûz*
   'azmen ṭwâl al-lejl jiṭred na'âse
3. *ma' delleten je'abba leha-l-hejl w-al-ǧowz*
   w-'ašrin 'ûden 'ârefin žijâseh
4. *ma' šât muṣlâḥen leha-l-'atel markûz*
   w-mzajjenen ḥabb al-leḳejmi elbâseh
5. *ja'ben ad-dasmin aš-šwâreb ḥal-ar-rûz*
   fakkâkt al-mazhûr jowm eḥtwâseh
6. *rab'i ḥal ar-raddâd mâ ṣarbehom hûz*
   čam wâḥeden min fe'lihom ṭâḥ râseh
7. *w-lâ hom mšâwert al-'aǧâjez ḥal al-kûz*
   alli maḥâčihom drûb an-neḳâṣe
8. *jâ rabb jâ-lli tenbet al-'ešeb ledrûz*
   lâ teǧma' al-fuṛṛa al-bâši naḥâse
9. *čam ḳâleten rollah wara-ṣ-ṣadr maknûz*
   w-tamzi w-hi bîl-čabd miṭl al-ḥalâṣe.

1. O, merry youth! fill the damaged pipe for us,
   Fill it with tobacco from Ḳowr and give it here,
2. For dearer to me than the kisses of any full-hipped maid
   Is that little bone which in a long night drives away slumber.

2:Musil Ś-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

By both the men's and the
women's compartments of the tents blazing fires are kept up, attracting the traveler even at a great distance. *Rwijhom* means water bags, each made from half of a camel's hide and holding about 150 liters of water. If there is a scarcity of water in the *ḳéẓ* season (midsummer) everybody gets it at the chief's tent. *Ḥabra* (pl., *ḥabâri*) are the level spaces of various sizes on a vast plain, in which the rain water from the higher ground accumulates. *Ṣhûnahom* are extraordinarily large pans with two handles, often as much as a meter and a half in diameter, in which supper is brought to the guests whom either the chief or his representative invites to sit down, calling each by his name. In the dead of night these calls can be heard from afar.

Ṣubjân ṭowb al-mâl	O youths, a costly garb
lâ telbesûneh	Put not on!
jista'heleh nawwâf	Of that Nawwâf is deserving
w-ḳejfi zebûneh	Whose caftan is not new,
elja ǧâ nahâr al-kown	When on the day of the fray
w-je'aššed redûneh.	His long shirt sleeves behind his neck he ties.

Towb is the man's long shirt made of white linen. *Towb al-mâl* is a shirt with decorative stitching around the neck and on the breast. The sleeves of this shirt are often as much as a meter and a half long and end in a sharp angle. During a fight or when the wearer is engaged in some hard task the sleeve ends are tied together and thrown behind the neck. *Zebûn* is a garb made from variegated fabric and worn over the shirt. Nawwâf, as the bravest of all, should also wear the best clothes.

Tabasserû jâ kla-l-ḫejl
nawwâf ḥara-l-ma'naḳijje
ellûn meḥâ'el darârîǧ
min taḥat 'âd al-ḥanijje
ḥâl erčubi lâ ṯḥâfi
mâ adl râsi 'alijje.

At the glad news rejoice, you riders:
Nawwâf has bought a mare of the *ma'naḳijje* breed;
Meḥâ'el's calves like the rollers appear
Under the pole of a curved litter.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles a fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *rǫza'*, or *rṭâ*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *Asâs* or *nasab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Eben Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâh ṭalabtak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraj bel-mefâtîḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbek w-ṭâbek*
   jâ ḫdâlden rizḳ al-'arab w-al-falâḥ
3. *an-nou'n sâs al-lowm bân ar-reda' bek*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowîṭ nowmeh šelâfîḥ
4. *alli jirîd al-medeḥ jî'ab reḥâbek*
   w-ar-rizḳ beṭûl al-ḫaṭa' jâ-hla-l-fîḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-neṣa' be'akâbek*
   w-al-daww jikṭa'anneh 'aṣêren beterwîḥ
6. *má fowḳha illa' žirbeten ma' zahâbek*
   w-esfâjefen tabrîḥ lown al-maldwîḥ

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Mâ jeǧmed* means "that which adheres (sticks) and colors." The Bedouins prefer coffee which leaves dark-yellow stains on the white cups. The wild geese are called *maḥâdîb* from their fat bulging backs. 2. The roasting is finished when the fine drops resembling sweat disappear from the coffee beans. 3. Through prolonged use the inside of the mortar becomes very shiny, as does the spot outside pressed by the knees of the person working the pestle. *Jeʿi*, the mortar bows because the beater inclines it from side to side when shaking off the coffee that sticks to its sides. *Dubb ad-dahr* means "as is the custom, life long." 4. *Čaffat aṣ-ṣîn* is the inside of a porcelain cup, *wars* (or *kurkub*) the plant from which the yellow dye is made. *Šfûf* was explained to me as lips, but it can also mean the stuff for a dress. 5. The first cup should go to the *ʿaẓîd*, or leader of the troop. *Mafras* signifies the spot where the enemy's horses were repulsed when trying to free the captured herds. 6. *Ẓabṭâb* is the term applied to the warriors mounted on horses. If the enemy attack a migrating tribe they are opposed by the *salaf*, a troop of horsemen who attempt to drive them from the camels which carry the tents, household goods, supplies, and women and children. If the enemy is numerically stronger, the troop opposing them may soon be scattered, in which case only the bravest will persist in defending the camels of the different families. 7. The owner of the tent, who sets meat before the hungry fighters on their return from a raid, is entitled to the most coffee. 8. *Wafel* is the twice-boiled coffee, which not only leaves no dark-yellow stains on the white porcelain but is almost wholly gray, *ḥâb*. It is good enough for such visitors, *mela*, as press, *rappâṣe*, into the men's compartment. Although they see that they are depriving the more esteemed guests and the tired fighters of their places, and that the host looks at them with an unfriendly eye, yet they do not leave the tent. At last the short stick, *miʿlâb*, such as is used for urging on and driving away the donkeys, must be applied to them. 9. If the alarm cry is sounded, a true Bedouin instantly arms himself with his best weapon and runs to help, *jîfaʿ*, his attacked countrymen, but a samp of the sort just described will only snatch up a thick stake used for poking the fire, *miṣlâb*, thinking he can scare the enemy with that. *Sâheǧîn* (or *târečîn*) *al-muwâǧîb* are those who are unmindful of their duties towards their clan and tribe and are conceited braggarts, *ḥbârîn al-anfas*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

would deserve, he would need"; *bel-'own* (for *beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*), there is no objection, with the consent of all. 2. *Tawâfiž* or *bel-wafaḳ*, *beṣ-ṣadfe*; *tawâfaḳû* or *taṣâdafû*: they happened to settle it among themselves, they punished each other. 3. *Rṣâṣ* are balls, usually leaden ones. *'Ademlijje* is an old rifle with which the marksman is so well acquainted that he never misses his aim. *Saḥar* may mean the lungs, liver, or stomach, while *ma'âlîž* signifies the heart and the arteries leading to it. 4. "My hands have mixed, *anžeḥan*, this powder." The Bedouins frequently prepare their own gunpowder, trusting it more than that sold by the wandering merchants, who mix it with crushed charcoal, while the Bedouin knows that his powder is pure, *naẓîf*. *Anḳaḥt hal-binduḳ*, however, may mean "I loaded this rifle." The sound of a shot is compared to the sound of a meteor falling on a high hill. According to the Rwala this is a frequent occurrence, and they preserve the pieces of broken meteors as keepsakes. 5. Thus 'Awde threatens to shootRšejd, if he does not give up Ruṣna.Ršejd would like to marry the girl secretly, but that is no longer possible, as everybody is talking about her and she is looked upon in the same manner as the moon or the dome dedicated to some Mohammedan saint, which can be observed from afar. Both 'Awde and Ruṣna were encamped at that time in an-Nuḳra, a region south of Damascus, where along the old Pilgrim Road to Mecca many white domes were built in honor of various saints. Ruṣna is then likened to a dome trodden by no man as yet, hence a virgin. 6. She has very thick hair and her tresses end in ostrich feathers entwined in the hair, *zerâniž*. 7. All that Ruṣna handles succeeds, grows, takes life, just as the *ṭrajjâwi* rain gives new life to the grass seed. The constellation of the Pleiades catches water in a large bailing bucket and then pours it over the scorched lowland. *Rijâṭ* are depressions in the bare plains into which most of the water runs, fertilising them also with the mud it carries along. The seeds of the annuals, which sometimes lie dormant for two to four years in these depressions, begin to sprout after an abundant *ṭrajjâwi* rain, and with more rain the lowland becomes a blooming meadow. 8. The thought of Ruṣna quickens the beating of 'Awde's heart. The camels do not like the pasture in the settled territory; they yearn for the inner desert, to which they proceed either to the east of Damascus or to the south of Der'at. Near the latter town rises the hillock of

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

right hand he holds his staff or a rifle, to which he ties his kerchief for a flag, and points it in the direction of the threatening danger. *Ḥṣân* always means a stallion, *faras* a mare, *ḫejl* horses in general. The *ḥṣân* is, as a rule, more enduring than the mare. *Al-ḥṣân balad* means "the stallion became tired," implying that he stopped moving owing to oversweating or because he was so weakened by heat and thirst that he could not escape from the enemy hard in pursuit of him. *Zaban*, he protected, took his part. He that is threatened with death or is in fear of an avenger asks the protection of one more powerful, who will then shield and bring him to a place where he can live in peace, *zabaneh*.

Já 'ejâl dukkú-l-barûd
lel-moṛrebi muḫḫ al-ḥadid
lâ budd min jowmen ja'úd
jafroḳ wadîden 'an wadîd.

My sons, pound the powder;
For al-Moṛrebi we need steel,
And the day is sure to come
Which will take the lover
from his sweetheart.

A Turkish officer, known to the Rwala only by the name of al-Moṛrebi, was in command of the regular troops who drove back the Bedouins whenever they tried to encamp in the settled territory. This happened in the seventies of the last century, when it was the policy of the Turkish Government to protect the *felláḥín* from the Bedouins. The Rwala, who had lost many men, thirsted for revenge and as they could go neither to Syria nor to Irak they manufactured their powder themselves. *Muḫḫ al-ḥadid* is steel. They wished to shoot al-Moṛrebi with a steel bullet, thinking that an ordinary one of lead would not kill him.

Narmi-l-'aša benḥárken laṯ-ṯejr
w-en kunkubb al-adwas wara'
bemdenisláten ṣan'aken bed-dejr
berḥub 'adlát al-ḫeta'.

Before the throats [of the she-camels] we shall throw
their supper to the birds of prey,
Though the base one still lingers behind;
With spears adorned with chains made at ad-Dejr
[Driven] into the necks of mares fed from the new crop.

Benḥárken means the confusion of galloping camels and also their throats. Our riders are loath to retreat; they want

2:bdusil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

713 popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$40.50) and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *taǧǧâ-*
435 *rijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧidijjât* 439
($25.20-$29). The *šêšâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini; the *umm sunki* kind of *šêšâni* could be bought for 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54), the *umm ḫufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Bedouins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the rifles fitted with breechblocks, *umm-ṭ-ṭbe'*, are less sought after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations, *taǧǧâri*, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18) less. All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt. During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans numbered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead,
401 gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an
463 expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and manufacture cartridges.

702 From time to time both the sons and negroes of the chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *nišân*, generally is a black stone a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramje*
713 (pl., *remi*) signifies a report, a shot. "*Bârûdi 'araft ramîka*" means "I know the reports of my rifle; "*w-allâh ramîka zên*," "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with a flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Na' bindukem laṭpât fammiha jepebni
laha 'ala ḫaṭwo-l-mufammah mardmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi*, *rbê'i*, *ḫmâsi*, *stîni* — the last being of the largest caliber. *Šêšâne*, or *šêšâne*, are old rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḫamra*. *Bindukijje* are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

411 Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and
713 dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel or

2:Musil S-C, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

as long as it is in grain, *al-ḥimmṣ alli ba'ad ḥabbeh ṣaḥiḥ*." 252
The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mihbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *raḥa'*. These mills 412
are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt 404
or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḥalb*, and make a wooden handle, *ḥâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *ṭfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-foweḥa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḥa' 'ala-ṭ-ṭfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

FIG. 23—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'id ar-raḥa mâ dirah killen tâḥod 'alîrah*." Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ana wağ-'ana 'abd al-karîm wawaddna*."

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; 251
at the most they grind enough to leave something over for 261
bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a 252
ṣaḥa-pan (or *'alb*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *maḥmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *maḥmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *maḥmar* or *ṣaḥa* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *tefaḥḥes*, on the *ṣaḥa*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥa*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *fewaseʃ tiwsiʃ*. The ready-made cake she places on a *wisaʃ*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *ṣâj*, about

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All through the night they kept watering their herds at the deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bearings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which extends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste without water, without pasture, on which it seems to have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta —the *samh*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed granules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark, bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well, we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâǧ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sǧile* is a sheet of paper. *Zîž* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhîǧ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which kneit, *mabrak*, over a snake hole, *ṭâǧ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṛamâlîǧ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳejṣ* or *meḳiṣ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ğaw Ferteī lies southwest of Ḥâjel. *Ṣarâhîǧ* (for *ṣaḥârîǧ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḳamḥ*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *sâǧ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâǧ*, or *felǧ*, for *ṭelǧ*, means snow or ice. *Šuḏḏab* are small pieces of dry *ṛaṛa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḏeb* (pl., *šuḏḏab*) is equivalent to *bejaṣ* (pl., *biṣ*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭe'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wulâǧ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *sîžân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darârîǧ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tenseṣ*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâǧ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâlîǧ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

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The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters for the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-'ejd w-mežfîni
w-munašširîn ad-dalâli
'allemi bihom bel-maḳâfîni
w-mrakkezîn al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite
Their best clothes donning. [direction,
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist. [to stay

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *az-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Mežfîn* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâfîni*. The word *meḳṭân* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭanna 'ala-l-Ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 161). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munašširîn ad-dallâl*.

Eḏ'û rê'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ḥala' howšeh
jâ mušarroden lar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Eḏ'û for *jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

233 some nights far out alone; *nazalow al-ǧaw w-ǧe'azzebân jiḥe-ǧûn ḥems aw semḥ*. A traveler who does not see the herds in a camp where he has stopped for the night is told when asking about them: "The camels sleep out in the loneliness guarded by our warriors, *al-bel 'azîb w-ǧenabha ra'ah*."

233 312 The watering of camels is done either at the wells or at rain ponds. If there is nobody at the well, it is called *firže*; if surrounded by a throng, the saying is: *"Hal-želîb 'alejh 'ark*, at this well there is a crowd (or noise)." A man called *ṛarrâf* crawls into the well and fills the leather bucket, *delw*, which is let down to him. The full bucket is pulled up by another man, *mattâḥ*, who empties it into a leather trough, *ḥowz*, and lets the emptied bucket down the well again, *faǧǧaḥa bel-bîr*. The larger the bucket and the deeper the well, the more men pull the rope, *ǧesnûn* or *saxxâǧin*. Often also the rope is tied to the saddle of a camel which is then made to pull.

Fig. 36—A water hoist, *maḳâm*.

406 In case the Rwala want to draw water from a deep well for some time they put up a water hoist, *na'ûr* or *maḳâm* (Fig. 36), over it. This consists of two stout poles, *'amûdên*, made fast in the ground in such a way that they lean over the well. In holes bored through these poles an iron rod, *muḫṭar*, is then fitted, with a wooden roller, *maḥâle*, over which runs the rope, *rše'*, holding the *delw*. "Put up the hoist" is expressed by a Rwejli with the words: *"Erḳeḳ an-na'ûr"* or *"raff an-na'ûr* (or *maḳâm*)."

312 Watering from an *'aḳîs* well causes the herdsmen much labor, as such wells are partially filled or even entirely caved in after each heavy rain and have to be cleaned or dug anew. Their depth varies from two to five meters; they are never walled around. The silt or earth dug out is usually just dumped about the mouth of the well, often forming a mound half a meter or a meter high. In this two or three passages are left

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

sounds of anger and irritation, *ṣebîḥ*. A *dammâm* is a large drum, to the notes of which the inhabitants of villages by the Euphrates make merry all night. 3. The Dahâmše belong to the 'Amârât tribe. Originally they are said to have dwelt in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar. From there they were led forth by their chief, Ǧḍê' eben Haḍḍâl, together with the Ṣkûr and Selka, and by swift marches advanced to the borders of the lower Euphrates. The kindred of Ṛannâm, *rub' ṛannâm*, who set out with them at the same time, returned before long to Ḥajbar, not being able to keep pace with them. The Ṛannâm were engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep, while the others bred camels. The flocks of goats and sheep cannot endure the long and swift marches which are performed by the herds of camels. The poet alludes to the feat of the Dahâmše and at the same time recalls that none of the numerous tribes encamping by the Euphrates and engaged almost exclusively in the breeding of goats and sheep could outstrip the former. All the tribes are compelled to send them gifts annually, if they do not wish to be the victims of their raids. 5. A *belka'* is a pliant sword or saber of Persian workmanship, covered with gray and dark strips and patches. 'Azzâm was the name of the Ǧḍê''s sword. 6. Dâûd was a craftsman of Jewish origin, who made the best wire corselets and chain armor.

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The dry manure absorbs the baby's urine and excrements. In its second year the child gets a dark-blue shirt, *ṯwēb*, and its little head is covered with a hood, *ḳubaʿ*, tied with two cords, *ʿeiṯa*, under the chin. Likewise shoes, *ḳzejme*, are put on its feet. 854

Every Rwejli carries a stick, as staffs are generally needed for directing the riding camels. These sticks are thin and about eighty centimeters long; they are called *meḫǧûn* and are as a rule made by the Rwala themselves from strong saplings, preferably those cut from almond trees. One end is perforated and a strong cord tied into a sling pulled through the hole. The hand is then passed through the sling and the *meḫǧûn* hangs from the wrist. The other, or thicker, end of the stick is carved into an ibis head to the length of about eight centimeters and a width of, say, three and a half centimeters. The *bâkûr* is a stick also provided with a cord at one end, the other being bent in a semicircle. The *maṭraḳ* is entirely straight. Both the *bâkûr* and *maṭraḳ* are bought from the peddlers; they are rattan, *ḫajzurâni*, sticks. The *ḳaṣaʿ* is a heavy cane about seventy centimeters long and ending in a knob. The *maslût* is a staff 1.2 meters long, stout but not too heavy. In the first third of its length it is perforated and a thin strap forming a sling is pulled through the hole; the staff hangs from the saddle by the sling. The *maǧrûb* closely resembles a *maslût* but is much stouter, heavier, and from the middle upwards visibly thicker. All three, *ḳaṣaʿ*, *maslût*, and *maǧrûb*, are properly weapons. 293 411

SMOKING PIPES

Many Rwala — both men and women — are fond of smoking. Every smoker has a pipe. A man's pipe is called *sebîl*, a woman's *ṣaljûn*. The Rwejli either carves a *sebîl* himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsi. The *sebîl* is a one-piece pipe, forming an elbow. Its thinnest part is the horizontal mouthpiece, which is about nine centimeters long and is called the *ǧêl*. The angle of the elbow is named *ṭiz*; the vertical bowl about five centimeters long is the *râs*, and the inside the *baṭn*. The mouth of the bought *sebîl* is enclosed by a brass ring, *ṭowḳ*, from which hangs a chain, *siusile*, with a brass cap, *ḳubʿijje*, to prevent the smoldering tobacco from falling out. A wire, *mibḫâ*, serves as the pipe 276

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The Rwala add to the last verse:

Jistikhel aṭ-tumbâk miṯl eben ḥaḏḏâl
alli jaṣurrah bimṭâni redâneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Haḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḥḥar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧudd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *beim*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâḥ*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwa'*, of a dagger, *šibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *naṣâb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṣ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *raṣâṣ*, and caps, *ḫubṭân*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḫarn aṣ-ṣaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḫanṣe*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks.

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *aṣ-ṣaw'*, *aš-šâšâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *ṣaw'*, an old English military gun, was the most

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$40.50) and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *tuǧǧârijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧidijjât* ($25.20-$29). The *šêšâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini; the *umm ṣunḍu* kind of *šêšâni* could be bought for 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54), the *umm ḫufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Bedouins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the rifles fitted with breechblocks, *umm-ṭ-ṭbe'*, are less sought after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations, *tuǧǧâri*, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18) less. All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt. During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans numbered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead, gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and manufacture cartridges.

From time to time both the sons and negroes of the chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *niššân*, generally is a black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramje* (pl., *rami*) signifies a report, a shot. *"Bârûdi 'araft ramîha"* means "I know the reports of my rifle; *"w-allâh ramîha zên,"* "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with a flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

> *Ma' binduḳen laṣṣât fammîha ǧeṣebni*
> *laha 'ala ḥaṣṣe-l-muǧammaḥ marâmi.*
>
> A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
> And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi, rbâ'i, ḫmâsi, stâti* — the last being of the largest caliber. *Šêšḫâne*, or *šêšḫân*, are old rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḫamra*. *Binduḳijje* are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel or

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

iron blade sharpened on both edges and a wooden shaft, *'ûd*. The blade is either broad, in which case it is called *šalfa*, or narrow, *ḥarba*. The *šalfa* either is brought from Persia, *'aǧemijje*, in which case it costs 2 or 3 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$2.70), or is a common one made by a blacksmith from iron for half a *meǧidijje* (45 cents). The *ḥarba*, manufactured chiefly in the town of ad-Dejr on the right bank of the Euphrates, is also called *'arejnijje* and sells for a quarter to a half *meǧidijje* (22½–45 cents). The sharpened edge of the *šalfa* or *ḥarba* is called *'asla*; the lower end driven into the wooden shaft, *ǧibb*. For the shaft, *'ûd*, either a thin but strong piece of wood, *'erḍ*, or a thick piece, *šâčri*, is used; shafts are also made from a hollow bamboo-reed, *ḳṣabe*, costing generally 1 *meǧidijje* (90 cents). The lower end of the shaft is provided with an iron point, *ḳunḍâr*, so that the spear can be stuck in the ground. Sometimes the spear is ornamented with ostrich feathers or thin chains fastened to the *ǧibb*.

The sword, *nemeča*, is either a *moǧrebi*, with three long grooves, costing 2-40 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$36); a *ǯentijâna*, very flexible, costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$9); or a *ḥaḍnijje*, with a single long groove, also costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât*.

The sabers, *seif*, are as follows: *dâbâna*, 5-10 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$9); *ḥendi*, made of black steel, 40-150 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$135); *'aǧami*, of gray steel, 5-40 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$36); or the *ǧauher*, made of cast steel from Ḥorâsân, 150 *meǧidijjât* ($135). The grip, *ḳuma'*, of the sword or saber often extends up to the *šubbâk* guard, where the blade begins, and is richly ornamented with gold and silver. The scabbard, *ǧefir*, is provided with two metal rings, *ḳudmel*, to which the cord used in hanging up the sword or saber is fastened.

The dagger is either short and narrow, *šibrijje*, or broad and long, *ḳdeimi*, or broad and short, *ǧenǧar*. It costs as much as 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70), but if the handle is ornamented with gold chains and precious stones it may cost 50 *meǧidijjât* ($45) and even more.

Spears are carried mainly by the poorer Bedouins, the sword and saber only by the more important men; but every one is in possession of firearms, be it a revolver or a rifle.

The revolver, *reddesi*, is either the old heavy kind, *ḥaredâr*, which was formerly used by the Montenegrins and is sold for 12 to 14 *meǧidijjât* ($10.80-$12.60), or the Mauser, either of the *sânstetân* or *emhâsi* variety. The original *sâuletân*, from

411 713 [531] 411 713 435

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *mejidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-15
435 *mejidijjât* ($3.60-$13.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ûshn*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freĝi from a Kwêĉbi, and these from a Mur'aṣi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Ṣkûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Anese tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

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Já ḫajefín min al-mandja
min ǧáh malek al-mowt mát
al-mowt má fakk as-sebájr
jáḫoḏ ṛanádir al-bemá.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That he whom the death angel visits dies.
Death, however, cannot free captured she-camels
Yet can take those who always linger with the girls.

Ṛanádir are elegant youths who from love of the girls remain at home instead of going out on raids.

Já ḫájefín min al-mandja
al-mowt má ǧá' leh naḏír
al-ḫowf má fakk al-ḥabári
w-lá ṭawwal al-'omr al-ḳaṣír.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That death is not preceded by a herald.
Fear cannot rescue the *ḥabári* birds [from the falcon's talons]
Nor prolong life, short as it is.

Já-hal as-sebája rúsehen
eíja' má 'amámi jelḥaḳún
nakḳálaten ḫurul al-'aǧam
ǧabbáḥaten má jarḥamún.

O riders! ye plunderers, pull up the heads of your mares
Till my uncles come,
Who are carrying arms of Persian make,
Who only slay and know not mercy.

Ahl as-sebája has the same meaning as *ahl al-ḫejl*, horse riders who throw themselves on the herds and then drive them away as their booty. With *rúsehen eíbeṭú* is understood: "lift up the heads of your mares." In order to stop the galloping mares the reins are pulled up short, which makes them raise their heads and slacken their pace. They are to wait till overtaken by their paternal uncles—that is, by their kinsmen, as maternal relatives are not considered kin if not related to the father in some other way. The Persian-made weapons are mainly swords, broad spears, and daggers.

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5. The Âl Ğenk fled on mares of paces a fathom long. 539ᵏ
And Šlâš alone of the whole reserve remained. 726ᵏ
6. He who protects a lone wolf from hunger rode at him in a gallop
And with her hoofs made his steed stamp on him.
7. For the clash made both Šlâš and his mare fall to earth;
Thus a rich supper fell to the negro and servant.
8. Ah, how many men were thrown from the saddle by the fringe-adorned spear blade,
Whose heads then the hyena left lying near al-Ğerâwi!
9. While Šlâš was trampled by mares, Rmejḥ yielded himself
Because of the burning wounds [he received] from those who dealt death all around.
10. Ḫalaf, he who splits the enemy's troops,
Fights all the more boldly the more numerous his opponents.
11. When Šlâš by Rmejḥ was deserted, his head was cut off,
And a few Rwala sang over him with loud voice.

The poet was Faḥad eben Ṣbejḥ of the Rwala; the reciter, Mindîl al-Kaṭ'i. Of the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe 280 warriors commanded by Šlâš eben Fâjez assailed the herds of the Zejd kin near the watering place of Majḳû' and, capturing them, fled in the direction of the al-Ğerâwi wells. When a herdsman brought the news of the robbery to the Zejd camp, its male occupants instantly mounted their horses and, uttering the war cry of their kin, "*Eḫwât ref'a*, Ref'a's sisters!" set off in pursuit, although greatly inferior in numbers to the Beni Ṣaḫr. Overtaking the latter at al-Ğerâwi, they recovered the booty, killed thirty riders, and also captured seventy mares and over one hundred camels.

Verse 1. *'Ilmen nekâwi*, it was a war report, thus an honorable one, because the Rwala and the Beni Ṣaḫr had declared war on each other not long before. 2. *Al-aḥâwi* means the wounded or killed; also blows that cause death. 3. *Ku'ûb* are the different joints of a bamboo spear shaft. *Rešâwi* is the iron ring which grips the wood where the blade is inserted. To this ring a small wreath of either horsehair or ostrich feathers is tied. The spear was thrown with such force that the blade in piercing the side and ribs was followed by three joints of the bamboo shaft. 5. The Âl Ğenk is a clan of the [411]

When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrá lan-nár*." With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement called *fás*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *ḥaddúm* or *tabal*. The ordinary Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *ḥufrat en-nár*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *rṣaṛ* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *šiḥ* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the dividing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummes* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

as long as it is in grain, *al-ḥimṣ alli be'al ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ*." The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mihbáš*, with a pestle, *'aswád*, or it is ground in a small mill, *rḥa'*. These mills are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḳalb*, and make a wooden handle, *ḥádi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *ṭfál*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fowka*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa' 'ala-ṭ-ṭfál*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

FIG. 23—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'id ar-raḥa mâ dirak killen táḥoḍ 'aźirak*." Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ána wağ-'dna 'abd al-karim muwaṣṣána*."

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; at the most they grind enough to leave something over for bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a *ṣaḥn*-pan (or *'elbṭ*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *muḫmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *muḫmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *muḫmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *tenaseṣ tanaṣíf*. The ready-made cake she places on a *minaṣíf*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *ṣáǧ*, about

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He holds the rope end when it slides down from the roller of the water hoist and then again he waits till the full bucket comes up. *Ṛabûḳ* is the milk which serves the herdsman as a substitute for supper. If no supper has been left for him he milks a she-camel. During the watering he has no time to do any milking; furthermore, the owner has generally milked all the she-camels before they are driven to the watering place. 539[x] 233

Al-bel wurdat jâ bazbûz
w-ent râḥez lak ʿaǧûz.

The camels have moved to the water, O thou thin skeleton!
While thou wert playing with an old hag.

Taw hom ǧaw	They have but just come;
mûs w-zaw	Hither with knife and shears
lelḥâhom	For the chins of those
lalli ǧaw.	Who have arrived.

The helpers of the watering herdsmen were late in returning; wherefore, to disgrace them, their chin beards are to be cut short. *Zaww* are the scissors with which the chin beard is trimmed, and *mûs* the knife with which the beard is shaved. [302 412]

Bâčer raḥilen žible	Tomorrow we move south;
šuḥ al-ṛaži w-eržib leh.	Beckon to thy sweetheart and then watch her.

Eržib leh means "look out," "have a care," "watch" when she leaves camp with the laden tent and in what direction she drives her camels; for on the march there is many a chance to speak to her unobserved.

Ḏawdak mâ hen šarrâbât
jâ rafîž al-ḥaṭṭâbât
raǧol al-ḥâjel ḳâlow mât
min šaharna ḏâk all-fât
ḥalleh jewalli leḏ-ḏalfât.

Thy little herd has not yet been watered,
O thou companion of women seeking fuel!
The husband of the childless is said to have died
The month before that which has just passed.
May he be sent to the darkness!

272 before, had fallen in love with a woman of extraordinary
539 beauty, but for the last year he had been tortured by doubts as to her faithfulness. In order not to lose her, he would gladly forgive much, but again and again in the market places he has heard insinuations which have exasperated him anew, filling him with melancholy. During a moment of such mental agony, he ordered strong black coffee to be prepared for him in his house in the 'Anejza market place and then dictated the poem to his clerk.

Verse 1. *Bâṯ al-'azu* (or *eukâsef al-'azu*) means "melancholy has taken hold of me; grief is seen on the countenance too." [212] *Adîb* in the poetical language of the district of al-Ḳaṣîm, to which 'Anejza belongs, is a man who can both read and write. [439] *Šâmi* is paper brought from Damascus. The commercial relations of 'Anejza with Syria in general and with Damascus in particular always have been much brisker than with Irak and Bagdad. 'Anejza, it should be known, is the center of the 'Aḳejl camel traders, who buy up camels all over Arabia, drive them through Syria to Egypt, sell them there, and on their return stop at Damascus, where they buy articles needed in inner Arabia and bring them home. 2. *Dwât al-ḥeber* [212] signifies drugs which mixed together and with water give ink; also an inkstand. In the towns of inner Arabia no fluid ink is sold. The inkstand is a small vessel made of either brass or tin and closed with a well fitting lid, into which a small piece of cotton-wool or camel's hair is placed and steeped in the prepared ink until soaked through. The clerk sits on his heels, holds the paper with his left hand, and writes with his right, dipping his pen in the inkstand almost constantly. His pens he cuts himself. Buying a few long reeds or sedges, he cuts off, when needed, a piece about ten to fifteen centimeters in length, shapes it with a sharp knife, *mûs*, into a pen, splits it, and tries it on his thumb nail, and the writing instrument, *sâḳ*, is ready. *Šaḍra* is also pronounced *šaṭra*, corresponding to *šafra*. 3. *Ḳufl maftûḥ*. The door lock in inner [414] Arabia is more like a bolt than a lock. It is usually made of wood and both barred and unbarred with a wooden key. The iron lock and iron key are found only in mercantile booths and storehouses. *Maftûḥ*, used when speaking of locks as well as bolts — and also of the throat — means, properly, "forced backwards or forwards." 4. *Dabwa'* are young locusts whose wings are just growing. They are so numerous at times

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

dabbed the scratch on my forehead and rubbed four drops of blood on his own forehead between his black eyebrows—the old Bedouin "*Nur-ed-Dam*", the "Light of Blood."

In this unusual, dramatic fashion I became, by the will of Allah, the blood-brother of Amir Fuaz.

Our friendship was soon to receive baptism by fire. A band of Ruala, two hundred and sixty-eight warriors, led by Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, set out on a *ghazu* (raid) into the Hamad and the Wudian region, against the Shammar Bedouins, and I accompanied them. We rode twelve hours the first day. In camp that night we were overhauling our riding-gear, water-skins, and so forth, when to our amazement we discovered, curled up in one of the goat-hair camel saddlebags—huge receptacles made of goat skins—little Amir Fuaz, sound asleep.

Not by the slightest sound or sign had he betrayed to us during the long and hard day's ride that we were carrying a stowaway. Our leader, Rasheyd (of the Muraf Ruala), wanted the boy taken home on the morrow by a camel-rider, but Fuaz pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the old freebooter was softened. He merely sent a mounted messenger to Misha'il's camp to let her know that her son was with us.

We were gone on this great *ghazu* almost two months. When we returned, worn out, having suffered serious losses, yet victorious, Amir Fuaz took four of the booty-camels, splendid fawn-coloured beasts, into the camp, and made them kneel before the tent of his blind mother. Misha'il, still a young woman, enquired pleasantly who was the stranger seeking her hospitality. Custom for-

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against the back wall. The sacks are either black, made of goat's hair, *ḥarus*, or gray, made of wool and camel's hair, *'edel*, and there are also colored ones woven by the Rwala women and known as *raffârijje*.

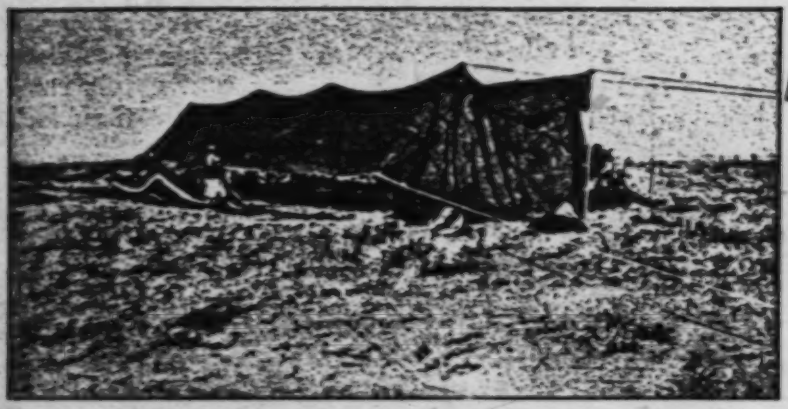

FIG. 9—Pitching a tent: attaching the rear wall.

The spindle, *merzel*, is shaped like a four-pointed star measuring nine centimeters in diameter and provided with an opening in the center. From this there projects the end of a pole, *'âd*, 35 centimeters long, in which a small iron hook, *sunâdra*, is passed. The woman who spins takes the camel's hair or sheep's wool under her right armpit, while with her left hand she twists a thread about thirty centimeters long, ties it to the lower part of the spindle pole, and thrusts in under the hook. Then she raises her left knee and, placing the lower end of the pole upon it, twirls the spindle on her knee with the palm of her left hand, while with the fingers of her right hand she winds the thread. This, running through the hook, is now twined around the whirling pole, which once again has been allowed to hang freely. If the movement of the spindle gives out, it is set whirling again in the same manner. The women do their spinning while riding on camels and also while marching on foot. They keep the wool or camel's hair either in their laps or in their bosoms. If they wish to have a stronger thread, they weave two or three prepared threads together on the spindle.

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *safw*, the names of the dif-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṭw*, the names of the different parts of which as shown in Fig. 10 are: *a, râs an-naṭw; b, sida'; c, ḥafa'; d, nira; e, 'ûd an-nira; f, minšâz; g, 'âžba* (or *leḥama*); *k, minša'; h, ḥatwa; j, kâ'a; l, šiṣa.*

Fig. 10—A loom, *naṭw*.

The best silk kerchiefs and garments are kept in a small box, *ṣandûḳ*, which has a thin lining of tin.

By the side wall are placed the litters, either *žetab* or *ḳenn*, and the saddle bags with brightly colored trappings and long tassels, *mezwede*.

The *ḳenn* (pl., *ḳnene*) litters (Figs. 11, 12, 13) resemble rectangular cages, narrower at the bottom, and are made of wooden poles. The main poles forming the frame are called *'ḍṣjân* (Fig. 11, *c*), the four cross poles joining the main poles are called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*), and the vertical pole which strengthens the two back cross poles in the middle and terminates in a wooden knob is called *rwê'i* (*a*). The *ḳenn* is fastened to the saddle known as *bedd* (or *wiṭr*) (*d*).

The *žetab* litters (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) are decorated in the most splendid manner. On the back of the camel is placed a saddle known as *wiṭr*, reinforced with cushions, *bdûda*. Upon these rest two pairs of wooden ribs, *ẓlâf* (Fig. 14, *f*), each terminating in a cone, *rwê'i* (*a, j*). Two pairs of flexible poles, *'aṣfûr* (*d*) and *ža'ade* (*g*), each more than 5.5 meters long,

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are supported on these ribs and are fastened to the cones by stakes, *ḥoṣra* (*e*). The poles are joined by cross pieces, *ǧamb* (*h*) and *sâmûk* (*l*), and arched so that they form two pairs of wings, *ǧenâḥ* (*n*). These wings are drawn together in the middle on the top by means of wooden stakes, *lebad* (*k*) and *ḥani* (*m*). In the middle of the whole structure between the wings a leather seat, *soffa* (*c*), like a deep bowl is stitched to poles called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*). Of the poles which make the wings the upper parts and the outside ends of the lower parts have leather or linen twisted round them. The remainder of the lower parts, as well as the outer part of the two cones, are gaudily decorated with tiny shells. Here on a dark background there are small squares with red edges, and in the middle a blue rose with red leaves made of shells. Between the squares there are small white stars also made of shells. From the lower part of each of the poles marking the wings there is suspended a dark-red strip of cloth, *ḥwât* (*o*), about twenty centimeters broad and provided with tassels at either end which hang right down to the neck and tail of the camel. Red cloths or ribbons are also fastened to the upper parts of the wings. The *žetab* is placed on the saddle with the pillow known as *bedd* and is secured by means of straps under the breast, *ḥakab*, the stomach, *bṭân*, and tail, *ṭafar*.

The appearance of a number of these litters during a march is impressive. If they are seen in the distance on a pink sand drift surrounded by a blue, transparent atmospheric haze, they resemble huge butterflies swaying freely to and fro in the air. In the almost entirely flat, grayish-white desert of al-Ḥamâd, a grayish-white camel bearing the *žetab* and covered with various gaudy decorations fades from sight, while the magnificent litters project above the horizon and glide along as if upon bright and regularly rising waves.

In addition to this the women's compartment contains wooden and copper utensils. The following are made of wood: a large wooden mortar for crushing grain, *mihbâš*, with a wooden pestle, *'amûd*; a *maṛrâfa*, or small trough with an outlet, *ṭe'ebeḥ*, and a handle; a *ḳadaḥ*, or circular wooden jar; a *daḳḳijje*, or circular dish; a *ḳdajḥa*, or small plate from Mecca, *meccânijje*; a *ḳarwa*, or large dish which can contain enough food for ten persons; a *'elbe*, or circular vessel for the leavening of dough; a *muḥmar*, or vessel measuring sixty centimeters in diameter and twenty in height, for the

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kneading of dough; a *miswâṭ*, or large spoon for the mixing of foods; a *meṭ'âbe*, or deep vessel provided with an outlet, from which one may drink and for use in measuring, *čêl*, butter.

The following vessels are of copper: *židr*, a large kettle with two rings by which it is carried and holding 80 liters; *ṭâse*, the same as a *židr* except that it holds only 20 liters; *ṭwâjse* (sic!), which holds 8 liters; *ṭallâje*, a small plate with a handle for the warming of butter; *saḥale*, a dish 20 centimeters in depth and 42 centimeters in width; *ṣaḥen* (or *ṣaḥn*), a large shallow pan for eating from (Fig. 29); a kettle always rests on three stones, *hawâdi*.

FIGS. 11, 12—Kasa litters.

The women also make various vessels of hide. They rub half the hide of a camel, *ṣafḥa*, with salt, *tamleḥha*, and dough prepared from wheat or barley flour, *tatmorha*. They then leave it for five to seven days rolled up in a shady place. Afterwards they scrape away the remains of the flesh and all the hair and, after stretching the hide, they lay it in a tanning mixture made of *arṭa* or *neǧîb* roots. The former is collected by the women themselves, but the latter is bought. Finally they rub the prepared hide thoroughly with the marrow of camel's bones or with camel's fat, *widak*, and from it they cut out and stitch, *teḫarrezha*, water bags, *rûwije* (pl., *ruwâj*).

These bags resemble large knapsacks. In the two upper corners are stitched firm leather loops, *ḫruba*, midway between which is an opening about 20 centimeters in diameter, *famm*, through which the *rûwije* is filled. When the bag has been filled, the hide is stretched over this opening and tied up. At the right lower corner there is left an outlet about two centimeters in diameter, around which is a stout piece of hide, *'ezle*. This outlet is stopped with a wooden peg, *'ûd*, and tied round with a thin string of camel's hair. Through the

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loops, *ǧruba*, are drawn coarse ropes, *'oṣob*, by which two *rwâǧ* are always tied to the camel's saddle, *meadme*. A water bag of this kind will hold as much as 120 liters. Smaller water bags are known as *ḳrab*. A *žirbe kwejtijje* is made of oxhide and holds about 80 liters; a *žirbe baṛdâdijje* is made of a

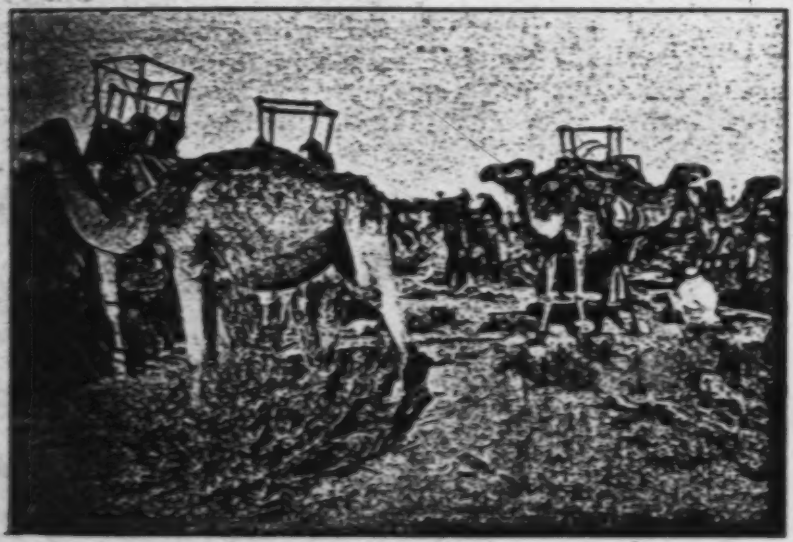

FIG. 18—*Ǧenn* litters.

large goatskin and holds 60 liters; a *žirbe šāmijje*, made at Damascus for the use of pilgrims, is likewise made of goatskin and holds 50 liters, while a *žirbe neǧdijje* (Fig. 19) of goatskin holds 40 liters. Smaller than the *žirbe* is the *ǧûd*, which will hold 20 liters of water and is carried by a single camel rider.

The *sewil* is a leather sack for sour milk. The *šakwe* is a small sack in which the herdsman keeps milk. The *ṣar/* or *ṣakw* is a leather bag holding about 15 liters, in which dates or butter are kept. The '*ekka*' is a smaller bag which will hold 5 to 7 liters of butter.

The women also make buckets, *delw* (pl., *dli*), of hide. A bucket for 2 to 3 liters is called *ḳalaṣ*; a *sifra* contains 10 to 15 liters, and a *delw al-ǧebîr* 20 to 30 liters of water, so that two men are needed to draw it up.

The water trough, *ḥawṣ* (pl., *ḥijâṣ*) (Figs. 20, 21, 22) also made by the women, consists of a leather bowl, *ǧaṣwa*,

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415 (Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in
417 diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *šaṛûr* (pl., *šwâṛir*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *waḏm*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *ʿarḳa* (pl., *ʿarâži*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

364 By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies
252 a *sâǧ*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

484 During long marches in the summer season the tents are
342 not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṭawleṭ*; with four, *mrawbaʿ*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sabʿa wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

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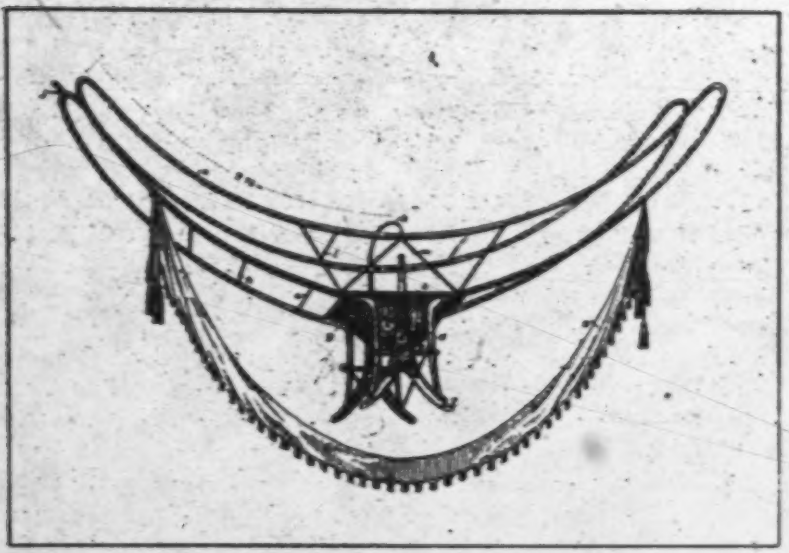

FIG. 14

FIG. 15

FIGS. 14, 15—Zetab litters.

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FIG. 16

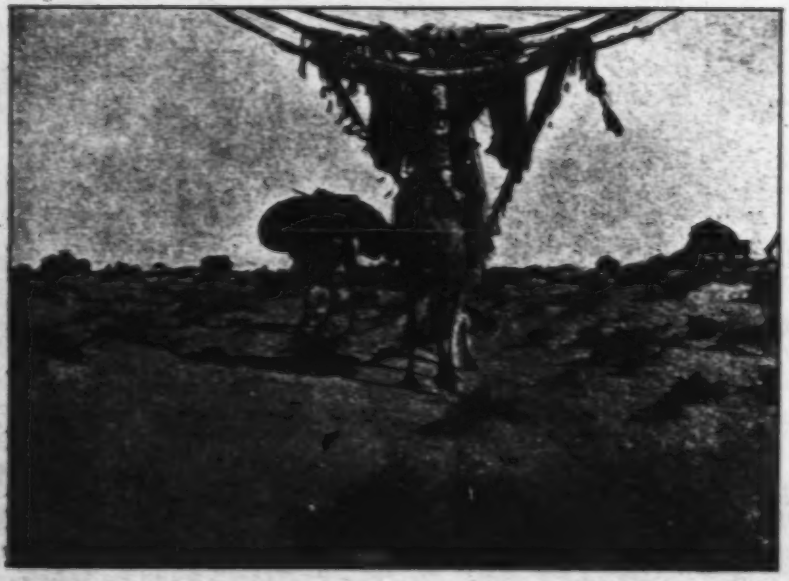

FIG. 17

FIGS. 16, 17—*Zetab* litters.

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kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

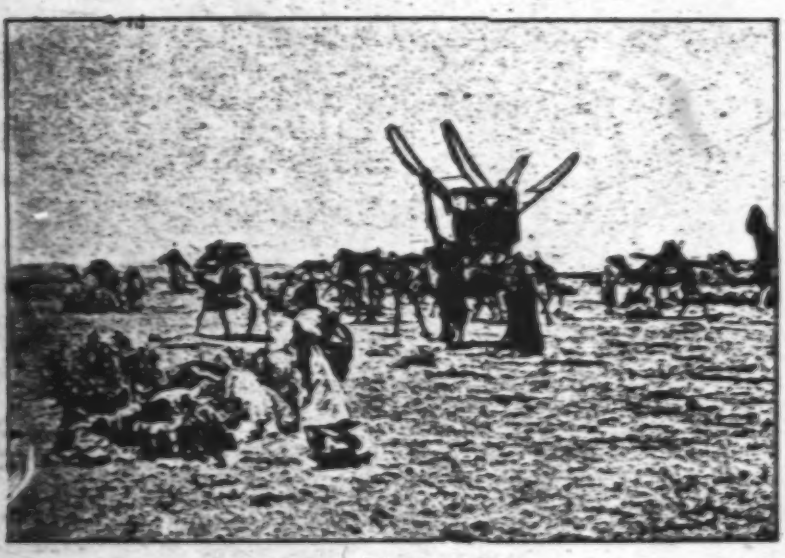

FIG. 18—*Ṭeṭab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'ūllow*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferīj*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *nefū'*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *ḥallaṭ leh ḥalláṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mafṭa* (pl., *mafāṭi*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥōr, of the Ḥabra 'Anka, as well as of 'Lāha. If

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someone asks the Rwala: "Where did you graze this winter? *wên šattejtu has-sene*," he regularly receives the answer: "Our winter pasture was in al-Ḥôr, *maštâna bel-ḥôr*." In the spring they prefer most of all to graze, *marba'* (plural, *marâbi'*), in al-Ǧûba and on the northern border of the Nefûd, *rabba'na bil-ǧûba*. In the region of al-Biǧâz between al-Ǧûba, Tell 'Amûd, and the volcanic territory they find their pastures in the season of *ṣejf*, that is from about the middle of April to the middle of June, *maṣjaf*, whereas from the end of June to the end of August they graze, *maḳîz*, in the territory of an-Nuḳra south of Damascus. In the autumn their favorite resort, *maṣfar*, is in the environs of the Sirḥân depression. If there has been no rain in al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudiǧân, they make their way to the environs of Tejma or to the eastern border of the Nefûd, where it rains more regularly.

Fig. 19—*Žirbe neǧdijje*, goatskin water container.

A camping place in a dangerous region exposed to raids is called *ṣâḳa*. The greatest danger threatens the tents which are pitched on the edge of the camp, *ṭwâref*.

Years afterwards it is still possible to recognize an old camping place, *marḥ al-'arab*. The fireplace hollowed out in the men's compartment; the small piles of clay and ashes; the three scorched stones by the fireplace of the women's compartment; the piles of stones or fuel, upon which the beds were laid; camel excrements, *dimne* (pl., *demân*); luxuriant annuals, which the camels avoid, as they grow on the *demân*; all this awakens memories in the mind of the solitary traveler.

Poems Relating to Camping Grounds

The Rwala have many songs in which the solitary wayfarer speaks to the old camping place.

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234 leave to the calf, but on the udders of the rest they place thick nets, *šamle*, tied across the hip and under the tail, or they fasten to every nipple a firm peg sharpened at both ends so that the young cannot suck.

When they wish to milk, they remove the net or the pegs, *jabhelûnaha*, call the calf, and wait until the milk flows. The female camel gives most milk in the morning. As soon as her left forefoot is untied she rises and the young camel runs up; it is then possible to milk. The owner calls the herdsman from the tent: "Such and such a camel has risen yonder, milk her; *jâ flân an-nâḳa al-flâne ṭârat eḥlebha.*" The milker stands on the left side, the calf tries to suck from the right. The camel gives her milk when she sees that the young one is approaching the udder, *ʿaṭṭafat an-nâḳa ʿala waladha*; this is called *taʿṭîf* or *jiḥenn al-ḳalb ʿalâ-l-ḳalb*. The milker does not hasten; he holds the nipple with three fingers, pressing with the thumb, without pulling; the pressure makes the milk spurt in a strong jet, *šuḫb*, into a wooden vessel, *žedaḥ*. During the milking the calf has to be soothed and the female camel appeased, which the milker does by calling her name, for instance: *"Hêj jâ ʿalija hêj jâ ʿalija."* If the calf runs away, the female camel withholds the milk, *fawwatat an-nâḳa*.

[415]

FIG. 20—A water trough, *ḥawż* (see p. 71).

If a traveler wishes to drink quickly, he milks into his hand; otherwise they always milk into a wooden pot, *žedaḥ*, or small leather pouch, *šakwa*. The milker takes care that the milk does not splash on the ground, which would mean an unnecessary loss. Anyone who squanders something useful or necessary is compared to a milker who lets the milk flow on the ground, and there is a saying: "The jet of milk did not splash into my hand or into the pot, *šuḫben ṭafaḥ lâ bidi w-lâ bel-žedaḥ.*" From one female camel the amount of milk which can be obtained each day is from one to seven liters. The better the pasture, especially when it consists of

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as long as it is in grain, *al-ḳamḥ alli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ*." The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mihbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *rḥa'*. These mills are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḳalb*, and make a wooden handle, *hâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *ṯfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fowḳa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa' 'ala-ṯ-ṯfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

FIG. 23—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'ûd ar-raḥa mâ dirah killen tâḥod 'aširah*." Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ana waǧ-'âna 'abd al-kerim mwaṣṣâna*."

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; at the most they grind enough to leave something over for bread to be [illegible] to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a *ṣaḥn*-pan (or *'elbe*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *muḥmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *muḥmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *muḥmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *tenaseef tansîf*. The ready-made cake she places on a *minsâf*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *sâǧ*, about

264 *snûneh*. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al-wasṭa*, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; if
574 by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejš* with *mraḳa* gravy and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mḥelijje*. What is left over, *rarîme*, is received by the poor children who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed the head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare together with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made of dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast not supped; *râs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-žedaḥ bečîle w-tḳûl mâ ta'aššejt*."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

252 All food is prepared in the camp by the women in their compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made.
372 At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb an-nâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa*," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughter, or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark, lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šîḥ*, whirls it round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it under the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this also catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplace
272 long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32)
415 from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The largest one is called *maṭbâḥa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds from which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several days. A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fire. The other three pots he rinses out, *ješarreb*, pours the contents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster made of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of the fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *beriž*, as well as a *žedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring about 20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and with a narrow edge. From the *žedaḥ* water is offered for drinking.

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leather canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes a handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iron pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roasted, *miḥmâse*, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring the

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beans with an iron spoon fastened to the handle by means of a long copper chain, *id al-miḥmâse*. As soon as the coffee begins to turn brown, *aškarrat*, he lifts the plate from time to time, shakes it until the beans jump about, blows on and continues roasting them. When all the beans have acquired a dark-brown color, he shakes them out upon a wooden dish, *mibrâda*, which is also provided with a long handle, in order that they may cool off, *jebarredha*. Meanwhile he takes the second smaller pot, pours boiling water into it from the first one, and sets it by the fire. He wipes a wooden mortar, *mihbâš* (or *niğr*), decorated with carvings, shakes, *jekubb*, into it the cold beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle, *jad* (or *menwân*), and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes. After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it. The noise made by the mortar and pestle, *ḥess al-mihbâš*, is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not. The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done.

The coffee when ground to a fine powder is shaken out, *jelažžemha*, by a slave into his right hand or straight into the second pot, in which the fresh coffee is boiled. This pot is called *maṣfa°* (or *ṭalâje*). The slave takes the rag with which he has wiped the vessel, places it on the handle of the pot, and holds it above the fire, continually moving it farther away or nearer in order that the coffee may not boil over. When the coffee is thoroughly boiled, *ṭbaḫat*, he places the pot at some little distance from the fire in order that the coffee may settle. He then puts into the mortar a few grains of the fragrant spice known as cardamom and a pinch of saffron, beats them up, shakes them out into the third pot, which has been cleaned and warmed, and pours into it the boiled coffee from the second pot. The third pot, in which the coffee is boiled with the ground spices, is called *mabhâra*. From a circular box of wood, *ḫawṭi*, or copper, *ḫafag*, the slave takes out small cups of solid stoneware, *fanâğil*, pours a little water into each one, rubs them with his thumb on a piece of rag, and puts them on a copper platter called *ṣinijje*. When the spice-flavored coffee has boiled he empties a part of it into the fourth

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9. *mirkâẓehom jišba' bâh an-nisr w-aḏ-ḏib*
w-jišba' bâh ṣab'an min al-ǧû' hâfi
10. *w-eṭni 'ala-lli w-en lafow leh ma'âwid*
rîf an-niššâma w-ar-rčâb al-ehǧâfi
11. *jaẓhak ḥeǧâǧeh low lafow al-aǧâxid*
lâ jâ ba'ad ḥaṭw al-čeḏûb al-ehlâfi.

1. Arise, prepare a cup of coffee as I would have it, O 'Id!
In pots like to black and fattened geese.
2. Roast and adorn it even as I desire
And let the mortar approach, which awakens the drowsy people,
3. At whose sound they will come who are idling at home,
The people who say: "Peace! may He strengthen you, and greeting!"
4. Spice it with nine grains of cardamom and add
Saffron. When it has settled in beautiful cups
5. On a decorated plate, then give it to the heroes,
And return with it unto him who is a shield to the fugitive,
6. He who drenches his spear in battles
For the eyes of her whose tresses reach below her waist,
7. The daughter of chiefs, who stain their steel weapons,
Whom their adversaries fear, even though they tarry afar off,
8. And of them none looks around again, if they set off at a trot on their camels;
Of so many leaders do the bones decay through their deeds!
9. If they set off at a gallop, they sate the eagle and the wolf,
And ever the hyena which roves about in hunger.
10. Pour out once more for him who, if there come to him, returning from a raid,
The flower of youth with camels thin and worn,
11. Moves yet his brows with mirth, especially if heroes arrive,
(He who acts quite otherwise than) some feigning liar;
Oh, may he be afar off.

Verse 1. *Saw*, for *sawwi*; *sawwi-l-ḫawa*, means "prepare coffee." The pots in which the coffee is boiled have a very pronounced bulge in the lower half, where they are almost circular, and as they are always blackened they resemble black wild geese, which are usually fat. 2. *Zajjenha*, adorn it; this is done when the roasted coffee is blown upon to free it from the loosened husks. 3. The noise of the mortar disturbs sleepers

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and calls together the idlers from all sides to utter their greetings and to reply to greetings, only in order that as soon as possible they may gain the favor of those present. 4. Nine grains of cardamom are ground together with a pinch of

FIG. 29

FIG. 30

FIGS. 29, 30—Pack camels, *al-maṣhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

saffron and mixed with the boiled coffee. The *hejl*, cardamom, gives the coffee a peculiar bitter taste, and the saffron makes it yellow in color. The coffee, when it has been allowed to stand and has been strained off, *mraawwaḳa*, is poured into beautiful cups, *as-snâfi*. *Har-raǧǧâl snâfi* means "this man is handsome, perfect." 5. *Ṣinijje* is the name of the shallow decorated metal dish upon which the cups are placed; such dishes were originally brought from China and hence were known as *ṣini*. *'Oddah* for *'odah* (or *'odha*). He who protects the fugitives is to receive an additional drink of coffee. *Aḳfou* means "made their escape, retreated." 6. *Trâd* is the term for actual warfare. In the midst of the most dangerous and fierce fighting the girls encourage the warriors with words and gestures. With loosened hair and bared breasts they dash on she-camels where the danger is greatest, shout to their lovers and friends, remind the former of favors received, and threaten to desert to the enemy should they be disappointed

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siż*, and even riding one on another, *enṣâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-aššâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ḫôf*. *Enḫafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḏf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *raṣa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

276 cleaner. A chief shouts to his negro: "Fill my pipe, *ʿammer li-s-sebîl*. Clean the pipe so that it will not clog, *ebḥaš as-sebîl lâ jinsedd*." A *ṭuljân* consists of three parts: the pipe proper, *bûz*, a long wooden stem, *ḳṣuba*, and the mouthpiece, *maggo*.

276 415 372 Both the tobacco and steel and tinder for lighting it the Bedouin carries in leather pouches known as *sfara* and *ṭifeil* respectively. The flint is called *ṣalbûḫ*, the steel *zênâd*, and the tinder *ǧadḥa*. The last the Bedouin either prepares himself from dry, powdered *šîḥ*, or *ḳuṭeju*, or buys from a merchant.

Poems Relating to Smoking

276 539* The pipe and the effects of smoking are mentioned in more than one poem. The first two verses of the following poem composed by Nimr eben ʿAdwân are universally known, while the rest could be recited by a few only:

1. *Já šamaʿat aṣ-ṣubjân ʿammer lena-l-bûz*
   w-emlih min at-titen al-ṭwejri w-nâseh
2. *aḫejr ʿendi min ḥebb kill mambûz*
   ʿazmen ṭwâl al-lejl jiṭred naʿâse
3. *maʿ delleten jeʿabba leha-l-hejl w-al-ǧouz*
   w-ʿêrîn ʿâden ʿârefîn žijâseh
4. *maʿ šât muṣlâḥen leha-l-ʿatel markûz*
   w-mzajjenen ḥabb al-lekejmi elbâseh
5. *jaʿben ad-dasmin aš-šwâreb hal-ar-rûz*
   fakkâkt al-maṣhûr jowm ehtwâseh
6. *rabʿi hal ar-raddâd mâ ṣarbehom hûz*
   čam wâḥeden min feʿlihom ṭâḥ râseh
7. *w-lâ hom mâwert al-ʿağâjez hal al-kûz*
   alli maḥâčihom drûb an-nekâṣe
8. *jâ rabb jâ-lli tenbet al-ʿeseb ledrûz*
   lâ teḫma' al-fuzza al-bâli naḥâse
9. *čam ḳâleten rollah wara-ṣ-ṣadr maknûz*
   w-tamṣi w-hi bil-čabd mitl al-ḫalâṣe.

1. O, merry youth! fill the damaged pipe for us,
   Fill it with tobacco from Rowr and give it here,
2. For dearer to me than the kisses of any full-hipped maid
   Is that little bone which in a long night drives away slumber.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârû* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Teḳel*, [231] instead of the correct *teḳûl*, "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Muwaffeḳin al-ḫejr*, has the same meaning as *šâjefin al-ḫejr*, perceiving luck. *Ṣullú* for *waṣṣelú* or *ṣelú*, "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Rowî*, or *'ejâl*, indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [H15] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣandûḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjezú*, *wužžefú*, *wažfú* or *ta'awwaḳú*, mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṭaljûn* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. *"Húfú 'alejhen"* [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarâmiš al-ḥala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wûlmât*. 8. The road from al-Ǧowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem sube'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjde is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifeḳ tribe.

Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

troop of riders who, by exerting their whole strength, have come up with the enemy but are in danger because their perspiring and fatigued mares may succumb. Muḥammad eben Smejr interposed himself between the tired mares of his comrades and the enemy, like a strong wall holding back the hostile onslaught. 8. *Ḳâmat teǯaddam ʿanṯ al-čis* is said of small animals held in a sack when they begin to stick out their heads and try to escape. *Żaẓẓebû lehom*: prevent them from returning, from reaching the watering place, etc. 9. *Eḳrûm* is a poetical expression for spirited mares and she-camels, which have not long been ridden. Only an experienced rider will dare to mount them, and even such a rider is often thrown. *Moṛṛafa* is a big wooden spoon for taking meat from the kettle. The Fedʿân brought big spoons of greed expecting to capture many herds of camels. 10. *Żernâs* (pl., *ḳerânis*) are grown animals losing their hair, molting. Here the expression *ʿarûd al-ḳerânis*, a molting celebrity, means the poet Meḥdaʾ, whose head was almost bald and whose beard was very thin. *"Mâ beh ḫlâf*: there is nothing the matter with him, it is not so bad with him", is usually said after a sick, wounded, or injured person has been examined for the first time. 11. *Nečče tenčis*: by his cowardly behavior he belied all his claims to bravery; he proved them all to be idle words — and those who believed and spread them, spread lies.

539x 726x [415]

Wars Between the Rwala and the Fedʿân (1877—1900)

The head chief of the Fedʿân tribe left this world, *dara*ʾ; and his son, Turki eben Mhejd, was recognized as his successor. He was classed with the heroic men, *čân jeʿedd min ar-raǧâl al-fursân*, and had great success on his frequent raids, *ṣâr baḫît beʾl-mṛâri*. Therefore he was famous all over the desert, *w-ḳad ištahar ṣiteh*. Once he attacked the Rwala. Saṭṭâm eben Šaʿlân, the prince of this tribe, was unwilling to fight him, *mâ hw bâṛi ḳwâmteh*, as he loved him, *čân leh ṭajjeb*, and was related to him, *nasibeh*, having married his sister, Turkijje, whom he kept with him all the time, *hi ʿendeh*. But Turki continued to provoke the Rwala incessantly. At one time he fell upon, *ṛâr ʿala*, a clan of the Kwâčbe tribe who were in the act of migrating, compelled them to construct a war camp, *nawwâḫom*, and then fought them from morning until mid-afternoon, *ila-l-ʿaṣr w-al-kows ʿâǧed bênhom*.

2:Musil S-4; 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

loops, *ḫruba*, are drawn coarse ropes, *'oṣob*, by which two *rwâj* are always tied to the camel's saddle, *mesâme*. A water bag of this kind will hold as much as 120 liters. Smaller water bags are known as *ḫrab*. *A žirbe kwejtijje* is made of oxhide and holds about 80 liters; a *žirbe baṛdâdijje* is made of a

FIG. 18—Kwan litters.

large goatskin and holds 60 liters; a *žirbe šâmijje*, made at Damascus for the use of pilgrims, is likewise made of goatskin and holds 50 liters, while a *žirbe neǧdijje* (Fig. 19) of goatskin holds 40 liters. Smaller than the *žirbe* is the *ǧûd*, which will hold 20 liters of water and is carried by a single camel rider.

The *semîl* is a leather sack for sour milk. The *šakwa* is a small sack in which the herdsman keeps milk. The *ṣarf* or *naḫw* is a leather bag holding about 15 liters, in which dates or butter are kept. The '*ekka*' is a smaller bag which will hold 5 to 7 liters of butter.

The women also make buckets, *delw* (pl., *dli*), of hide. A bucket for 2 to 3 liters is called *ḫalaṣ*; a *sifra* contains 10 to 15 liters, and a *delw al-čebîr* 20 to 30 liters of water, so that two men are needed to draw it up.

The water trough, *ḫawṣ* (pl., *ḫijâṣ*) (Figs. 20, 21, 22) also made by the women, consists of a leather bowl, *ṭasra*,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

(Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *šaṛûr* (pl., *šwâṛîr*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *waḏm*) (Fig. 23, *b*). are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *ʿarḳa* (pl., *ʿarâži*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies a *sâǧ*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

During long marches in the summer season the tents are not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṭawleṭ*; with four, *mrawbaʿ*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sabʿa wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

CHAPTER XXII

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

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425
431

No Bedouin may give away the property of his family either to strangers, or to his wife or even to his daughters. If he does so, his son or his nearest kinsman outside of his immediate family has the right to demand the return of the gifts. This right is called *menn*. As the saying has it: "Thou wilt give it to me, but thy son will take it away from me by the right of *menn*: *ent te'ṭîni wa-bnak jemennah minni*." It is not necessary to demand the gifts back at once; that may be done later, even after some years have elapsed. The witnesses summoned will testify that the claimant's father gave away certain property, and the receiver must return everything plus any increase which the gift has brought in the meantime. If, for example, he received a she-camel ten years ago, he is bound to return not only the old animal, but all her offspring. If, again, he has given or sold the she-camel to somebody else, suitable compensation is fixed. Only in cases when the gift was made by some member of the Eben Ğandal or Eben Ṛubejn kin, *'aṭa' ğandalijje* or *ṛubejnijje*, will the *menn* lose its validity. No Rwejli could explain to me the reason of this custom, but all maintained that it had been the practice since time immemorial. To give an instance: Fâjez eben Ğandal once returned from a raid of which he was a commander, *'ažîd*, with rich booty. One of his warriors, Ḫalaf al-Flejḥi, captured four camels, males, *zwâmel*, which were to go to Fâjez, as, according to the Bedouin law, every captured he-camel belongs to the leader. However, as this particular raid was not made on the basis of sharing the booty, *ṛejr ḥiše*r, but everybody was to keep what he had captured, Ḫalaf would have received nothing at all. He therefore went to Fâjez's tent and entered the part reserved for the women, where the wife of Fâjez, Felğa, was suckling her two-year-old baby son, Ğed'ân. Ḫalaf stroked him caressingly and begged her help:

"O Felğa," he said, "put in a kind word for me and make the baby, *'ajjel*, say: 'I give those *zwâmel* to Ḫalaf.'"

When Felğa obligingly repeated his words, Ğed'ân said: "I give Ḫalaf the *zwâmel*."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

"Ǧed'ân eben Ǧandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property, *mâ leha šerîk ill-allâh*.

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'îr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫîle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

768 428 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called *nežîle* (pl., *nežâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥakk baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥakk dajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥakk matnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥakk rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *nežâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *sijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 [562] The right of inheritance, *ḥakk al-warṯa*, is vested in sons alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mhawwa w-ḥazîza*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâdera* going for water and returning with it, or *ḥalûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḥâšarow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥišer*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥišer*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

[429]

421 562 428 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings. All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of her husband or her *ahl*. After her death her son inherits all that came from her kin. the rest goes to her husband.

A father can leave his property to his daughters if he has no son, but he must appoint a guardian for them, who is also called father. This is done with the words: "Behold, I exclude the flesh and blood from which I descend. Thee I appoint to be the father of my daughter (or daughters). My whole estate I present to my daughter. My relatives of the flesh and blood from which I descend must take nothing from her. Thou wilt see to it. But on the commemoration day of all faithful departed, *ẓaḥijje*, my daughter should not forget me." In case this daughter marries, her property is inherited by her son, or, if there is no son, by her *ahl*; her husband can claim nothing.

The right of inheritance belongs to all relatives up to the ninth degree, *râ' tis'a ǧdûd jaret*. In the absence of lawful heirs, that is if the kin has entirely died out, *temši 'alejhom ad-dinja' mâ jeẓall kûd al-ḥurma*, the woman most nearly related to it receives whatever estate is left and is bound to a sacrifice on the *ẓaḥijje* day.

Jâ wanneti wannet jetîm
'oḳb al-ṛala' 'ammeh walâh
jaṣiḥ w-jowmi beš-šelîl
w-jaḳûl walli min ḥaja'

This is the lament of an orphan
Who, having lost his father, receives orders from an uncle.
He gives the alarm cry, waves the hem of his cloak,
And says to himself: 'Vanish from life.'

Al-ṛala' is a father who appointed a brother of his to be the guardian of his son. The orphan, dissatisfied with his guardian, sights the enemy. Giving the alarm cry, he waves his mantle in the direction of the approaching danger and encourages himself, *nesmeh* or *nafseh*, to resist the enemy even at the risk of losing his life. In the latter event, at least, his mourning for the loss of a dear father would cease.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* ments of the oasis of al-Ǧowf of Eben ʿAli, Prince of Ḥâjel. He was not comfortable there. Although al-Ǧowf is protected against both the north and west winds, Muḥammad complained of the severe cold and wished to return to Ḥâjel. He meant to make the trip on his old but tried she-camel; in three days he would reach Ǧubba, a settlement lying about 230 kilometers south-southeast on the road to Ḥâjel; he would leave Ǧubba after midnight and on the fourth day reach Ḥâjel about supper time. Thus he meant to cover the distance of 320 kilometers in four days and half a night. It should be born in mind that this route extended for about 280 kilometers over sand drifts and that therefore he had to sleep out two nights.

[813] Verse 1. *Ǧarhadii*, destroyer, is said of sleep because it tends to weaken a man and to make him feel wretched. 4. *Śbâṭ* corresponds to our February. A north wind makes not only the inhabitants of al-Ǧowf but also those of Ḥâjel shiver with cold, as I myself have experienced. Muḥammad exaggerates in order to give more than due praise to Ḥâjel. 5. *Al-munâdi*, the crier, the commander, was the prince of Ḥâjel, to whom the settlements of al-Ǧowf belonged. The prince [233] could summon his governor to Ḥâjel. 6. In the neighborhood of al-Ǧowf there is no camel pasture. What grass and perennials grow there are cut by the settlers and dried for hay that they may have fodder for their own cattle and for the animals of their guests and also to sell to the trade caravans. It is necessary to drive the camels fifteen kilometers out before even a sparse pasturage is found. Any of the settlers who possesses a good she-camel places it under the care of a reliable Bedouin camping with his clan in the district of al-Ǧowf and sends for it a few days before he desires to depart. Muḥammad's she-camel was grazing with the herd of the Âl Wejlân Bedouins. A spirited, well-rested she-camel often stretches her neck backwards, catches the rider's dress with her lips, and touches him with her head. 7. From ʿOmân 439 thoroughbred camels are imported. Every tribe, every clan 231 brands its camels with marks commonly called *wasm*. Each 422 brand again has a name of its own. The brand of Muḥammad's camel is called *merzel*, owing to its resemblance to a spindle. 8 means that the camel's neck is very long. 9. When kneeling, 539 the she-camel's front knees are extended far forward; her shoulders are drawn back and nearly reach the breastbone,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). 231
If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥaǧla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra ẓraba'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damûn*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra ḍrama'*.

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabsa'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet al-ḫhawa*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ša'la* (pl., *ši'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ṛurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *meǧehmât*; for larger numbers, *meǧâhîm* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to [552]
her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuǧîhah*. For example: Ṭâfḥa, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', 'Aǧla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awǧa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêẓa, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḥejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabša, Ṭamša, 'Ejda, Ǧerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc.

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of [422]
the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*.

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. 825
Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous 231
trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuẓuḥ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâtîr*. A herd of white 422
she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the 471
control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâtîr* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâtîr* 231
are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd 556
has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years. Then it is called *al-'eli*, it is talked of in the whole desert, and the bravery of the clan that owns it is praised by all,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 The word *rumaka* is applied both to a mare and to a woman who is neither too young nor too old. One may ask: *"Hi bint,* is she a virgin still?" and receive the answer: *"Lâ w-allâh hi rumaka zêne,* no, she is a pretty woman in her best

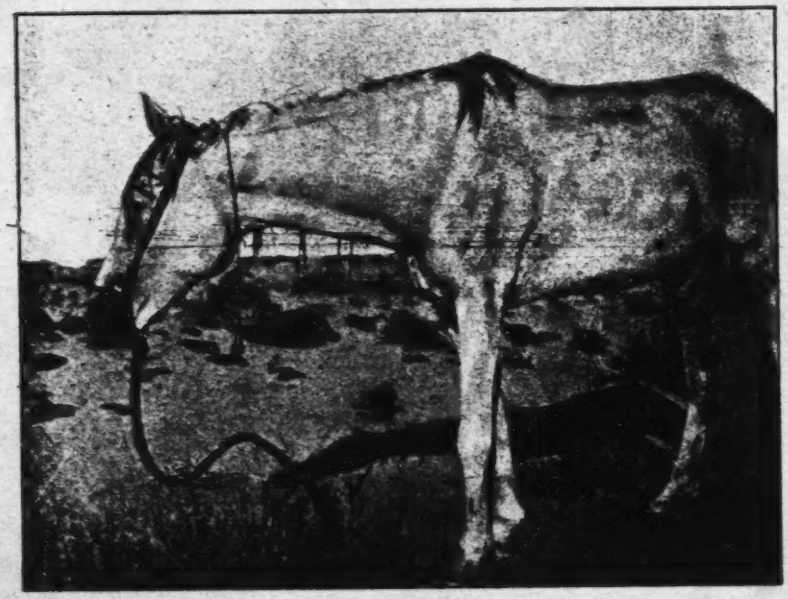

FIG. 50—A *zerḳa'* mare.

age." *"Has-surba ma'aha ḥoṣon,* are there stallions with this troop?" *"Lillâh killehen rûmak mâ beha ḥṣân;* no, only grown mares; not a stallion among them."

Ḥṣân (pl., *ḥoṣn*) is a stallion between its fifth and twentieth years; after that time it is called *'awd.*

●422 231 There is hardly a mare that is owned by one man only. As a rule she belongs to two men or even more, *šeriče bel-faras,* who share anything she may give, *tetaḥâšer al-beḫût bejn aš-šeričên.* If a mare is bought by two Bedouins on the understanding that her colts also will be their common property, the deal is called *bî' ḥeğra.* If the agreement is that the mare will belong to one but the first and second colt to the other, it is a *bî' meṭâni* deal. When a man buys a mare for himself alone without any other agreement, a *bî' meḳalfa'* is spoken of, though only

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a city man or a European buys in that manner—never a son of the desert. 422 231

The mare owned by two men is called *marbaṭ*; the part owner who takes care of her is *râ'i-l-marbaṭ*. He is responsible

FIG. 51—A *ḥamra'* mare.

for her health and must give compensation should the animal die or miscarry owing to his negligence. If the partners want to annul, *jetaḳâṣarûn*, their agreement, they go to the chief's tent and declare it before witnesses, so that they cannot blame each other afterwards, whatever may happen. A partner can also be compelled to give up his rights, *muḳâṣara*, if the other or others desire it or have to sell the mare. For instance, the chief may be satisfied that the man who insists on breaking the agreement is unable in any way either to provide himself with new camels, to procure the amount needed to buy a bride for his son, or to buy weapons demanded by the avenger for blood that has been shed. Possibly the chief may be convinced that the part owner would not get as much for the mare from his own people as a stranger or a European offers him. Under 231 422 425

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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such circumstances the chief might well decide to sell the animal in question himself and to give the unwilling part owner one half of the proceeds. The latter also is privileged himself to buy out the other's share in the mare at the figure offered by the stranger. The price paid for a mare is called *sijâḳ*.

EQUIPMENT, USE, AND VALUE OF HORSES

492

The word for a horse saddle (Figs. 52, 53, 54) is *meršeḥa*; "Saddle the horses! *meršeḥû-l-ḥejl*." The saddle consists of a leather or quilted, woolen cushion, *žerijje* (Fig. 52*a*), sewn to a cloth cover, *libbâde* (*d*), and firmly fastened to the saddle. The saddle is also supplied with girth and stirrups; *b*, *râs al-bedd*; *c*, *karbûz*; *e*, *ḫrûǧ al-meršeḥa*; *f*, *ḥelâḳ*; *g*, *ḥzâm*; *h*, *bṭâne*; *j*, *zamḥa*; *k*, *bzîm*; *l*, *rukb*.

The rein is very simple; the bridle proper, *ʿanân* (Figs. 55, 57, pp. 392-393) with an iron ring, *ʿazeda* (*a*), is but rarely used.

The forelegs of a mare are nearly always fettered with an iron chain called *ḥadîd* (Fig. 56, p. 392). "*Ṣakk al-ḥadîd ʿala-l-faras*," means "he fettered his mare's legs"; "*Ḥaddedû-l-ḥejl*, put fetters on the horses!" The single parts of the shackles are as follows: *a*, *ʿarejža*; *b*, *ḳṣuba*; *c*, *sinsile*. They are closed or opened by a key which is usually in the care of the owner's wife, daughter, or sister. It is also the duty of these women to harness the mare, especially when an alarm cry is given. Then the rein is thrown over her head and the bridle put in the mouth, *saffafatha* (or *ṣaʿaṭatha*) *al-ʿanân*, or *alǧamatha*. "*Saḳlab aw zabb beẓahr al-mohra w-dafaʿaha*" means: "the rider throws himself into the saddle of the mare and rides off."

The Bedouin never undertakes a long trip on a mare but always on a camel. Only when he pays a visit to a neighboring camp, or rides out to meet a dear guest, or repulses an attack, or assails the enemy's herds will he use a horse.

With a rider on her back the mare will walk with a light, long pace, *teḫudd ḳadda*. When defiling before their prince or commander, *ʿarẓa*, on a festive occasion or in time of danger, the Bedouins hold their mares up short so that they leap forward, rise on their hind legs, back slightly, and then leap forward again. This performance is called *heǧeba* or *tehaddob*. In a mock battle, *leʿeb al-ḥejl*, or during a man-to-man fight, *ṭrâd*, the mares will spring in the same manner. Mares gallop

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Ẓeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ṛanameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *aḍlah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Ẓeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḍahna 'alejhom*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛarrabna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ǧezîre. Some time later the wounded man, *alli mosṭijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *as-sâṭi*, who, as it was the time of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

583 or on a mare. The *sijâḳ* is not strictly stipulated. If the *eben al-ʿamm* asks much, much must be given him. It is always to him that the *sijâḳ* is delivered. Only when he dies and there is nobody else to care for the girl, the whole *sijâḳ* goes to her father as soon as the wedding is over, *aʿras ʿalejha*. The usual compensation for the bride is one or two she-camels and the first mare captured after the wedding. One she-camel always goes to the mother of the girl for having cursed the bride. This animal is called *baʿîr al-kûʿ*, elbow camel, because the mother used to lean her elbow against the ground when suckling her daughter.

LOVE DITTIES AND POEMS

831× 539× The delights and sorrows of love are expressed by the Rwejli in short ditties known as *heğejni* or *ṭaṭwîḥ*. Some compose their own, others borrow and adorn them with their own name, as if they were the authors. It is said in this respect:

Heğejnijjeten ḳalladawha-l-ʿaḳâl
ḳalladawha-l-brijjesem w-rîš an-naʿâm.

The *heğejni* ditty they adorned with a head rope,
Adorned it with silk and ostrich feathers.

[727] When a warrior pardons his enemy, he lays his head rope, *ʿaḳâl*, around the latter's neck as a sign that this particular enemy belongs to him with all he may possess, and then he throws himself into the fight again. The composer of a *he-*
[424] *ğejni* song adorns it not merely with his head rope but with silk and ostrich feathers as well, so that nobody can steal it from him — but all this without avail. There are many who like to appropriate a pretty song, although it does not belong to them.

In Praise of Lovers; The Delights of Love

Jâ ʿammi waʾ bint al-ṛarâwi
tabṛîni w-ana-rîdaha
w-elja taḥaṭṭat bel-ḥazâwi
aḥadat ḳlejbi bîdaha.

Oh, uncle, Ṛarâwi's daughter
Wants me and I long for her;

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER X

POETRY

POETS AND POETICAL COMPOSITION

The Rwala love to hear, recite, and compose poems, which they call *ḳaṣâjed* (sing., *ḳaṣîde*). A verse is called *ḳâf*. It usually consists of two halves, the first being *nuṣṣ al-ḳâf* and the second, which is always rhymed, *âḫer al-ḳâf*, being *ḳâf at-tâli*. The poet says of himself: "I composed a poem, *ḳaṣatt* or *ḳilt al-ḳaṣîde*." Sometimes a poet will not say that he composed (a poem), *ḳaṣad*, but merely that he uttered (a poem), *ḳâl*. The audience say to the poet: "Reveal us thy poem, *ebdaha 'alejna*." If a begging poet comes to a chief in whose honor he has composed a poem, he begins by saying: "There are a few words, O chief! which I should like to disclose to thee, O long-living one! *endi ĕlêmât jâ šejḫ abṛi ebdiha 'alejk jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*." "Out with it! *hâtah*." And the poet in a nasal voice begins to recite his poem. The first words he blurts out, the next he half swallows, and the last he utters in a falsetto. If the chief likes the poem, its author gets a reward. The begging poets are not held in much esteem, being reproached for their insatiability, for their disregard of honesty in praising even scamps for a reward, and also because they lie and steal. They steal the ideas, sentences, and even whole verses of others. It often happens that the hearers assail such a poet with the words: "Thou liest. Thou stolest it from So-and-So!" The poet defends himself, calling on others to be his witnesses, but the confidence of his hearers is gone, and they say: "A poet is a liar, *ḳaṣṣâd kaḍḍâb*." When the poet learns that his composition or some of his verses are claimed by somebody else, he complains to the chiefs or even in the courts, but they all refuse to listen on the ground that a poet cannot be trusted.

On hearing a new poem the Bedouins inquire its author's name, *limin hâḍi*. An anonymous poem is called *maǧhûla*.

A poem is but rarely written down. As a rule the poet's friends learn it by heart, and others learn from them. Every Bedouin knows several poems but hardly ever the whole of

1: Aaowan T 3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Ruala MD4

XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

AMIR FUAZ HAD not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dispatched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only alternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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FIG. 51—A *ḥamra'* mare.

for her health and must give compensation should the animal die or miscarry owing to his negligence. If the partners want to annul, *jetaḳāṣarūn*, their agreement, they go to the chief's tent and declare it before witnesses, so that they cannot blame each other afterwards, whatever may happen. A partner can also be compelled to give up his rights, *muḳāṣara*, if the other or others desire it or have to sell the mare. For instance, the chief may be satisfied that the man who insists on breaking the agreement is unable in any way either to provide himself with new camels, to procure the amount needed to buy a bride for his son, or to buy weapons demanded by the avenger for blood that has been shed. Possibly the chief may be convinced that the part owner would not get as much for the mare from his own people as a stranger or a European offers him. Under 231 422 425

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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492

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The Bedouin never undertakes a long trip on a mare but always on a camel. Only when he pays a visit to a neighboring camp, or rides out to meet a dear guest, or repulses an attack, or assails the enemy's herds will he use a horse.

With a rider on her back the mare will walk with a light, long pace, *tehudd ḥudda*. When defiling before their prince or commander, *ʿarḍa*, on a festive occasion or in time of danger, the Bedouins hold their mares up short so that they leap forward, rise on their hind legs, back slightly, and then leap forward again. This performance is called *hedeba* or *tehaddob*. In a mock battle, *leʿeb al-ḫejl*, or during a man-to-man fight, *ṭrâd*, the mares will spring in the same manner. Mares gallop

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

only when racing or in the attack, *ṛâra*. To stop his animal the rider cries: *"Hamî ḥaj;"* to start it: *"Ghara ǧharab."* 492

If I call a person,						I say of myself: *aṣîḥ.*
„	„	a mare	„	„	„	*at'i.*
„	„	camels	„	„	„	*eššâǧe'.*
„	„	a donkey	„	„	„	*eḥarreš.*
„	„	a dog	„	„	„	*ešli.*
„	„	sheep	„	„	„	*ethi.*
„	„	a falcon	„	„	„	*ad'i.*

As mares are hardly ever sold, they have no fixed price. If a man wishes to buy a certain mare, he must pay whatever the owner asks, and the latter generally wants more than the buyer offers. It is said in the desert that the price of a thing is fixed by him who wants it, *aṣ-ṣil'a tetba' ar-râṛeb.* The Bedouins pay each other as much as ten camels for a yearling mare; for a three-, four- or five-year-old mare they offer from fifteen to thirty thoroughbred riding camels. An adult stud horse is usually cheaper than a yearling mare. 435

LOSS OF HORSES

When a Rwejli's mare has been captured by the enemy and then recaptured by another Rwejli, the latter is obliged to return it to his fellow tribesman but must be paid a she-camel as compensation. A colt of the same mare captured by a Rwejli must also be given back to the owner, six camels being the reward in this case. Such a colt is known as *ṛî'*. The question then asked is: "Didst thou get thy [captured] mare or her colt? *ǧâtak faraṣk wallâ-l-ṛî'*." 425

On learning who has recovered the colt of his captured mare, her owner goes to him, saying: "The daughter of my mare is with thee, I demand her from thee, *ana ǧârî'ha 'alejk.*"

"That is not true, this is not the daughter of thy mare. I myself paid so-and-so many she-camels for her;" to which the owner replies:

"Good, now keep to the figure thou sayest thou hast paid, *ok'od li bimâ sikt*, till I bring my witnesses."

"I will do so," agrees the other, and those present declare:

"We are thy witnesses that he will keep to such and such a figure and that he will neither sell nor take away the colt."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Then the owner goes to seek the captor. The owner in search of his animal is called *ḳaṣṣâṣ*; he is free to go even to the enemy, who in this case must help. On arriving at the latter's tents, he inquires after his stolen mare and her colt.

[492]

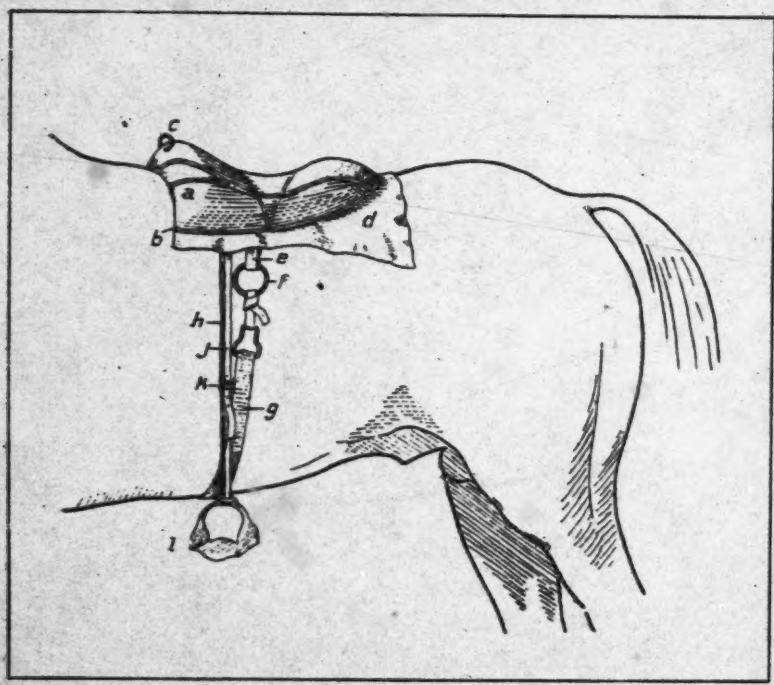

FIG. 52—A horse saddle, *meršeḥa*.

On finding what he seeks, he asks one of the enemy to come with him as a witness that the captured filly is actually the daughter of his stolen mare. Testimony of this kind being indisputable, his tribesman says: "Give me the proper compensation and take her! *hât li sowḳaha w-ḥoḏha.*" He then gets five camels, the witness helping in the search, *jaḳoṣṣ 'anha*, gets one, and the animal is returned to the original owner.

The owner of the captured mare tries first to ascertain who has captured her and where she is kept. For the earliest reliable report of her whereabouts a reward of five *meǧidijjât* ($4.50) is paid. Often the new owner, although an enemy, sends a report every year of the mare's condition and of the colts born to her.

They are of the Ṣlejb and Šarârât tribes. Such a pauper, *ẓa'îf*, comes to the women's compartment in the tent and whimpers: 735

"O mistress of this tent! behold, I am, by Allâh himself, naked and my family hungers. Therefore I come to Allâh and to this tent; *w-ana ǧâj jamm allâh w-jamm hal-bejt.*"

If there is want in the tent, too, or if they are not willing to give anything, they simply say:

"Run along, we have nothing to give! *ḳawṭer mâ 'endana šien.*"

A chief could not, of course, let a beggar go away in that manner, and other Rwala also try to do as much as they can for him. They do it, partly from love of Allâh, *ilâhijje*, partly because they like to hear the beggar's thanks and hope that their charity may be extolled elsewhere, *ješkor w-jeḏkor.*

To conceal a lost article is not considered dishonest as long as nobody calls for it. The finder is not required to search for its owner; he must search for his own property. 425● 626

Many things get lost during the migrations. The camels laden with tents, furniture, rugs, garments, etc., rub against each other or against bushes, roll in the sand, start trotting suddenly, and lose one parcel after another of their load all along the route. Many of these lost things can be easily hidden and appropriated for the finder's own use, as the dress and personal effects of the Rwala and the furnishings of their tents are almost without exception similar in their appearance. It is hard to prove that this or that article does not belong to the person in possession. A dishonest person or one who has no fear of Allâh will not return what he has found even when asked to do so by the owner himself. The latter usually either hires a public crier or, mounting a horse or camel, himself rides slowly through the camp in the evening when all the people are in their tents, shouting: "Oh, thou who hast seen such and such a thing and esteemest Allâh more than that which thou hast concealed! O thou who wilt keep quiet about a thing of no value, be careful that thou takest it not for that which is dear to thee, that the place where thy camels rest at night will not be left empty; and that thou mayest not call for help with no man willing to hear thee! *Jâ min 'ajjan aš-ši al-flâni w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṛaba' jâ čâmen al-bâli ta'awwaṛteh bel-râli jaṣbaḥ mrâḥak ḫâli tṣiḥ w-lâ lak wâli.*"

425
626 "Whoever has seen such and such a thing or heard or received news of it, or knows anything of it, let him remember God and not hide it; *jâ min 'ajjan al-ṛaraẓ al-flâni aw ḫebber aw 'allem w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṛaba'*."

When a man happens to know something of the lost article and hears the shouting, he says: "Come hither and take thy thing!"

If anything belonging to a traveling merchant, Kubejsi, is lost, he too rides through the camp shouting at the top of his voice:

"O ye who hear this voice, praise the Prophet! He is for you the first, 'Ali is the second, and Fâṭma, the prophet's daughter, is the third. Who has seen this and that?"

The finder of the lost article, if willing to return it, shouts back to the crier: "O thou owner of that thing, come hither! *jâ râ'i-l-ṛaraẓ elḥâḳ elḥâḳ*."

But if a lost article which has been proclaimed publicly and which has evidently been concealed with the intention of keeping it, is found, the culprit is reviled by the whole camp and soundly thrashed by his kinsfolk, *jenakkelûneh tenkîl*, because he has disgraced them.

701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *râšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lenowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *ʿažîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-camel for sacrifice, *al-ʿažire*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid. [782]

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-munîḥ al-muṭîr*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-munîḥ al-muṭîr* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazîzateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 727 ●425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḥišer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṛejr ḥišer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *ʿažîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behal-ṛazw ʿoḳob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧihom ḫoḏ illi tarṣîk.*" The she-camel he thus takes is called *ṛaẓwa*. If stray horses, *mâreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hâreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

701 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner
727 who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures
425 only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *meǧidijjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *ʿâjde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *ṛubâša*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *jetaḫâšarûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *ʿažîd* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called [825] *ʿajn* (pl., *ʿujûn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. *min al-ḳejṣûma ila' ʃejḥân*
miṯl al-ḥašab bel-'arâžîbi
4. *jâ bint al-mḥaẓẓab al-awğâ*
'ala-l-ṛazi teš'aṭ al-ğîbi.

1. O daughter of mine, thy lover is behind, not to be seen;
A wolf and vulture are tearing his flesh.
2. Horses were gathered by the Ša'lân kin,
And the riding camels like locusts follow each other.
3. From al-Ḳejṣûma as far as Fejhân
[The fallen lie] on each other like the crosspieces in a leather bucket.
4. O daughter, thou who paintest thy cheeks,
For thy beloved, thou wilt tear the dress on thy breast!

The poet and reciter was the slave Selîm. The victorious troop led by Prince an-Nûri returns with the booty taken from Sa'dûn, the prince of the Muntifeẓ. The women and girls stand in the tent corners, looking through the gaps for their sweethearts.

Verse 2. All the horses captured by the slaves or servants go to their master, not to them; therefore the members of the Ša'lân family collected and led them. The riding camels belong to those who capture them, even to the slaves and servants; they, however, let their masters keep them in return for payment. 3. Al-Ḳejṣûma is a well. 4. The daughter spoken of was the wife of a fallen hero, because a wife alone is allowed as a sign of her sorrow to blacken her face with ashes and dust or to tear open the clasp of her dress below the throat.

1. *Ṯâr ad-daḫen w-ettaḳa-l-ḫawâf*
elja' mâ-ṣ-ṣa'ab ṣâr muṭwâ'i
2. *al-ḥorr al-ḳaṭâwi abu nawwâf*
jâ mu'aššî aḏ-ḏîb elja' ğâ'i.

1. Up floated the rifle smoke, and into hiding went the coward,
Until, at last, the rebellious became obedient.
2. The falcon hunting *ḳaṭa'* birds, he is the father of Nawwâf,
Oh, he who prepares supper for a wolf which hungers!

Of this poem Selîm also was both poet and reciter.

Sa'dûn ṛâzi 'ala' ṭâmer
'oḳb az-za'al šâf be'ajûneh

CHAPTER XXII

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

421
425
431

No Bedouin may give away the property of his family either to strangers, or to his wife or even to his daughters. If he does so, his son or his nearest kinsman outside of his immediate family has the right to demand the return of the gifts. This right is called *menn*. As the saying has it: "Thou wilt give it to me, but thy son will take it away from me by the right of *menn*: *ent te'ṭini wa-bnak jemennah minni*." It is not necessary to demand the gifts back at once; that may be done later, even after some years have elapsed. The witnesses summoned will testify that the claimant's father gave away certain property, and the receiver must return everything plus any increase which the gift has brought in the meantime. If, for example, he received a she-camel ten years ago, he is bound to return not only the old animal, but all her offspring. If, again, he has given or sold the she-camel to somebody else, suitable compensation is fixed. Only in cases when the gift was made by some member of the Eben Ǧandal or Eben Ṛubejn kin, *šaṭa' ǧandalijje* or *ṛubejnijje* will the *menn* lose its validity. No Ṛwejli could explain to me the reason of this custom, but all maintained that it had been the practice since time immemorial. To give an instance: Fâjez eben Ǧandal once returned from a raid of which he was a commander, *'ažîd*, with rich booty. One of his warriors, Ḫalaf al-Flejḥi, captured four camels, males, *zwâmel*, which were to go to Fâjez, as, according to the Bedouin law, every captured he-camel belongs to the leader. However, as this particular raid was not made on the basis of sharing the booty, *ṛejr ḥišer*, but everybody was to keep what he had captured, Ḫalaf would have received nothing at all. He therefore went to Fâjez's tent and entered the part reserved for the women, where the wife of Fâjez, Felǧa, was suckling her two-year-old baby son, Ǧed'ân. Ḫalaf stroked him caressingly and begged her help:

"O Felǧa," he said, "put in a kind word for me and make the baby, *'ajjel*, say: 'I give those *zwâmel* to Ḫalaf.'"

When Felǧa obligingly repeated his words, Ǧed'ân said: "I give Ḫalaf the *zwâmel*."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

"Ǧed'ân eben Ǧandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šerîc ill-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'îr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫîle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no dat 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

his tribe. If then his tribesmen steal anything from his 609
tive *ḳaṣîr* they must return it, and vice versa. 572
When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli
herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is 672
tacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to
ep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two
r milking, *ḳa'ada w-menâjeḥeḥ* or *rukûba w-ḥalûba*.

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant 443
lled a Kubejsi (pl.. Kubejsât), although he does not always
il from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hît on the right
nk of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two
mels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with
Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round
hite tent, *ḫejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's
irts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other
ticles of clothing, *bẓâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *hejl* (carda-
om), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where
boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets
thing at all.

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, 426
ying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, 452
esses his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes
m. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to
se anything; for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled
do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant
nning unbearable. It is said:

Mâ hamm illa hamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeẓ*, on borrowed money must be paid at
ce in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧîdijjât* ($9.00),
/$_2$ *meǧîdijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the
rrower has to declare that he has borrowed 12^1/$_2$ *meǧî-*
jjât, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is
/$_2$ *meǧîdijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

426 452 time when camel markets are held, namely in July or August, when the Bedouins camping in the tilled country sell their camels, *waḳt al-mowsem*. Every debtor brings his bondsman, who declares in the presence of the creditor that so much is owed and that the principal together with the interest, *marbaḥ*, will be paid at a certain stated date. Should the Kubejsi in the meantime die, his host, *mu'azzeb*, collects the amounts due to him and hands them over to his heirs. Debts contracted with the Kubejsât, the Bedouins pay regularly enough, mainly because they fear that otherwise no merchants would come to them.

443 When the Rwala camp in a settled region, some of the big merchants send messengers to the prince to inquire whether he will allow them to come to his camp with goods to sell. If the messengers receive the prince's assurance that he will take them under his protection, *bwağh aš-šejḫ*, the wholesaler loses no time in dispatching his employees to the camp, and before long from fifty to seventy white tents, *ḫijâm*, will be seen in the prince's camp. In these everything is sold that the Bedouin's heart desires. For each of these tents one new pack saddle, *ḥedâğe*, and one *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) of green coffee are delivered to the prince as his due. Their stay in the camp terminates about the middle of August, for at the end of that month the Rwala usually return to the inner desert.

437 435 In the settled territory many merchants take camels in exchange for their wares, thus enabling the Bedouins to provide themselves with everything they need or desire. The sons of the desert are like children in this respect, wanting all they see or whatever takes their fancy and little caring whether they really need it or not. They buy all sorts of expensive things, often toys, which they soon spoil and then simply throw away as useless. As long as they have camels, or at least the money received for them, they pay cash; when this is gone, they either borrow money or buy on credit without worrying when or if ever the debt will be paid. It is a common saying in the desert: "Debt eats away the profit of him who borrows, *ad-dên ḳaṭṭâ' rizż al-mežbel*."

POEMS RELATING TO ḲUṢARA' AND KUBEJSÂT

539 There are frequent references to both the stranger *ḳaṣir* and the merchant in Bedouin poems.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 627 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give all that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in his fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demanded, if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-muḳalledât* were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon returned with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl nor Ṛatwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al gave up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards married another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarreled over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unable to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from her tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ǧel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in a matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should be helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its well trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, and, accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber of the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the camel with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarmed by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right galloped up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protégé and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect thy camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil thou causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 627 577 695 The parents of a married woman who had no other heirs died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished to get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relatives of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to return to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḫaǧlâna 'ala bejtha*. Not long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, and while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' camels passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two young she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, and,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejtân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân haḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḥoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi ṯâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥîn hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt intoRšejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father.Ršejd, though he was

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

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On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šerîk ill-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'îr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫîle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *ṭarâjež al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

768 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called
428 *nežîle* (pl., *nežâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥaḳḳ baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥaḳḳ dajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥaḳḳ matnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥaḳḳ rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *nežâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *sijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 The right of inheritance, *ḥaḳḳ al-warṯa*, is vested in sons
[562] alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mhawwa w-ḥazîza*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâdera*, going for water and returning with it, or *ḥalûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḥâšarow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥišer*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥišer*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

421 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes
562 either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings.
428 All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of her husband or her *ahl*. After her death her son inherits all that came from her kin. the rest goes to her husband. 421 427 428

A father can leave his property to his daughters if he has no son, but he must appoint a guardian for them, who is also called father. This is done with the words: "Behold, I exclude the flesh and blood from which I descend. Thee I appoint to be the father of my daughter (or daughters). My whole estate I present to my daughter. My relatives of the flesh and blood from which I descend must take nothing from her. Thou wilt see to it. But on the commemoration day of all faithful departed. *ẓaḥijje*. my daughter should not forget me." In case this daughter marries, her property is inherited by her son, or, if there is no son, by her *ahl*; her husband can claim nothing. 429 428

The right of inheritance belongs to all relatives up to the ninth degree. *râ' tis'a ǧdûd jaret*. In the absence of lawful heirs, that is if the kin has entirely died out. *temši 'alejhom ad-dinja' mâ jeẓall kûd al-ḥurma*. the woman most nearly related to it receives whatever estate is left and is bound to a sacrifice on the *ẓaḥijje* day.

Jâ wanneti wannet jetîm
'oḳb al-ṭala' 'ammeh walâh
jaṣiḥ w-jowmi beš-šelîl
w-jaḳûl walli min ḥaja'

This is the lament of an orphan
Who, having lost his father, receives orders from an uncle.
He gives the alarm cry, waves the hem of his cloak,
And says to himself: 'Vanish from life.'

Al-ṭala' is a father who appointed a brother of his to be the guardian of his son. The orphan, dissatisfied with his guardian, sights the enemy. Giving the alarm cry, he waves his mantle in the direction of the approaching danger and encourages himself, *nesmeh* or *nafseh*, to resist the enemy even at the risk of losing his life. In the latter event, at least, his mourning for the loss of a dear father would cease. 429

768 428 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called *nežîle* (pl., *nežâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥaḳḳ baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥaḳḳ dajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥaḳḳ maṭnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥaḳḳ rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *nežâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *sijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 [562] The right of inheritance, *ḥaḳḳ al-warṯa*, is vested in sons alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mhawwa w-ḥaṭṭa*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâdera*, going for water and returning with it, or *ḥalûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḫâšarow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥt al-ḫiše'r*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥt al-ḫiše'r*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

421 562 428 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings. All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of her husband or her *ahl*. After her death her son inherits all that came from her kin. the rest goes to her husband. 421 664 428

A father can leave his property to his daughters if he has no son, but he must appoint a guardian for them, who is also called father. This is done with the words: "Behold, I exclude the flesh and blood from which I descend. Thee I appoint to be the father of my daughter (or daughters). My whole estate I present to my daughter. My relatives of the flesh and blood from which I descend must take nothing from her. Thou wilt see to it. But on the commemoration day of all faithful departed, *ẓaḥijje*, my daughter should not forget me." In case this daughter marries, her property is inherited by her son, or, if there is no son, by her *ahl*; her husband can claim nothing. 429 428

The right of inheritance belongs to all relatives up to the ninth degree, *râ' tis'a ǧdûd jaret*. In the absence of lawful heirs, that is if the kin has entirely died out, *temši 'alejhom ad-dinja' mâ jeẓall kûd al-ḥurma*, the woman most nearly related to it receives whatever estate is left and is bound to a sacrifice on the *ẓaḥijje* day.

Jâ wanneti wannet jetîm
'oḳô al-ṛala' 'ammeh walâh
jaṣiḥ w-jowmi beš-šelîl
w-jaḳûl walli min ḥaja'

This is the lament of an orphan
Who, having lost his father, receives orders from an uncle.
He gives the alarm cry, waves the hem of his cloak,
And says to himself: 'Vanish from life.'

Al-ṛala' is a father who appointed a brother of his to be the guardian of his son. The orphan, dissatisfied with his guardian, sights the enemy. Giving the alarm cry, he waves his mantle in the direction of the approaching danger and encourages himself, *nesmeh* or *nafseh*, to resist the enemy even at the risk of losing his life. In the latter event, at least, his mourning for the loss of a dear father would cease. 429

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, *neǧes*, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*: The visitor salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak.*" Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiǧik.*" To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

[576]

761
777
If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh.*" The patient gets worse every Wednesday and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṭ-ṭakîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

732
A demoniac is called *mharfal*. As such they consider the imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

752
758
If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalûṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

752
755
In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

763
429
A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what

763 Allah will write to me, therefore, behold, I put my children and
429 my estate like the ring of a turtle dove's neck from my neck on thy neck. In the high station /before Allah/ I shall inquire of thee about them. "Ja flan ana ma-dri was allah jaktob 'alejji mar tara 'ejali w-halali towk hamamaten min rukubti birkubtak ansedk 'anhom bel-makez al-'azim."

The answer will be: "I shall take thy place. May Allah have mercy on thee. Ana lak bel-makan allah jarhamk."

In the absence of him whom he would lide to appoint as guardia the sick man will declare before one or two men: "O ye, X and Y, I ask you to witness that I put my children on the neck of So-and-So."

/567/ In the majority of cases the sick man prefers to appoint a faithful slave to the guardianship. Sometimes he also names the camels which are to go to one or other of his children and what she-camel he wishes to be sacrificed for him. However, any of his stipulations may be annulled by his first-born son. Neither the father nor the mother give their children any last advice.

DEATH

764 Water is dropped into a dying person's mouth without my words. They do not close the eyes of the dead, nor stop his nostrils, dead bodie
/737/ being carefully avoided by the Rwala. If they camp near a settlement, or some fellahin happen to be with them at the time, they hire them to bury the dead. Rubbing the body over with a wet cloth, they wrap it in its shirt, or when that is torn they lay it on a piece of white linen, cover it with the same material, then sew both pieces in three places, load the body thus enshrouded on a mule and carry it to the grave. This must be deeper for a woman than for a man. Its depth for a woman must be such that even the breast could not be seen if the body were placed upright; for the man its depth is only to his knees when in a standing posture. A stone is put under the head and the body is laid invariably with its right side downwards and facing south. Covering it then with a few stones they shovel in the excavated earth. For a man two stones, nasajeb, are raised above the grave, one for a woman. One and a half megidijje ($ 1.35) is paid to the gravedigger for this work. In the inner desert a grave about twenty-five centimeters deep is dug

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

shall never be at peace until the slender blossom bends before the storm of my love," he said.

A few hours later Tuëma came. Her friend had given her the good news of her lover's return.

She appeared over the brow of a hill. Then she drew rein and leapt from her sorrel, drawing the halter between its forelegs and tying it over the left hock; thus the mare was free to graze, but could not run away.

Tuëma walked toward us with the grace of a fawn and we went to meet her. She put her arms around Faris's neck and said tenderly: "O thou, my life." And he replied: "O thou, my faith." Then we sat down together on the hill-top.

Tuëma cast her eyes about and asked with a mischievous laugh: "Where is my bunch of wild flowers? My big beautiful bouquet?"

"Thy bunch of flowers?"

"Yes, and the silver anklets?"

Faris put on an air of importance and jingled the trinkets which he had in his pocket. Tuëma then gave him a look of surprise and, jumping up, reached for the hand which he had thrust into his pocket; but with the other he held her arm fast and said: "Thou must shut thy eyes and not open them until I have kissed them."

She did as he bade her. Then he drew from his pocket the silver bangles which he had procured in Jauf and slipped them on Tuëma's ankles. She begged and begged to be allowed at least one look at the gift. "Not yet," cried Faris; "first I must deck thee with the flowers of the desert, the imperishable ones."

One by one the enamoured youth unloosed the ends

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 of the girl's glossy, black braids and twined into them
●431 fourteen magnificent white ostrich plumes, each a foot long. When he had done this, he drew the long tresses forward over her shoulders and gathered them into one hand, so that the shivering plumes formed a bouquet, and kissed her eyelashes. "Here, my sister," he said, "is the bouquet I promised thee, of everlasting flowers."

She opened her eyes and gazed with wonder on her lover's gift. Then she buried her face in the plumes and twined her arm about him.

584 Faris leaned his head on her shoulder, and placing his
834 hand over her heart, said: "It jumps like a wild rabbit."

"It will become quite tame in thy hand," she murmured.

"Hast thou never before permitted a young man to put his hand on thy heart?" he asked.

Tuëma flushed. "No, never; only thee."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Tuëma had meanwhile returned to her own dwelling at the lower end of the valley. Her girl friends had been busy selecting the handsomest camel-litter and decorating it for the occasion. With its ornate marriage canopy it was mounted on a fine, gorgeously caparisoned camel, which slaves then led to Tuëma's tent. There the bride mounted to her lofty seat between the slender horns of the camel-litter and, with songs and shouts and waving of scarves, her girl friends escorted her to the tent of the bridegroom.

Before the women's quarters, but so arranged that Faris on his couch could see everything, Tuëma made her camel kneel down. Faris's mother and sisters, attended by numerous men and women slaves, greeted and received the bride ceremoniously.

Close by, Mnahi held an old white battle-mare by the halter. Auda, "the helper", she was called, and also the "Virginal Kuhaylat-Ajuz", for she had never been mated. The Ruala all but worshipped her as sacred. As a three-year-old she had been presented to Misha'il as a gift, on the birth of her son, Amir Fuaz. The mare was thus twenty-seven years old and her body bore the scars of many a raid. Over her back was spread a white lamb's-skin rug, the "Virgin Fleece" which, according to immemorial custom, the Bedouin bride brings to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Tuëma had disappeared into the harem to be attired in her wedding dress by Faris's mother and sisters. When she came out again, she was resplendent in a rich cashmere gown woven in red and green (it had been worn by Faris's mother at her own bridal ceremony) and a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

wrists of riders and the croups of the galloping horses. 223
Cloaks, manes, and tails, plaits and head-cloths, saddle trappings, fringes, and tassels flapped in the wind. The shout of men mingled with the thunder of hoofs, the neighing of the mares, the screams of the hawks and the baying of the hounds.

Knee to knee, I galloped on with Amir Fuaz. Sharp 136
eyes descried a heron rising higher and higher into the blue, although herons are rarely seen in this part of Arabia. Probably this one was on its way to the marshlands of Southern Mesopotamia. The young Amir was all excitement; he uttered piercing yells and cried rapturously:

"O my eye, my snatcher, there is thy prey!" and with trembling fingers, still galloping, he attempted to remove the hood and leg-strap of the falcon.

"O thou flash of lightning! O thou sword of the sky!"

The Prince was particularly devoted to this falcon. It
was a tercel through its fifth moult, and a present from 431
Ibn Khalifa, the Sheykh of Bahrein, who had procured it from the Bedouins of Jabal Shammar in exchange for a valuable mare. Having taken off hood and leg-strap, Fuaz swung Anaga up and down on his fist and then sideways.

"Open thy swift wings!" he cried.

With easy beat of wings and whining cries, the splendid bird rose into the air. Instinctively we drew rein to watch the spectacle. At first the falcon beat upward, but after a while he stooped and sailed in long flight close above the ground, without seeming to pay any attention to the heron.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

no rains after the *hejf* in summer nor after the *šemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṭâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-rejṭ*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-rejṭ*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-rejṭ* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṭ-ṭrûwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'eśeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rabî'*. In the inner desert

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

which rests on the ground. *Dâl* stands for *dâlek*, that. 10. To get up on her legs a kneeling she-camel must go through three motions. First she lifts her breasts and kneels on her forelegs; this is called *tanhaẓ*. Then she lifts her back, *nowẓa*, supporting herself on the toes of the hindlegs; the verb used for this action is *tanûẓ*; finally she gets up on all fours, *taṭûr*. A *radîf* is a person who sits behind the saddle, holding on to its rear knob. This rear part of the animal's back is very short, as the hips fall away sharply to the tail. 12. The she-camel was brought to Prince Âl 'Ali as a gift, and he again presented her to his governor, Muḥammad. *Šabbarow* indicates that they examined her thoroughly for any possible defects. If a subordinate chief brings a gift to his prince and it is found on examination to have a defect of any kind, he injures himself more than if he had given nothing at all. Such a gift the slaves then keep for themselves, telling the prince that the chief has only brought what he could best spare, because nobody wanted to buy it. To prevent his she-camel from being bewitched, Muḥammad recommended her to Allâh's care. 13. *Samm* stands for *sammi*, name or call [Allâh's name]; they say: "*Bismi-llâh*, in Allâh's name," in order to place the camel under Allâh's care. 15. Ğaw Fejd lies on the road south of Ğubba; Fejd therefore at sunrise was already to the north. *Mambûz warčêha* is the fat hump of a she-camel. *Mambûz* is often used instead of *senam*, camel's hump. Hence the verse:

> *Já râčeben min fowḳ mambûz aẓ-ẓahr*
> *hw menwat alli nâḥeren žerâjibeh.*
>
> O thou who ridest a fat-humped camel
> Desired by one who goes to his kin!

The larger and fatter the hump, the longer will the camel endure. If the journey is difficult and no good pasture is found, its waning strength is replaced from the fat accumulated in the hump. After using this up the animal becomes so weak as to be unable to rise. Then it may be months before it fully recovers. 16. *Barîm* was used only for the sake of the rime instead of the correct *ḥakw*, meaning a belt of from four to seven leather strips worn by men on their bare bodies. The *barîm* is worn by women. He will enjoy the supper given him by his relatives so much that those strips will burst.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x 4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

[833] Verse 1. *Mažža'* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebîle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating unpleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

827
264

Jâ mâ ḳaṭa'na dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâzi 'ejâlaha
wa' hâj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

727 Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *ḳaw flân.*" Answer:
"O greeting to thee! *jâ hala.*"
"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:
"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"
"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalaḳ hal-fowd.*" Answer:
"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalaḳ wa-tfid.*"

[431] Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-ḥazijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *bešš behal-'aṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

727
574 Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

703 554 they are informed of the youth's heroism. If during an attack an otherwise worthy youth does not stand his ground, the gray feathers are covered by black ones as a sign that for the first time he has not behaved in a manner befitting his honor. *Ḥaṭw* means "many a one." *'Alejh šarha*: he was depended on; *kunt mašrûhen 'alejh*: I depended on him. 539x

Aṭ'an la'ajni ṣâḥebi
w-aṭni la'ajni 'andeli
ḳalbi ṛada beh ṣâḥebi
minni 'aṭijjat ğandali.

To aid my sweetheart I wish to stab,
And I will stab also to help my thoroughbred mare;
Of my heart my beloved took possession.
She received it from me like a Ğandal's gift which is never returned.

'Andelijje is a thoroughbred white mare; in poetical language this expression is used instead of *aṣîle*. *Ṛada beh* and *aḫaḏeh*, he took him, have the same meaning. Anything a father has given may be demanded back by the son. However, if any member of the Eben Ğandal kin makes a gift, nobody, as will be explained below, may ask for its return. Therefore, he who wishes to make his gift secure, gives it first to a member of the Eben Ğandal kin, who then hands it to the person for whom it was intended. [431]

Aṭ'an la'ajni bint eben ḳublân
oḫt alladi zabn aṭ-ṭarîḥ
al-'ajn 'ajn mušaḏḏar al-ṛuzlân
'ašîžaha mâ jesterîḥ.

I will stab to help Eben Ḳublân's daughter,
The sister of the defender of one from his saddle thrown.
Her eye keeps a sharp lookout like a frightened gazelle;
Her lover will, faith! not have much rest.

Eben Ḳublân is the name of a kin of the al-Ḥsene division, Weld 'Ali tribe. One who assists a comrade thrown from the saddle acts honorably, as by doing so he abandons any booty he might capture and also exposes himself to the danger of being attacked while lifting the fallen man from the ground and placing him on his own horse. The gazelles live [577]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XXII

LAWS OF INHERITANCE

421
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431

No Bedouin may give away the property of his family either to strangers, or to his wife or even to his daughters. If he does so, his son or his nearest kinsman outside of his immediate family has the right to demand the return of the gifts. This right is called *menn*. As the saying has it: "Thou wilt give it to me, but thy son will take it away from me by the right of *menn*: *ent te'ṭini wa-bnak jemennah minni*." It is not necessary to demand the gifts back at once; that may be done later, even after some years have elapsed. The witnesses summoned will testify that the claimant's father gave away certain property, and the receiver must return everything plus any increase which the gift has brought in the meantime. If, for example, he received a she-camel ten years ago, he is bound to return not only the old animal, but all her offspring. If, again, he has given or sold the she-camel to somebody else, suitable compensation is fixed. Only in cases when the gift was made by some member of the Eben Ǧandal or Eben Ṛubejn kin, *ʕaṭa' ǧandalijje* or *ṛubejnijje*, will the *menn* lose its validity. No Ṛwejli could explain to me the reason of this custom, but all maintained that it had been the practice since time immemorial. To give an instance: Fâjez eben Ǧandal once returned from a raid of which he was a commander, *'ažîd*, with rich booty. One of his warriors, Ḫalaf al-Flejḥi, captured four camels, males, *zwâmel*, which were to go to Fâjez, as, according to the Bedouin law, every captured he-camel belongs to the leader. However, as this particular raid was not made on the basis of sharing the booty, *ṛejr ḫišer*, but everybody was to keep what he had captured, Ḫalaf would have received nothing at all. He therefore went to Fâjez's tent and entered the part reserved for the women, where the wife of Fâjez, Felǧa, was suckling her two-year-old baby son, Ǧed'ân. Ḫalaf stroked him caressingly and begged her help:

"O Felǧa," he said, "put in a kind word for me and make the baby, *'ajjel*, say: 'I give those *zwâmel* to Ḫalaf.'"

When Felǧa obligingly repeated his words, Ǧed'ân said: "I give Ḫalaf the *zwâmel*."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

"Ǧedʿân eben Ǧandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šerîc ill-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *baʿîr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *ṭarâjež al-ʿarab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḥle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *ṭarâjež al-ʿarab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 cord untied than the murmuring starts again, *tarṛi*, in which case nothing remains but to kill the poor brute, or to sell it so that it may torment some one else. The Bedouin prays Allâh to free him from such a she-camel, which he calls *raṛṛâja*.

492 There are four habits sure to make even the strongest and most enduring she-camel fiercely hated, *ḫubṭ aṭ-ṭaba'*: *šrûd*, shying and starting to run away the moment the rider dismounts; *'atûk*, refusing to be guided by either the heel, stick, or rein; *'aǧla'*, when on the march running from plant to plant smelling but not eating any; and finally the habit of kneeling suddenly when on the march and throwing off her rider. A camel that does this is called *ḫallâja*. A she-camel with any of these bad habits is called *dûmijje*, guilty of death, [432] because she may cause her rider's death. The purchaser of a female riding camel in which one of these habits is found within twenty days, can return her, and his money must be repaid in full.

CAMEL SADDLES

The supports of a camel saddle (Fig. 37) are four stout boards about 70 centimeters long and each fashioned in such a way as to form an obtuse angle on the outside about the middle. Above this point a hole 4 by 1 centimeters is cut through each board. The boards are placed together in pairs and fastened with strong nails. Wooden stakes, *dḫâš* (sing., *daḫaš*), 30 centimeters long by 4 wide by 1 thick, are driven through the two openings and project 8 centimeters on each side. The upper portions of the united boards are turned into the shape of cones with knobs at the top. Each knob, *râs* (*a*), has a diameter of about 8 centimeters; the cone, *ṛazâle* (*b*), below the knob measures 11 centimeters, and just above the obtuse angle 32 centimeters, in circumference. The lower parts of the boards are fashioned like shovels, *ẓlâf* (*c*), about 27 centimeters long by 1 thick, 20 centimeters wide at the top and 22 at the bottom. The inner sides of each pair of "shovels" form a sharp angle.

These two pairs of united boards form the front and hind parts of the saddle and are connected by four crosspieces (*d* and *h*) called *'aṣjân*, *meṣâlib*, or *'aẓâjed*. Two of these are straight, 48 centimeters long by 1 thick and 8 wide at one end but

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

AMIR FUAZ HAD not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dispatched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only alternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 223 The best of the young falcons is called *zên an-nâder*; the second best, *laziz an-nâder*; the third best, *kaṭ'ijje*; and the one which is of no use for anything is *tibe'*. The male provides food for both the female and the young. It brings home *ḥubâri* (bustards) and hares. If the young one falls out of the nest, only the male looks after it. If the male perishes, the female is glad if she can supply her young and herself with jerboas and mice, which are not particularly good for the young. When the young falcons are able to feed themselves is the most favorable time to take them out. A dealer in falcons gives them food until they are fully developed, whereupon he sells them to the Bedouins.

FIG. 2—Hunting falcons.

223 The catching of full-grown falcons involves less trouble. The falcon hunter, *ṭarrâḥ*, seeks out a suitable spot among the rocks, prepares a hiding place there, places two or three stones in front of it, fastens a small net between them, shakes clay over it, and connects it to his hiding place with a string. To a thin cord he then ties a raven, a handful of feathers, and a pigeon. By means of a slender thread he fastens the raven to a large stone between the hiding place and the net and gives it water and food; he himself keeps in his hiding place with the pigeon, and waits until the cry of the raven shows that the falcon is circling above it. He then cautiously pulls the raven in, so that in its place there remain the feathers tied to the same cord, while the pigeon sits down by the net. If the falcon flings itself upon the pigeon, the hunter releases the net by means of the string, catches the falcon, and immediately sews up its eyelids, *jekaṭṭeb aṭ-ṭejr*. After three or four days the falcon has become a little tame, *jeṣôdef*, and the stitches may be undone. The falcon [435] hunter sells untrained falcons for eight to twenty *mejidijjât* ($7.20-$18) each.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER IV

THE TENT AND ITS FURNISHINGS

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT

The tent is made of pieces of coarse black cloth known as *šuḳḳa* (*pl.*, *šḳuḳ*). The *šuḳḳa* is usually 60 to 70 centimeters broad and 15 to 60 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 to 45.6 meters) long. The tent cloth is woven either of pure black goat's hair—both the heavy variety, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, and the light, *nôl*, being used—or else of cotton, with which only a small amount of goat's hair is blended, this being called *kumbok*. The weaving of tent material is carried on by many inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the Rwala buy it from itinerant traders, Rḥejbâwijjât or Kbejsât, or from those who make it. An ordinary tent with one main pole, which is about twelve meters long and nearly four meters broad, requires at least eight *šḳaḳ*, each 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) in length. If they are of pure goat's hair, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, 1 *šuḳḳa* costs 8 *meǧîdijjât* ($7.20); if they are of *kumbok*, a *šuḳḳa* costs 3 *meǧîdijjât* ($2.70); a *šuḳḳa* of *nôl* costs 5 *meǧîdijjât* ($4.50). The back wall, *rwâḳ*, of such a tent costs 3 *meǧîdijjât*; the lower part, *sefle*, of it, 1 *meǧîdijje* (90 cents); 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) of a narrow strip of goat's hair for strengthening the tent material, *ṭarâjež*, costs 2 *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80); two poles cost 9 piasters (40½ cents); and then there are the ropes, sold by weight: 1 *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) for 13 piasters (58½ cents). Thus the smallest tent made of heavy goat's hair costs at least 33 *meǧîdijjât* ($ 29.70). Every four years, or five years at the most, a new tent has to be set up.

When a man has bought the tent material, he hands it over to the women, who sew the tent under the supervision of an experienced old woman. The old woman gives the following directions: "Draw the separate pieces, *šḳaḳ*, close together, *ṣaffenhen*; sew them with coarse threads of goat's hair, *ḫajjeṭenhen*; in the middle sew on the *ḳoṭb* [a small round board measuring about ten centimeters in diameter and having in the middle a circular opening cut out, through which the top

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 to powder, or strung on long threads, or scooped by hand
222 into leather bags. The locusts taste like the tails of crayfish.
251 They are eaten either without any preparation, *neǧǧân*, or food is prepared from them as from wheat.

In addition to bread, *'eǐš*, and locusts the Rwala eat the
262 following:

252 *'aṣîde*, a gruel made of milk and some flour,

beṣîle, a paste made from dates and flour,

basîse, a thin paste for young children, made of grape honey (*debs*) and wheat flour,

madrûse, a thin paste made of dates, boiled wheat, and butter,

maṭbûḫa, dates boiled in butter,

ḫmeǰ'a, bread boiled in milk and covered with camel's suet.

Burrul, husked wheat, and *ruzz*, rice, are very seldom found with the common Rwala.

317 The Rwala buy salt in the settlements of the Sirḥân depression. It is obtained in especially large quantities in the environs of Čâf and Eṭra. The settlers run the salt water into shallow pools, collect, *jezabberîn*, the salt left after evaporation into baskets made of palm fibers, *zebîl*, and shake it out in heaps, *ḫawâṣel*. They measure it like corn and sell
● [435] it. A single camel load (about 150 kilograms) costs a quarter or half a *meǰidijje*, according to quality, in addition to the tax for the chief. The best varieties of salt are those called *'aǐǐ* and *eṭrâwi*. Varieties of an inferior quality are known as *sabḫâwi*, which is obtained from the dried-up swamps, and *ṯḥejni*, or ground rock salt, of which there is an abundance in several regions.

271 For the preparation of food women require water, which they fetch themselves if a well is near, but which is brought by the herdsmen from wells at a great distance. Water is never wasted, and the Rwala look after it carefully, especially when they are on the march. On war expeditions or during raids the commander sees that each one obtains an equal amount of water. At sunset he picks up a pebble, places it in a wooden *ǰedaḥ*, and pours water on it until it is immersed. This is each man's share, *meḳṣûd az-zelema*. If hard pressed the Rwala kill the fattest camel, cut out the paunch, *čarš*, place it on a cloak, and squeeze the liquid from it into a leather bag, allowing it to cool and settle. They either drink it or, if it is too thick, they suck it into their throats through

Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala add to the last verse: 539x 276

Jistâḥel aṭ-tumbâk miṭl eben ḥaḍḍâl
alli jaṣurreḥ bimṭâni redîneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Ḥaḍḍâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Ḥaḍḍâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḥḥar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧwâd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *ḥrîm*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwe'*, of a dagger, *ḥibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *naḍâb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṭ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *raṣâṣ*, and caps, *ḫubṭân*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḥorn aṣ-ṣaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḥaṭṭa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks. 224 463 293 411

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *ap-pum'*, *aṣ-ṣîḥâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the 713 435

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$40.50) and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *tuǧǧârijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧidijjât* ($25.20-$29). The *šêhâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini; the *umm sunḳi* kind of *šêhâni* could be bought for 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54), the *umm ḳufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Bedouins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the rifles fitted with breechblocks, *ummu-ṣ-ṣba'*, are less sought after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations, *tuǧǧâri*, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18) less. All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt. During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans numbered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead, gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and manufacture cartridges.

From time to time both the sons and negroes of the chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *nîšân*, generally is a black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramje* (pl., *rami*) signifies a report, a shot. *"Bârûdi 'araft ramîha"* means "I know the reports of my rifle; *"w-allâh ramîha zên,"* "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with a flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Ma' binduḳen laḥẓât ǧammîha jaṣebni
laha 'ala ḫaṭwa-l-muǧannaḥ marâmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi, rbâ'i, ḫmâsi, stâti* — the last being of the largest caliber. *Šêḫâne*, or *šêḫân*, are old rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḫamra*. *Binduḳijje* are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel or

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

iron blade sharpened on both edges and a wooden shaft, *'ûd*. The blade is either broad, in which case it is called *šalfa*, or narrow, *ḥarba*. The *šalfa* either is brought from Persia, *'aǧamijje*, in which case it costs 2 or 3 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$2.70), or is a common one made by a blacksmith from iron for half a *meǧidijje* (45 cents). The *ḥarba*, manufactured chiefly in the town of ad-Dejr on the right bank of the Euphrates, is also called *'arejnijje* and sells for a quarter to a half *meǧidijje* (22½–45 cents). The sharpened edge of the *šalfa* or *ḥarba* is called *'asla*; the lower end driven into the wooden shaft, *ǧibb*. For the shaft, *'ûd*, either a thin but strong piece of wood, *'erč*, or a thick piece, *šâčri*, is used; shafts are also made from a hollow bamboo-reed, *ḳṣuba*, costing generally 1 *meǧidijje* (90 cents). The lower end of the shaft is provided with an iron point, *ḳunṭâr*, so that the spear can be stuck in the ground. Sometimes the spear is ornamented with ostrich feathers or thin chains fastened to the *ǧibb*.

The sword, *nemeša*, is either a *morrebi*, with three long grooves, costing 2-40 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$36); a *šentijân*, very flexible, costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$9); or a *ḥsênijje*, with a single long groove, also costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât*.

The sabers, *sejf*, are as follows: *dâbân*, 5-10 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$9); *hendi*, made of black steel, 40-150 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$135); *'aǧami*, of gray steel, 5-40 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$36); or the *ǧawhar*, made of cast steel from Ḥorâsân, 150 *meǧidijjât* ($135). The grip, *ḳuma'*, of the sword or saber often extends up to the *šubbâk* guard, where the blade begins, and is richly ornamented with gold and silver. The scabbard, *ǧefir*, is provided with two metal rings, *ḥwâmel*, to which the cord used in hanging up the sword or saber is fastened.

The dagger is either short and narrow, *šibrijje*, or broad and long, *ḳdejmi*, or broad and short, *ǧanǧar*. It costs as much as 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70), but if the handle is ornamented with gold chains and precious stones it may cost 50 *meǧidijjât* ($45) and even more.

Spears are carried mainly by the poorer Bedouins, the sword and saber only by the more important men; but every one is in possession of firearms, be it a revolver or a rifle.

The revolver, *reššâš*, is either the old heavy kind, *harmâr*, which was formerly used by the Montenegrins and is sold for 12 to 14 *meǧidijjât* ($10.80-$12.60), or the Mauser, either of the *ebnstatin* or *eubifei* variety. The original *ebnstatin*, from

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *meǧidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-15
435 *meǧidijjât* ($3.60-$18.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ǒnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freǧi from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aẓi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Sḳûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD

426 time when camel markets are held, namely in July or August,
452 when the Bedouins camping in the tilled country sell their camels, *waḳt al-mowsem*. Every debtor brings his bondsman, who declares in the presence of the creditor that so much is owed and that the principal together with the interest, *marbaḥ*, will be paid at a certain stated date. Should the Kubejsi in the meantime die, his host, *mu'azzeb*, collects the amounts due to him and hands them over to his heirs. Debts contracted with the Kubejsât, the Bedouins pay regularly enough, mainly because they fear that otherwise no merchants would come to them.

443 When the Rwala camp in a settled region, some of the big merchants send messengers to the prince to inquire whether he will allow them to come to his camp with goods to sell. If the messengers receive the prince's assurance that he will take them under his protection, *bwağh aš-šejḫ*, the wholesaler loses no time in dispatching his employees to the camp, and before long from fifty to seventy white tents, *ḫijâm*, will be seen in the prince's camp. In these everything is sold that the Bedouin's heart desires. For each of these tents one new pack saddle, *ḥedâğe*, and one *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) of green coffee are delivered to the prince as his due. Their stay in the camp terminates about the middle of August, for at the end of that month the Rwala usually return to the inner desert.

437 In the settled territory many merchants take camels in
● 435 exchange for their wares, thus enabling the Bedouins to provide themselves with everything they need or desire. The sons of the desert are like children in this respect, wanting all they see or whatever takes their fancy and little caring whether they really need it or not. They buy all sorts of expensive things, often toys, which they soon spoil and then simply throw away as useless. As long as they have camels, or at least the money received for them, they pay cash; when this is gone, they either borrow money or buy on credit without worrying when or if ever the debt will be paid. It is a common saying in the desert: "Debt eats away the profit of him who borrows, *ad-dên ḳaṭṭâ' rizż al-mežbel.*"

POEMS RELATING TO ḲUṢARA' AND KUBEJSÂT

539 There are frequent references to both the stranger *ḳaṣir* and the merchant in Bedouin poems.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

from Arabia, they act as agents for the importing of coffee, spices, and rice, not only by ship or railroad but also by pack camels, and they supply the Bedouins with arms. There is no large settlement in inner Arabia where an agent of Eben Bassâm does not reside. 442

The Âl Sâlem family also is now engaged almost exclusively in the buying and selling of camels. These merchants hail from ad-Der'ijje but live at Bagdad and Damascus. Members of this family once helped the Wahhâbite princes of the Eben Sa'ûd family with money, and even now they have many friends in Neǧd.

The third firm engaged in trading in camels — also in clothing — is the Âl 'Îsa family. They reside at Damascus and trade chiefly with the 'Aneze and Ḥwêṭât tribes.

The wholesale dealers hardly ever visit inner Arabia. They have their middlemen to whom they furnish money for dealings on their behalf. All these middlemen or agents are natives of al-Ḳaṣîm and are called 'Aḳejl, whether they belong to the tribe of that name or not. An 'Aḳejli agent gets money from the wholesale dealer to buy camels from a certain tribe. He drives the animals which he has bought to Egypt or al-Baṣra or al-Kwejt where he sells them, dividing the net profit with the wholesale dealer in such a way that the latter gets two-thirds or half of it. If the agreement was that the wholesale dealer was to get two-thirds, he must stand the entire loss that may result from the transaction; in the other case the loss is shared equally. It should be said in explanation of this that the demand for camels is not always the same. Often prices in Egypt and al-Baṣra rise suddenly; the Bedouins learn this and ask more too; the middleman or speculator, as he might be called, has to buy dear, but when he brings the camels to the market the price may have fallen and he must sell at a loss. 442 446 [435 455]

Such an 'Aḳejli agent hires assistants, usually his countrymen from al-Ḳaṣîm, provides himself with light white tents, coffee, rice, and often also arms both for sale and exchange, and rides with letters of recommendation to the prince or chief of the tribe from which he means to buy. Having delivered the letters and gifts sent to those dignitaries by the wholesale dealer, he puts up his tents either in the prince's camp or, if permitted, in the camp of some chief. The chief of the camp where the trader has put up his tents is also his host, 442 437

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231

In 1909 the price of a

maḫlûl	was 10 to 12	*meǧidijjât*	($ 9.00– 10.80)	435
mafrûd	15 „ 20	„	($13.50– 18.00)	
ḥežže	18 „ 28	„	($16.20– 25.20)	
ǧed'	30 „ 40	„	($27.00– 36.00)	
ṭeni	40 „ 60	„	($36.00– 54.00)	
rub'	60 „ 80	„	($54.00– 72.00)	
good riding camel	85 „200	„	($76.50–180.00).	

The prices fluctuate according to supply and demand; the price of fat old she-camels varies in accordance with the price of cotton in Egypt. If the *fellâḥîn* in that country have had a profitable year, they do not stint themselves in camel meat.

For camel's hair the Bedouins get but little. The largest quantity of hair and the longest is given by male camels up to their seventh, and by she-camels to their ninth, year. The older the animal the thinner its hair, the old ones being almost entirely bald on the shanks, belly, and both sides of the neck. Toward the end of April and in May camel's hair is gathered by girls, *al-bel ṭarr wabarha*, who make it into saddle bags, blankets, and sacks. 237

The camel is ridden by the Bedouin on lengthy marches. Indeed, such marches are always made on camels, never on horses. The she-camel is more enduring than the male, persisting longer without abundant pasture or water and not weakening even in the rutting time, whereas the males in the month of February are exhausted to such a degree that they cannot rise from the ground. 492

The most highly valued are those riding she-camels which can eat their fill while on the march without stopping or deviating from their course. An animal of this kind is called *ḥanîč*.

Hedijje is the term applied to a she-camel which grazes only near her resting rider and will not go far enough to lose sight of him.

A female riding camel who is loath to part from her young or herd moans grievously, *taḥenn 'an welef*, for several days and is called *mîlâf*. But often the murmuring becomes a habit lasting for months. Day after day, and often at night as well, the rolling murmur is heard at regular intervals. It will not cease unless the animal's mouth is tied with a cord, but even then a subdued sound is heard. No sooner is the 231

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

only when racing or in the attack, *ṛâra*. To stop his animal the rider cries: *"Hamš ḥaj;"* to start it: *"Ġhara ġharab."* 492

If I call a person, I say of myself:						*aṣiḥ.*
„	„	a mare	„	„	„	*aṭ'i.*
„	„	camels	„	„	„	*ešâje'.*
„	„	a donkey	„	„	„	*eḳarreš.*
„	„	a dog	„	„	„	*ešli.*
„	„	sheep	„	„	„	*eṭhi.*
„	„	a falcon	„	„	„	*aḍ'i.*

As mares are hardly ever sold, they have no fixed price. If a man wishes to buy a certain mare, he must pay whatever the owner asks, and the latter generally wants more than the buyer offers. It is said in the desert that the price of a thing is fixed by him who wants it, *aṣ-siḍ'a tetbaʿ ar-râṛeb.* The Bedouins pay each other as much as ten camels for a yearling mare; for a three-, four- or five-year-old mare they offer from fifteen to thirty thoroughbred riding camels. An adult stud horse is usually cheaper than a yearling mare. 435

LOSS OF HORSES

When a Rwejli's mare has been captured by the enemy and then recaptured by another Rwejli, the latter is obliged to return it to his fellow tribesman but must be paid a she-camel as compensation. A colt of the same mare captured by a Rwejli must also be given back to the owner, six camels being the reward in this case. Such a colt is known as *ṛî'*. The question then asked is: "Didst thou get thy [captured] mare or her colt? *ǧâtak faraṣk wallâ-l-ṛî'*." 425

On learning who has recovered the colt of his captured mare, her owner goes to him, saying: "The daughter of my mare is with thee, I demand her from thee, *ana ǧâri'ha 'alejk.*"

"That is not true, this is not the daughter of thy mare. I myself paid so-and-so many she-camels for her;" to which the owner replies:

"Good, now keep to the figure thou sayest thou hast paid, *oḳ'od li bimâ siḳt*, till I bring my witnesses."

"I will do so," agrees the other, and those present declare:

"We are thy witnesses that he will keep to such and such a figure and that he will neither sell nor take away the colt."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *ḥenna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛūn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsane*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [677]

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zarârît*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rḳaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

k: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XI

Days of Ease

133 OUR NEXT OBJECTIVE lay before us—the dark sandstone walls of the Jabal Tawil—"the long-drawn-out Mountain." From its foot it is only an eight-hours' ride by camel to the oasis of Jauf at the southern end of the Wadi Sirhan. We shaped our course towards the middle of the slope, passing over steep spurs hemmed in by black rocks. Among the deep clefts of the ancient range Faris knew how to pick out the one that gives access to the Mustanda Pass, over which we could de-
ooo scend into the plain beyond. There we found a small Ruala camp, where we were received with open arms, and where we decided to linger for a whole week, to rest and pasture our *dhaluls*.

• [437] It was in this week that Faris secured the silver anklerings that he had promised to his betrothed. He rode to Jauf and there bartered one of his young ostriches for the trinkets.

For me it was a memorable week of meditation and reflection, with no lack of new impressions. With Mnahi I roamed the fastnesses of the Tawil; I, just for the mere enjoyment of being there; he, on the lookout for game. He shot a number of ibex, among them some magnificent specimens. But despite the presence of these wild goats, the range is oppressively desolate, its predominant tint dark, even blackish, and the outcrop of red and

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Šenne is the piece of an old, thoroughly dried hide which is stretched over the round hole of the violin-like rebec. It forms the sounding space and vibrates whenever the bow is drawn across the strings. *Rîḥa* means, properly, a vile and *benna* a pleasant odor. *Ǧallâb* is a merchant who does not sell for money but furnishes the women with perfumes and ornaments, taking from them camel's hair, traveling bags, *mezâwed*, fancy saddle bands, *sefâjef*, etc., in exchange.

Jâ hêh jâ râčeb al-ʿaṭli
sallem w-rudd as-salâmâti
sallem ʿala-lli nwa žatli
ḳul lâ lâ ḥajjen w-lâ mâti.

Hail to thee, who ridest a bony camel,
Salute and the salutes return!
Greet him who has resolved to destroy me,
And say I neither live nor am dead.

ʿAṭli (or *ʿaṭel*) is a bony camel. *Rudd as-salâmâti*, return the salutes—the visitor first salutes all present and is in turn saluted by each of them separately; he again answers every salute. To the ditty just cited the Rwala add the following:

w-ṯnejwâteh teḳel šatli
w-nhejdeh bêẓ al-ḥamâmâti.

Her teeth are like grains of rice
And her breasts round as the eggs of a pigeon.

Judged by its content this verse does not belong to the ditty; it may be a fragment of another with a similar rhyme.

Šatli is the same as *ḥabb ar-ruzz* or *ḥabb at-tummen*, grains of rice or of *tummen*.

Al-waǧd waǧdi ʿala dbajje
waǧd al-abkâr al-maʿâṭîši
dâǧen w-lâǧen ʿala-ṭ-ṭajje
w-al-maʾ baʿîden w-lâ nîši
jâ ḳrûnaha jâten al-mijje
miṯl as-sefâjef ʿala-l-ǧîši
jâ nhûdaha bêẓ ḳudrijje
taẓfi ʿalejh al-ʿačârîši.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD

426 452 time when camel markets are held, namely in July or August, when the Bedouins camping in the tilled country sell their camels, *wakt al-mowsem*. Every debtor brings his bondsman, who declares in the presence of the creditor that so much is owed and that the principal together with the interest, *marbaḥ*, will be paid at a certain stated date. Should the Kubejsi in the meantime die, his host, *mu'azzeb*, collects the amounts due to him and hands them over to his heirs. Debts contracted with the Kubejsât, the Bedouins pay regularly enough, mainly because they fear that otherwise no merchants would come to them.

443 When the Rwala camp in a settled region, some of the big merchants send messengers to the prince to inquire whether he will allow them to come to his camp with goods to sell. If the messengers receive the prince's assurance that he will take them under his protection, *bwağh aš-šejḫ*, the wholesaler loses no time in dispatching his employees to the camp, and before long from fifty to seventy white tents, *ḫijâm*, will be seen in the prince's camp. In these everything is sold that the Bedouin's heart desires. For each of these tents one new pack saddle *ḥedâğe*, and one *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) of green coffee are delivered to the prince as his due. Their stay in the camp terminates about the middle of August, for at the end of that month the Rwala usually return to the inner desert.

437 435 In the settled territory many merchants take camels in exchange for their wares, thus enabling the Bedouins to provide themselves with everything they need or desire. The sons of the desert are like children in this respect, wanting all they see or whatever takes their fancy and little caring whether they really need it or not. They buy all sorts of expensive things, often toys, which they soon spoil and then simply throw away as useless. As long as they have camels, or at least the money received for them, they pay cash; when this is gone, they either borrow money or buy on credit without worrying when or if ever the debt will be paid. It is a common saying in the desert: "Debt eats away the profit of him who borrows, *ad-dên ḳaṭṭâ' rizž al-mežbel*."

POEMS RELATING TO ḲUṢARA' AND KUBEJSÂT

539* There are frequent references to both the stranger *ḳaṣi* and the merchant in Bedouin poems.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

from Arabia, they act as agents for the importing of coffee, spices, and rice, not only by ship or railroad but also by pack camels, and they supply the Bedouins with arms. There is no large settlement in inner Arabia where an agent of Eben Bassâm does not reside. 442

The Âl Sâlem family also is now engaged almost exclusively in the buying and selling of camels. These merchants hail from ad-Der'ijje but live at Bagdad and Damascus. Members of this family once helped the Wahhâbite princes of the Eben Sa'ûd family with money, and even now they have many friends in Negd.

The third firm engaged in trading in camels — also in clothing — is the Âl 'Îsa family. They reside at Damascus and trade chiefly with the 'Aneze and Ḥwêṭât tribes.

The wholesale dealers hardly ever visit inner Arabia. They have their middlemen to whom they furnish money for dealings on their behalf. All these middlemen or agents are natives of al-Ḳaṣîm and are called 'Aḳejl, whether they belong to the tribe of that name or not. An 'Aḳejli agent gets money from the wholesale dealer to buy camels from a certain tribe. He drives the animals which he has bought to Egypt or al-Baṣra or al-Kwejt where he sells them, dividing the net profit with the wholesale dealer in such a way that the latter gets two-thirds or half of it. If the agreement was that the wholesale dealer was to get two-thirds, he must stand the entire loss that may result from the transaction; in the other case the loss is shared equally. It should be said in explanation of this that the demand for camels is not always the same. Often prices in Egypt and al-Baṣra rise suddenly; the Bedouins learn this and ask more too; the middleman or speculator, as he might be called, has to buy dear, but when he brings the camels to the market the price may have fallen and he must sell at a loss. 442 446 [435 455]

Such an 'Aḳejli agent hires assistants, usually his countrymen from al-Ḳaṣîm, provides himself with light white tents, coffee, rice, and often also arms both for sale and exchange, and rides with letters of recommendation to the prince or chief of the tribe from which he means to buy. Having delivered the letters and gifts sent to those dignitaries by the wholesale dealer, he puts up his tents either in the prince's camp or, if permitted, in the camp of some chief. The chief of the camp where the trader has put up his tents is also his host, 442 437

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

442 437 *mu'azzeb*, in so far as he protects him as his guest but does not board him. The Bedouins now bring their camels to his white tents, *ḫijâm*, and as a rule sell them for cash. Only when the agent has brought arms and ammunition from al-Kwejt or al-'Ažêr for sale, will they exchange their animals for these articles. On the sale of every camel the prince or the chief gets one-half or one *meǧîdijje* ($0.45 or 0.90). The purchased animal is then branded with the 'Aḳejli mark and left to graze in the herd with the others. For his herdsmen the 'Aḳejli hires [484] youths from the tribe where he is buying at the time. Many herdsmen accompany the agent's herds as far as Egypt and on their return tell of the wonderful things they have seen or learned on their trip. If the 'Aḳejli buys camels in the inner desert, he remains with the purchased herds for many weeks, or even months, with the same tribe, waiting until it moves to the settled territory, generally toward the end of June. If he buys from tribes who never leave the inner desert he drives the herds he has bought from tribe to tribe, until he comes to some clan of a tribe which leaves as a rule in May or June for the tilled territory in order to supply itself there for its sojourn in the desert. On reaching the border of the desert, the 'Aḳejli proceeds to the nearest large town where camel markets are held. If he can sell his animals there advantageously, he will do so and return to the tribe from which he came and buy camels again; but should he think that he could do better in Egypt, he will buy everything he can from other speculators whom he happens to find in the town and then journey on to Egypt.

442 676 The herds belonging to the 'Aḳejl may be captured by strange raiders, just as the herds of members of the tribe with whom he happens to be migrating, and for that reason the 'Aḳejl have in every large clan their brother, *aḫ*, to whom they pay, *jeḫîḥ*, from four to five Turkish pounds ($18 to 22.50), one good riding camel, and two or three good cloaks annually. This brother is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan. Among the Rwala and the Weld 'Ali the 'Aḳejl have brothers in the following kins: Eben Mašhûr, Eben Der'ân, Eben Ǧandal, Eben Mǧejd, Eben Me'ǧel, and Eben Ḥamad al-Wlêd'i or al-Wahbi (of the Weld 'Ali, also called the Beni Wahab). If the Rwala bring home from one of their raids camels bearing the 'Aḳejl brand and there is no 'Aḳejli camping with them, the *aḫ* drives these

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his
721 own tribe, his eldest son, Nauaf, was charged with leading the Ruala against their external enemies. Nuri was the father of a large family and was in fact credited with eighty-two children, of whom thirty-seven were sons, nearly all of whom died violent deaths.

A few days after this first meeting with Nuri Sha'lan, I paid a visit to Nauaf, whose tents were pitched a day's ride away, by the rain-water pools of Rukuban, one hundred and twenty odd miles east of Damascus.

Nauaf differed greatly from his father. He lacked the old *Sheykh's* strong personality. Nor had he the talent
101 to organize for warfare a tribe so vast as the Ruala, with
162 its seven thousand tents, thirty-five thousand souls, and over three hundred thousand camels.

721 He had just mustered another small camel-troop to strengthen his forces operating against Jauf, the oasis at the southeastern end of the wide, fertile depression of the Wadi Sirhan. They had already taken a few lesser fortified outposts. But these successes had brought Nauaf little credit: neither from his own tribesmen nor from the subjugated settlers could he win the respect which would have consolidated his position. Moreover,
●[438] this attack on Jauf was a reversal of tribal policy. From of old the Ruala had peacefully traded with that oasis, bartering their camels, wool, cheese, and butter for dates, barley, salt, coffee, tent fittings, camel-saddles and textiles. Suddenly, and quite against the old *Sheykh's* intentions, Nauaf conceived the scheme of monopolizing that trade for himself and occupying the oasis as a strategic stronghold from which to dominate Northern Arabia and the caravan routes to Nejd.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

233 stray beast to come back to its place. Often the lost she-camel joins another herd, goes with it to the camp, moans when she does not hear the familiar voice of the herdsman, and moves towards him as soon as his ditty catches her ear. In case the stray animal is not in the camp, the owner and his friends mount their horses and ride out the same evening to hunt for it. If it is not found, they return the next day before noon, saddle their female riding camels, and the search begins anew. During their absence a member of the owner's kin rides up and down the camp every evening shouting: "Who has seen such and such a she-camel?" If someone happens to have seen her, the usual answer is: "O thou who hast lost a she-camel, know that she is at So-and-So's." No one would ever keep such knowledge to himself. A stray or lost she-camel is called *ḏâheba*, the man who has lost her, *meḏheb*.

[789] Although sucking, young camels are constantly threatened with danger from many beasts of prey, mainly wolves, the herdsman cannot always watch them, especially in a rocky territory or sandy desert, full of drifts and pits. However, in order to preserve them he draws a circle around them with his staff or a sharp stone and says: "The circle of Solomon, son of David, is between us and thee [wild beast]! If thou breakest it, Allâh will break thee! *ḥoṭṭa slejmân eben dâûd bênana w-bênak w-en ḳaṭa'taha ḳaṭa'ak allâh.*" This circle is also called *leǧǧâm*.

VALUE AND USES OF CAMELS

231 Without camels the Bedouins could not live in the desert.
511 The she-camels give them milk all the year round; this forms
•438 the principal, and in many families the only, food for months. With the money received from the sale of camels they buy clothes, arms, and grain for both themselves and their horses. The camels they usually sell to the *felláḥîn* or to the merchants who import in caravans the various goods needed in the towns and settlements situated far from the sea or from railways; some camels are also sold for meat in Egypt and Irak. The *felláḥîn* use the camels in plowing, hauling, and threshing, for raising water, and for bringing their various products to the market. Fat she-camels more than twenty years old are bought for their flesh by the ʿAḳejl.

2:Mûsil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

272 539* before, had fallen in love with a woman of extraordinary beauty, but for the last year he had been tortured by doubts as to her faithfulness. In order not to lose her, he would gladly forgive much, but again and again in the market places he has heard insinuations which have exasperated him anew, filling him with melancholy. During a moment of such mental agony, he ordered strong black coffee to be prepared for him in his house in the 'Anejza market place and then dictated the poem to his clerk.

Verse 1. *Bâḥ al-'aza* (or *enkašef al-'aza*) means "melancholy has taken hold of me; grief is seen on the countenance too." [212] *Adîb* in the poetical language of the district of al-Ḳaṣîm, to which 'Anejza belongs, is a man who can both read and write. [439] *Šâmi* is paper brought from Damascus. The commercial relations of 'Anejza with Syria in general and with Damascus in particular always have been much brisker than with Irak and Bagdad. 'Anejza, it should be known, is the center of the 'Aḳejl camel traders, who buy up camels all over Arabia, drive them through Syria to Egypt, sell them there, and on their return stop at Damascus, where they buy articles needed in inner Arabia and bring them home. 2. *Dwât al-ḥeber* [212] signifies drugs which mixed together and with water give ink; also an inkstand. In the towns of inner Arabia no fluid ink is sold. The inkstand is a small vessel made of either brass or tin and closed with a well fitting lid, into which a small piece of cotton-wool or camel's hair is placed and steeped in the prepared ink until soaked through. The clerk sits on his heels, holds the paper with his left hand, and writes with his right, dipping his pen in the inkstand almost constantly. His pens he cuts himself. Buying a few long reeds or sedges, he cuts off, when needed, a piece about ten to fifteen centimeters in length, shapes it with a sharp knife, *mûs*, into a pen, splits it, and tries it on his thumb nail, and the writing instrument, *sâḳ*, is ready. *Šaḍra* is also pronounced *šaṭra*, corresponding to *šafra*. 3. *Ḳufl maftûḳ*. [414] The door lock in inner Arabia is more like a bolt than a lock. It is usually made of wood and both barred and unbarred with a wooden key. The iron lock and iron key are found only in mercantile booths and storehouses. *Maftûḳ*, used when speaking of locks as well as bolts — and also of the throat — means, properly, "forced backwards or forwards." 4. *Dabwa'* are young locusts whose wings are just growing. They are so numerous at times

Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala add to the last verse: 539x 276

Jistâhel at-tumbâk miṯl ebm ḥaḏḏâl
alli jaṣurrah bimṭâni redûneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Haḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḫḫar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧnâd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *brîm*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧmû'*, of a dagger, *šibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *naḍb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṣ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *ruṣâṣ*, and caps, *ḫubṣûn*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḫarn aṣ-ṣaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḫawṣa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks. 224 463 293 411

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *ap-pam'*, *aš-šâhâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *pam'*, an old English military gun, was the most 713 435 439

713 popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$4
and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *tu*
435 *rijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧid*
V39 ($25.20-$29). The *šišâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Mar
the *umm sunki* kind of *šišâni* could be bought for 50-60 *m*
dijjât ($45-$54), the *umm ḳufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧid*
($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the
douins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and
rifles fitted with breechblocks, *umunu-ṣ-ṣba'*, are less so
after than those without. The original Mausers, especially
Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitati
tuǧǧâri, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18)
All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-K
During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by
trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans
bered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles
many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much
401 gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every trib
463 expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns
manufacture cartridges.

702 From time to time both the sons and negroes of
chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *nišân*, generally
black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an
piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by
713 chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *R*
(pl. *rami*) signifies a report, a shot. "*Bârûdi 'araft ram*
means "I know the reports of my rifle; *'w-allâh ra*
sêa," "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle wi
flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Ma' binduḳen lafṣât fammiha jsebni
laho 'ala ḫafṣa-l-muǧammaḥ marâmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach m
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi*, *rbâ'i*, *ḫmâsi*, *stâti* —
last being of the largest caliber. *Šišḫâse*, or *šišḫâs*, a
rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the insi
the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḳa*
Binduḳijje are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

411 Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber,
713 dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a sh

539 ments of the oasis of al-Ǧowf of Eben 'Ali, Prince of Ḥâjel. He was not comfortable there. Although al-Ǧowf is protected against both the north and west winds, Muḥammad complained of the severe cold and wished to return to Ḥâjel. He meant to make the trip on his old but tried she-camel; in three days he would reach Ǧubba, a settlement lying about 230 kilometers south-southeast on the road to Ḥâjel; he would leave Ǧubba after midnight and on the fourth day reach Ḥâjel about supper time. Thus he meant to cover the distance of 320 kilometers in four days and half a night. It should be born in mind that this route extended for about 280 kilometers over sand drifts and that therefore he had to sleep out two nights.

[513] Verse 1. *Ǧarhadij*, destroyer, is said of sleep because it tends to weaken a man and to make him feel wretched. 4. *Šbáṭ* corresponds to our February. A north wind makes not only the inhabitants of al-Ǧowf but also those of Ḥâjel shiver with cold, as I myself have experienced. Muḥammad exaggerates in order to give more than due praise to Ḥâjel. 5. *Al-munâdi*, the crier, the commander, was the prince of Ḥâjel, to whom the settlements of al-Ǧowf belonged. The prince [233] could summon his governor to Ḥâjel. 6. In the neighborhood of al-Ǧowf there is no camel pasture. What grass and perennials grow there are cut by the settlers and dried for hay that they may have fodder for their own cattle and for the animals of their guests and also to sell to the trade caravans. It is necessary to drive the camels fifteen kilometers out before even a sparse pasturage is found. Any of the settlers who possesses a good she-camel places it under the care of a reliable Bedouin camping with his clan in the district of al-Ǧowf and sends for it a few days before he desires to depart. Muḥammad's she-camel was grazing with the herd of the Âl Wejlân Bedouins. A spirited, well-rested she-camel often stretches her neck backwards, catches the rider's dress with her lips, and touches him with her head. 7. From 'Omân •439 thoroughbred camels are imported. Every tribe, every clan 231 brands its camels with marks commonly called *wasm*. Each 422 brand again has a name of its own. The brand of Muḥammad's camel is called *merzel*, owing to its resemblance to a spindle. 8 means that the camel's neck is very long. 9. When kneeling, 539 the she-camel's front knees are extended far forward; her shoulders are drawn back and nearly reach the breastbone,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

567 murder they avenge not only among themselves, but on the
627 free Bedouins as well. The master who kills his slave exposes himself to the vengeance of the latter's kin and must pay the blood price. Should he refuse, the avengers place themselves under the protection of a more powerful slave, generally the head slave of a chief, who soon compels the Bedouins to assist him in humbling the guilty person. A slave can pursue or protect, *leh waǧh je'addi jesaddi*, in the same manner as his master. Whoever hurts his protégé gains the enmity not only of the slave but of his whole kin, and of the slave's master as well, who must support the slave in order to have peace in the tent and his usual comforts.

567 Yet, no matter how powerful, a slave can never marry the
582 daughter of even the poorest Bedouin; and, on the other hand, the least of the herdsmen would not think of marrying a slave's daughter. For even the poorest Bedouin is independent, *ḥorr*, while the slave remains subject, *'abd*, for ever. Not even the members of the most despised tribes, like the Ṣlejb, Šarârât, Htejm, etc., would marry a slave. In a certain manner they all are *ḥorr*, despite the low esteem in which they are held, and a slave remains *'abd*, no matter what power he wields.
326 Only the sons and daughters of white blacksmiths, *ṣunnâ'*,
567 enter into blood relations with slaves. If a black slave marries a white girl, the daughter of a *ṣâne'*, and their son also marries a daughter of a *ṣâne'* again, the third and fourth generations are quite white, and yet they do not become free, *ḥorr*, but always remain slaves, *'abîd*. In the settlements — especially in the cultivated regions — the origin of such whites is sometimes forgotten, but never among the Bedouins of the desert.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND THEIR AGENTS, THE 'AḲEJL

●442 As the Rwala are occupied almost exclusively in camel breeding, it is only in exchange for camels that they can get grain, clothing, arms, saddles, and other necessities of life. The camels they sell either in the inner desert or in the settled territory, nearly always to the same wholesale merchants who live in the larger towns on the borders of Arabia as well as in Egypt and India. The most prominent among these is the Eben Bassâm family, from the settlement of Bassâm in al-Ḳaṣîm. Its members own large business houses at al-Baṣra, Bombay, aṭ-Ṭâjef, Cairo, and Damascus. They export camels

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

from Arabia, they act as agents for the importing of coffee, spices, and rice, not only by ship or railroad but also by pack camels, and they supply the Bedouins with arms. There is no large settlement in inner Arabia where an agent of Eben Bassâm does not reside. 442

The Âl Sâlem family also is now engaged almost exclusively in the buying and selling of camels. These merchants hail from ad-Der'ijje but live at Bagdad and Damascus. Members of this family once helped the Wahhâbite princes of the Eben Sa'ûd family with money, and even now they have many friends in Neǧd.

The third firm engaged in trading in camels — also in clothing — is the Âl 'Îsa family. They reside at Damascus and trade chiefly with the 'Aneze and Ḥwêṭât tribes.

The wholesale dealers hardly ever visit inner Arabia. They have their middlemen to whom they furnish money for dealings on their behalf. All these middlemen or agents are natives of al-Kaṣîm and are called 'Aḳejl, whether they belong to the tribe of that name or not. An 'Aḳejli agent gets money from the wholesale dealer to buy camels from a certain tribe. He drives the animals which he has bought to Egypt or al-Baṣra or al-Kwejt where he sells them, dividing the net profit with the wholesale dealer in such a way that the latter gets two-thirds or half of it. If the agreement was that the wholesale dealer was to get two-thirds, he must stand the entire loss that may result from the transaction; in the other case the loss is shared equally. It should be said in explanation of this that the demand for camels is not always the same. Often prices in Egypt and al-Baṣra rise suddenly; the Bedouins learn this and ask more too; the middleman or speculator, as he might be called, has to buy dear, but when he brings the camels to the market the price may have fallen and he must sell at a loss. 442 446 [435 455]

Such an 'Aḳejli agent hires assistants, usually his countrymen from al-Kaṣîm, provides himself with light white tents, coffee, rice, and often also arms both for sale and exchange, and rides with letters of recommendation to the prince or chief of the tribe from which he means to buy. Having delivered the letters and gifts sent to those dignitaries by the wholesale dealer, he puts up his tents either in the prince's camp or, if permitted, in the camp of some chief. The chief of the camp where the trader has put up his tents is also his host, 442 437

mu'azzeb, in so far as he protects him as his guest but does not board him. The Bedouins now bring their camels to his white tents, *ḫijâm*, and as a rule sell them for cash. Only when the agent has brought arms and ammunition from al-Kwejt or al-'Ažêr for sale, will they exchange their animals for these articles. On the sale of every camel the prince or the chief gets one-half or one *meǧidijje* ($0.45 or 0.90). The purchased animal is then branded with the 'Aḳejli mark and left to graze in the herd with the others. For his herdsmen the 'Aḳejli hires youths from the tribe where he is buying at the time. Many herdsmen accompany the agent's herds as far as Egypt and on their return tell of the wonderful things they have seen or learned on their trip. If the 'Aḳejli buys camels in the inner desert, he remains with the purchased herds for many weeks, or even months, with the same tribe, waiting until it moves to the settled territory, generally toward the end of June. If he buys from tribes who never leave the inner desert he drives the herds he has bought from tribe to tribe, until he comes to some clan of a tribe which leaves as a rule in May or June for the tilled territory in order to supply itself there for its sojourn in the desert. On reaching the border of the desert, the 'Aḳejli proceeds to the nearest large town where camel markets are held. If he can sell his animals there advantageously, he will do so and return to the tribe from which he came and buy camels again; but should he think that he could do better in Egypt, he will buy everything he can from other speculators whom he happens to find in the town and then journey on to Egypt.

The herds belonging to the 'Aḳejl may be captured by strange raiders, just as the herds of members of the tribe with whom he happens to be migrating, and for that reason the 'Aḳejl have in every large clan their brother, *aḫ*, to whom they pay, *jeḫîh*, from four to five Turkish pounds ($18 to 22.50), one good riding camel, and two or three good cloaks annually. This brother is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan. Among the Rwala and the Weld 'Ali the 'Aḳejl have brothers in the following kins: Eben Mašhûr, Eben Der'ân, Eben Ġandal, Eben Mǧejd, Eben Me'ǧel, and Eben Ḥamad al-Wlêd'i or al-Wahbi (of the Weld 'Ali, also called the Beni Wahhb). If the Rwala bring home from one of their raids camels bearing the 'Aḳejl brand and there is no 'Aḳejli camping with them, the *aḫ* drives these

2:Musil 'S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

camels into his own herd and waits till some 'Aḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the 'Aḳejl even during their absence, *'ajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith. *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâ'* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-'amm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâ'*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâ'* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâ'*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâne'* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *ḥeẓẓe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER IV

THE TENT AND ITS FURNISHINGS

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TENT

The tent is made of pieces of coarse black cloth known as *šuḳḳa* (pl., *šḳaḳ*). The *šuḳḳa* is usually 60 to 70 centimeters broad and 15 to 60 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 to 45.6 meters) long. The tent cloth is woven either of pure black goat's hair — both the heavy variety, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, and the light, *nôl*, being used — or else of cotton, with which only a small amount of goat's hair is blended, this being called *kumbok*. The weaving of tent material is carried on by many inhabitants of the towns and villages, and the Rwala buy it from itinerant traders, Rḥejbâwijjât or Kbejsât, or from those who make it. An ordinary tent with one main pole, which is about twelve meters long and nearly four meters broad, requires at least eight *šḳaḳ*, each 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) in length. If they are of pure goat's hair, *šaʿar ṣâfi*, 1 *šuḳḳa* costs 8 *meǧîdijjât* ($7.20); if they are of *kumbok*, a *šuḳḳa* costs 3 *meǧîdijjât* ($2.70); a *šuḳḳa* of *nôl* costs 5 *meǧîdijjât* ($4.50). The back wall, *rwâḳ*, of such a tent costs 3 *meǧîdijjât*; the lower part, *sefle*, of it, 1 *meǧîdijje* (90 cents); 15 *ḏrâʿ* (11.4 meters) of a narrow strip of goat's hair for strengthening the tent material, *ṭarâjež*, costs 2 *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80); two poles cost 9 piasters (40½ cents); and then there are the ropes, sold by weight: 1 *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) for 13 piasters (58½ cents). Thus the smallest tent made of heavy goat's hair costs at least 33 *meǧîdijjât* ($ 29.70). Every four years, or five years at the most, a new tent has to be set up.

When a man has bought the tent material, he hands it over to the women, who sew the tent under the supervision of an experienced old woman. The old woman gives the following directions: "Draw the separate pieces, *šḳaḳ*, close together, *ṣaffenhen*; sew them with coarse threads of goat's hair, *ḥajjetenhen*; in the middle sew on the *ḳoṭb* [a small round board measuring about ten centimeters in diameter and having in the middle a circular opening cut out, through which the top

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

that they crawl in a long chain urging each other, *siž*, and even riding one on another, *ensâḳ*. *Ṣaḥṣaḥ* is a plain shut in by the low yet steep slope of a *ṭaraḳ*, or long flat ridge. *Šefa'* is the flat top of such a ridge. The ascent from the lower plain, *ṣaḥṣaḥ*, to this upper plain, *šefa'*, is quite difficult. The *dabwa'* locusts appear sometimes in such enormous masses that they fill the space between the lower and upper plains. 5. *Eltamm* (or *enǧama'*), gathered together. *Bel-ašfâḳ* — that is, what is dearest to and gladdens the heart most of all — are the sweet memories of love; but the poet for the last year has been tortured by unrest, *dawâčič*, and fears, *ẖfûḳ*. *Enẖafaḳ*, to be scared, to be filled with suspicion. 6. *Al-aṭrâḳ* are demonstrations of peace or friendship; *swâmiḥ* is forgiveness. *Ṣandûḳ*, a wooden box, frequently lined with tin plates; in inner Arabia it takes the place of our burglar-proof safe. There the poet had hidden many a secret unpleasant to him, but the heart learns them notwithstanding. 8. To allay his grief the poet took out from a wooden canister a few coffee beans, picked out on his palm the impurities mixed with them in the market, and then handed them to his companion, *nedîm*. The coffee beans are exposed in the shops in open bags, into which apple cores, date stones, spices, and the like often fall. Such admixtures are called *'aḏf*, a poetical expression for filth. 9. While being roasted coffee should be taken from the fire three times. In its preparation there is nothing more important than the roasting. *Sâḳ* is the long handle, much the worse for wear, of the pan used for roasting coffee. In the towns this pan is very small, but its handle is strong and ornamented. The poet sits in the room of his house, and the coffee is roasted in the same room before him. The coals of *raṣa*, which, when ignited, give a strong heat almost without smoke, are kindled on a square earthenware platter resembling a small trough. This hearth is either movable or attached to the earthen floor. During the roasting the window remains open so that the smell of the coffee can pass out of the room. And because the poet's house stands in the market place, the smell of roasted coffee is sensed in all the shops around. In the towns of inner Arabia the market place consists of a narrow street. 18. When the roasted and pounded coffee is being boiled, the burgher closes the window in order to save all its fragrance, which, like the coffee itself, has a narcotic effect on him. 19. The coffee is poured in from above,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

wad slightly, they touch the *kohl*, which is kept in a tiny tin box, *mikhale*, and then rub the color along the borders of the eyelids, believing that the use of *kohl* strengthens the eyesight. Many therefore even rub *kohl* on the edges of a telescope, being firmly convinced that the instrument then gives a much better view.

The woman's dress costs:

barîm, body belt	1/4	*mejidijje*	($ 0.22½)
ṭowb, shirt	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
ḥwâṭi, belt	1/4	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
maḥrûna, kerchief	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
šitfa, head band	1/4	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
ǧibbe, jacket	2	*mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)
mezwi, cloak	3	*mejidijjât*	(" 2.70)
maḥnaḳa, coral necklace	4	piasters	(" 0.18)
šelâde, pendant	4	"	(" 0.18)
ma'ḍad, elbow ornaments	4	"	(" 0.18)
faṭḥa, finger ring	4	"	(" 0.18)
zmâm, nostril ring	1/4	*mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)
Total	10	*mejidijjât*, 16 piasters	($ 9.72).

PEDDLERS; CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE; INFANTS; STAFFS AND CANES

Whatever the Rwala need for their finery and ornaments they either buy from the merchants who visit them when they are camping in the settled territory in the months of July and August, or from the peddlers, who accompany them the whole year through, even going to the inner desert with them. A peddler or wandering merchant is called either Rḥejbâwi or Kubejsi: Rḥejbâwi after the ancient town of ar-Raḥba, Kubejsi after his native place, the little town of al-Kubejsa. The terms Rḥejbâwi and Kubejsi have come to mean any wandering seller of textiles or general merchandise and are now applied even to merchants known to hail from other places. Thus a peddler from Bagdad is called a Rḥejbâwi Baṛdâdi or Kubejsi Baṛdâdi. When a youth overfond of dress, *dêḳa*, visits a wandering merchant to be measured for a suit of clothes, he gives his order in the words of the ancient verse: "Measure me, O merchant! for a shirt with long sleeves, measure me, O merchant! O Rḥejbâwi! *Faṣṣel li ǧâ ṭôṭer ṭâfi awâsi faṣṣel li ǧâ ṭôṭer ǧâ rḥejbâwi.*"

2:Musil S-4,5 (no dat 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of his tribe. If then his tribesmen steal anything from his native *ḫaṣîr* they must return it, and vice versa.

When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli to herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is attacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to keep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two for milking, *ḳa'ada w-menâjeḥeḥ* or *rukûba w-ḥalûba*.

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant called a Kubejsi (pl. Kubejsât), although he does not always hail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hît on the right bank of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two camels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with a Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round white tent, *ḥejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's shirts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other articles of clothing, *bẓâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *hejl* (cardamom), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where he boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets nothing at all.

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, paying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, presses his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes him. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to lose anything; for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled to do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant running unbearable. It is said:

Mâ ḥamm illa ḥamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeẓ*, on borrowed money must be paid at once in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧidijjât* ($9.00), 12½ *meǧidijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the borrower has to declare that he has borrowed 12½ *meǧidijjât*, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is 11½ *meǧidijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

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POEMS RELATING TO ḲUṢARA' AND KUBEJSÂT

539 There are frequent references to both the stranger *ḳaṣ*
and the merchant in Bedouin poems.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

from Arabia, they act as agents for the importing of coffee, spices, and rice, not only by ship or railroad but also by pack camels, and they supply the Bedouins with arms. There is no large settlement in inner Arabia where an agent of Eben Bassâm does not reside.

The Âl Sâlem family also is now engaged almost exclusively in the buying and selling of camels. These merchants hail from ad-Der'ijje but live at Bagdad and Damascus. Members of this family once helped the Wahhâbite princes of the Eben Sa'ûd family with money, and even now they have many friends in Neǧd.

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from Arabia, they act as agents for the importing of coffee, spices, and rice, not only by ship or railroad but also by pack camels, and they supply the Bedouins with arms. There is no large settlement in inner Arabia where an agent of Eben Bassâm does not reside. 442

The Âl Sâlem family also is now engaged almost exclusively in the buying and selling of camels. These merchants hail from ad-Der'ijje but live at Bagdad and Damascus. Members of this family once helped the Wahhâbite princes of the Eben Sa'ûd family with money, and even now they have many friends in Neǧd.

The third firm engaged in trading in camels — also in clothing — is the Âl 'Îsa family. They reside at Damascus and trade chiefly with the 'Aneze and Ḥwêṭât tribes.

The wholesale dealers hardly ever visit inner Arabia. They have their middlemen to whom they furnish money for dealings on their behalf. All these middlemen or agents are natives of al-Kaṣim and are called 'Akejl, whether they belong to the tribe of that name or not. An 'Akejli agent gets money from the wholesale dealer to buy camels from a certain tribe. He drives the animals which he has bought to Egypt or al-Baṣra or al-Kwejt where he sells them, dividing the net profit with the wholesale dealer in such a way that the latter gets two-thirds or half of it. If the agreement was that the wholesale dealer was to get two-thirds, he must stand the entire loss that may result from the transaction; in the other case the loss is shared equally. It should be said in explanation of this that the demand for camels is not always the same. Often prices in Egypt and al-Baṣra rise suddenly; the Bedouins learn this and ask more too; the middleman or speculator, as he might be called, has to buy dear, but when he brings the camels to the market the price may have fallen and he must sell at a loss. 442 446 [435 455]

Such an 'Akejli agent hires assistants, usually his countrymen from al-Kaṣim, provides himself with light white tents, coffee, rice, and often also arms both for sale and exchange, and rides with letters of recommendation to the prince or chief of the tribe from which he means to buy. Having delivered the letters and gifts sent to those dignitaries by the wholesale dealer, he puts up his tents either in the prince's camp or, if permitted, in the camp of some chief. The chief of the camp where the trader has put up his tents is also his host, 442 437

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

folk with the look of a noble falcon, whom even the largest beast of prey cannot terrify.

Já dîč arîdak ma' al-amwât
má tekṭa' al-ljas já ḥêni
ṛadá beh msammeḥ al-ḳálât
ma'ṭi al-'efún al-ba'árini.

O cock! I would thou wert among the dead.
Why disturbest thou my peace, thou wretch?
He has given himself to rest, he who never pays heed
He who gives camels even to loafers. [to gossip,

The maiden is vexed with the cock for reminding the lover visiting her that it is time to return. *'Efún* is the name given to the fat loafers who take no part in raids. The booty captured by her lover is so considerable that he can bestow she-camels even on such a fat loafer, especially if he is related to his sweetheart.

Já neǰúm as-sama
'aḳabenna sárijât
wá'adenna-l-ḳamar
w-aḫlafenna al-mabât.

The little stars of the heavens,
When beginning their night journey after we parted,
Gave us a tryst for the moment when the moon showed itself,
But did not keep their word all the night through.

The lovers agreed to meet at the rising of the moon. But the sky became clouded, so that both the stars and moon did not appear until early morning.

Já ḫajji má ǰá-l-'arab ṭurâda
hom má leṭâhom 'an al-ṛâli
w-ḳalbi já-lli ṛada čeṭṭún
w-ḥammi já-lli sáraḳ ḫâli.

O little brother of mine! have no travelers come to the Arabs?
Has no one arrived from my darling?
For my heart belongs to him for whom it wears away like soft rock,
And my fears are for him who has robbed me of my peace.

539 *Śowl* has much the same meaning as *bel*, camels collectively, and forms no plural. Two slaves (negroes) and the master attend
233 only to the watering, while the herdsman watches the camels.

Ḳum ṣubb (sic) *w-eżżi-l-ḥâjel*
nâḳt eṣṭâm al-'âjel.

Rise, pour in, and water the sterile one,
The she-camel of him who tames the violator.

Ṣubbû-'ala-l-'aššâjer	Pour in water for the sweethearts,
muğawwezât al-bâjer	Wedded to a sluggard,
al-bâjer eben al-bâjer.	To a sluggard son of a sluggard.

[461 581] *Bâjer* is the name for a squeamish fellow afraid alike of the sun's heat, the night's chills, or of much exertion, and therefore one who loves to loiter in the tent most of the time. No girl would marry such a man voluntarily, but, as by the law of kinship he can claim his nearest cousin, her parents must give her to him. Small wonder that, once married, his wife prefers other men; nor can he even rebuke her for this, as she would run away and he could never get another wife.
[827] Because of the Rwala belief that the son inherits his father's qualities, the father in this verse is no better than the son, and the wife, who has no wish to bear him a son, looks around for others; such a wife is a called *ṭamûḥ*.

Jâ rabb jâ mawlâna	O Lord! O thou Ruler of ours!
bedder lena bhwâna	Help us quickly to what we desire,
eżżi-l-'edâd awḍâna.	Fill with water our vessels which have tired us out.

233 461 When forty to fifty camels of one herd must be watered from a well over thirty meters deep, or from a shallow well that has caved in and into which the water flows very slowly, even the hardiest men become tired partly from the labor of drawing the water and partly from watching the crowding camels, who, if very thirsty, press around the well, into which they would fall if not driven away constantly by the herdsmen. One man can hardly keep three thirsty animals from breaking away from him and running to the water trough, there to squeeze in among those already drinking. Often they knock over the watering vessel, tread on each other's feet, bite, and knock about the men who are raising the water,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

rousing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are to be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but slowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No wonder, then, that the waterers pray Allâh to help them do their task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, *'edâd*, with water.

Jâ ṛzajjelen bumm iḍen jetli maṭabb al-mizen.
Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iḍen!
She goes there where rain fell from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge their direction and where their sluices may open. They even send a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a favorable report (i.e. that the rain has been abundant) they move to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle, a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iḍen, had come there after having followed the rain cloud which had filled the pool.

Jâ mizen ar-ra'âdi emṭer 'ala-l-ḥamâdi.
O thou cloud rumbling with thunder!
On al-Ḥamâd let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamâd is the western half of north Arabian desert between Palmyra and the Nefûd.

Al-bir tabṛi ḥâder eben ḥalâ'en ẓâder.
Into the well should descend
A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalâl* is a man against whose father there is no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain. The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring; therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and origin are clean and pure.

Welli 'ajûzen ḥiba allâh jiḳṭa' naṣibaḥ ted'i 'ala naṣibaḥ.
Run from the gray-haired woman!
May Allâh cut her fate, for
She curses her son-in-law.

Allâh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death. *Ted'i 'ala*, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good and bad sense. *Naṣîb* is the name that a mother gives not only to the man who has married her daughter but also to a man who as yet only calls on the daughter.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

been properly skimmed, the cook poured a part into the smallest jug available and from this served his coffee a few drops at a time, a single stoneware cup making the round of the company. The mound of camel dung heaped by the women was glowing red, and everyone was on the tiptoe of expectation when Faris rose and went over to the women's side of the tent. A cheerful bustling sounded from it—supper ought to be about ready; and sure enough, there appeared a woman and a slave, carrying between them a huge platter piled high with meat, which they set down on the threshold. Faris shouted into the night, to call all stragglers who might be in the vicinity.

We grouped ourselves round this mountain of flesh. I saw in the flickering light wild-looking, hungry men squatting opposite me, with black plaits of hair showing under their white-and-red head-cloths, the tips of which were flung over the shoulders. They fell to with their fingers, tore the meat from the bones and devoured it in great gulps. Our host flung titbits to me across the platter. It was embellished with the camel's head split open, but without the brains. Only the women will eat them, for they are supposed to make men faint-hearted. The hearts of bustard and other fowl are also disdained by these gallant lords of the desert.

We lingered four days in this depression, as we had enough food and fuel. The camels scattered to graze in the surrounding country. The women, too, were busily employed in hoeing up the roots of the small shrubs and gathering their twigs, which they carried to camp on their backs in large bundles. Many of the women had

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When she goes by in her fringed kerchief,
She takes my little heart away in her hand.

Al-Ṛarâwi was a Rwejli whose daughter was famous for her beauty. *Ḥaṣâwi* means the long elaborately twisted fringe of a silk kerchief, *maḳrûna*, with which a belle covers her forehead and face.

Hâḏi ṭwâreḥ ʿarab ḫelli
jâ marḥaba jâ ʿarab šîḥa
ʿaḏrûb aḫûha jiǧîb aš-šowl
čam râʿijen ʿawwadeh ṣîḥa
jâ ḫdejdeha bwêreż al-hemlûl
min miznċten bass laha żîḥa.

These are the borders of the Arab camp where dwells
Hail, O Arabs, with whom Šîḥa camps! [my darling.
ʿAḏrûb, her brother, brings sumpter camels as booty.
Oh! how many a herdsman has he taught to utter the warning cry!
Her cheeks are like flashes of lightning from a rainy belt,
From a cloud which appears full of milk.

Aḫûha is the lover of Šîḥa. *Jiǧîb aš-šowl* means "brings, or leads, in from a raid camels able to carry heavy burdens." When the tents are being moved, all supplies are loaded by the women, who therefore like strong camels. The herdsman is not in a position to defend his herd; he merely gives the alarm cry. *Hemlal* is a long, narrow streak or belt of rain coming from a cloud where there is constant lightning which gives the cloud the appearance of being filled with milk. The milky white luster issuing from it reminds the poet of the white, rosy cheeks of Šîḥa.

Jâ wenneti wennet aš-šenne
rabâbaten bjad laʿâbi
riḥat ʿâṭiri leha beṇne
jâ ʿambaren bjad ǧallâbi.

My sigh is like the sigh of the hide stretched
On a rebec in the hand of the player.
The fragrance of my beloved is as pleasant
As amber in the hand of the hawker.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk erḥed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-i-ḥejż*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt al-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarwi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *tehaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, teḥajjeḥ w-tehuš lal-faras*, etc.

562 462

The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *rqa* or *arḍa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

562 462 593

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move,
593 the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture, and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors, *salaf*, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
574 says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not at home, *tarákom já zujúf rá'i-l-bejt má hu házer*." Then she brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready, if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests, she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent it, *en jalletha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
222

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

492 march. On the saddle a leather quilt stuffed with camel's hair, *naṭa'*, is spread in such a way that both the cones can be stuck through it. More ornamental is the blanket called *žâ'ed* or *žâ'uda*, made of the skin of a black goat with long [531] fine hair (Fig. 44). The knob of the front cone and the whole of the rear cone are usually ornamented with small metal nails, sometimes of silver or gilded, and variously shaped. A saddle with silver ornaments is called *muḳammar*; with gold, *muṣaffar* (*k*). The "shovels" and crosspieces of the finest saddles are often inlaid with little plates of engraved metal.

A *mesâme* (Fig. 41) is a saddle to which the water bags are tied. Its wooden skeleton resembles that of the riding saddle, except that both its cones are lower and flattened. The crosspieces are replaced by round sticks about eighty centimeters long. Inside a *mesâme* only the *wiṭr* cushion is used. This saddle is also provided with breast girth, *ḥaḳab*. A *mesâme* with a thicker cushion and a stronger wooden structure, known as a *rabiṭ*, serves for carrying water bags made of camel skin.

A *ḥedâǧe* (Fig. 42) is a saddle used for carrying loads. Its wooden frame consists of four boards 42 centimeters long by 10 wide by 1 thick. These are fastened together in pairs, their broad sides being joined at the ends by metal plates to form almost right angles. About ten centimeters below the angle two holes are bored through each board and wooden stakes, *dḳâš* (*a*), driven through; a stick, *'aṣa'* (*b*), is tied below the stakes on each side. The *wiṭr* cushion (Fig. 43) to which this frame is fastened is almost a meter long by 35 centimeters high in the front and 65 centimeters high behind. Its back ends in an ornament, *'ejz*, resembling a red Turkish cap, with a tassel, *širšîb*.

● [462] The camel halters, *rasan*, are usually made by women; the iron parts only are bought from traveling merchants (Fig. 45: *a*, *muḫṭama*; *b*, *'aḏâr*; *c*, *'aḳḳâreb*; *d*, *sinsile*; *e*, *šervîib*; *f*, *ǧedîla*).

A rider about to mount [illegible] his left foot on the left front knee of the kneeling camel, places his left hand on the front, his right on the rear saddle knob, and springs off the ground, throwing his right leg over to the saddle. At the same moment the camel gets up in three motions: first she lifts her breast and kneels on her front legs, this movement being called *šenhaṣ*; next she raises her back, *nowṣa*, and thrusts again

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Z:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala add to the last verse:

Jistâhel at-tumbâk miṯl eben ḥaḏḏâl
alli jaṣurrek bimṣûni redûnek.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Ḥaḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Ḥaḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amkrât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *maḫṣar*, is made of stout leather, *sîr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧudâ*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *ḥalaq*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâḥ*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârîf*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwe'*, of a dagger, *ḥibrîǧǧe*, with an ornamented grip, *uḍô*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṭ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *rudâd*, and caps, *ḥubṣûn*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *ḥarn aṣ-ṣaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḥanṣa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks.

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *ap-pum'*, *al-Ḥâdrai*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *pum'*, an old English military gun, was the most

popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *mejidijjât* ($36-$40.50) and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *tajjârijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *mejidijjât* ($25.20-$29). The *šâhâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini; the *wuww sunâi* kind of *šâhâni* could be bought for 50-60 *mejidijjât* ($45-$54), the *wuww ḫasfi* variety for 40-50 *mejidijjât* ($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Bedouins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the rifles fitted with breechblocks, *uwwa-p-pbe'*, are less sought after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *mejidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations, *tajjâri*, were sold for as much as 20 *mejidijjât* ($18) less. All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt. During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans numbered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead, gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and manufacture cartridges.

From time to time both the sons and negroes of the chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *niššân*, generally is a black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramje* (pl. *rumi*) signifies a report, a shot. "*Bârûdi 'araft rumîha*" means "I know the reports of my rifle; "*w-allâh rumîha sên*," "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with a flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Mâ' binduḳen laṭpât fammiha jepebni
laha 'ale ḫafwa-l-mejammaḳ mardmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *jalâṭi, rbâ'i, ḫmâsi, sittîn* — the last being of the largest caliber. *Šâšḫâne*, or *šâšḫân*, are old rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḫamre*. *Binduḳijje* are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel or

Composed by Fejḥân eben Ża'ed eben Zrejbân, the chief of the Dowšân clan of the Mṭejr tribe in Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaṣîb, 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. In one of the camps which he rode through when returning from a raid Fejḥân happened to see a woman whose beauty dazzled him. For months he tried to forget her but in vain. Then he sent this poem to his friend 'Abdallâh eben Sbejjel, who was living in the settlement of Nefi, which is tributary to the Dowšân, with a request to find her camp and also to inquire whether the woman would marry him.

Verse 1. Fejḥân's messenger accompanied a large caravan, called *ḥadra*, which had set out from the inner desert for the lower Euphrates to buy food, clothing, and ammunition. 2. Traveling in the *ḳejẓ* season, midsummer, is most fatiguing for the she-camels. *Sawdeu*, they went up, signifies that the caravan was already on its way back, because the trip towards the Euphrates is expressed by the verb *ḥadaren*, they went down. Mrêṭbe and aṭ-Ṭanâdi are large watering places near the settlement where 'Abdallâh was then living. 3. 'Abdallâh furnished the Dowšân and their chief with everything they needed. Every large clan has a purveyor of this kind. 7. Iblîs is the tempting angel, not Satan. 8. In many tribes it is customary to pick up a pebble from the grave of a friend and to throw it aside so as to lighten the burden. On the grave of a girl or woman they also lay the three stones, *ḥwâdi*, that held the kettle in which the deceased cooked in her last days. Another custom is to sacrifice a goat or sheep on the grave; some then smear the stones with the blood of the sacrificed animal, others strew over them a handful of sand.

1. *Já ṣâṭri ḫobbi maḥâri ṭomijje*
   jowm eǧlaḥazzat miṯl ḫadd al-ḥdâni
2. *ḫobbi ṭomijje w-al-fejâẓ al-'aǧijje*
   w-tanaḥḥeri berzân zejn al-meḥâni
3. *ana ḳzejt al-ḥâzem alli 'alejje*
   al-ḥâzem alli má ḳṣâ al-ḥedâni
4. *al-ǧedi ḫaṭṭejteh bwarč al-maṭijje*
   w-mutnaḥḥeren jamm shejl al-jemâni
5. *bâri nidâr aṭ-ṭiflet al-'aswaǧijje*
   riḥat nesemha ǧazebâd al-'omâni
6. *má li 'ala-ṭ-ṭajjeb w-lá leh 'alejje*
   allâh jeṭûm ǧwejhebi má ṭunâni

539[x] good looks. The enraged father seized the poor fellow and had his sexual organ crushed. Since that time Ṣanḳûr had been demented.

[463] Verse 3. *Ḥafîb* is a man who teaches religion, sometimes leads the prayers, explains the Koran, etc., but is at the same time employed in some handicraft or engaged in trade. 4. *Má jehâ' beh* means "he fears or trembles before nobody." *Howz*, according to the Bedouins, is a deep leather trough standing on three legs and used for watering camels; the settlers use the word for a walled-in cistern for holding rain water. When water is needed, the *ḥowz* is the place to seek it. *Howz al-mauâja*, a place where death is drunk, is a battle field. He who dares to enter the battle field knows that death awaits him there. 5. To avenge Sâlem two thousand of the enemy should have been killed. 6. *Zebâb* is a dense cloud of dust, like *'aǧâǧ*. In 7 the poet asks for vengeance. 9. The sons of Jacob asserted that Joseph had been torn in pieces by wolves. Jacob complained bitterly to Allâh of this crime. Allâh then lent these beasts the gift of speech, and, coming to Jacob, they proved their innocence by witnesses.

In Honor of Muḥammed Eben Rašîd

1. *Já ḥejk jâ-ḥal ḫâlijât al-mezâḥib*
   ḥeǧnen telâfa min ba'îd al-maṣîbe
2. *ḥejb al-ṣawâreb sâjiǧât al-maḥâżib*
   elfên maḥdûdât kill ḥien teǧîbeh
3. *alli 'alejhen muštâḥin al-ma'âżib*
   ḥâmow ḥrâ'i musnaden jirtaḥi beh
4. *le'akob ḫallen jâfeǧǧ al-'arâżib*
   linâr 'abdallâh jewaḳḳed leḥîbeh
5. *ḥâmow limin fât al-awâdem 'ala-ṭ-ṭîb*
   aṣ-ṣajrami killen lafa'leh devi beh
6. *ḫorren ḫaber bi'âlijât al-marâżib*
   faḫḫaǧ 'ala-l-fetḫân min zawd ṭîbeh
7. *low jiltaḥi ḥaṭṭ al-awâdem ḥawâṭib*
   ṣaṣben bḥadd aṣ-seif ṣalben ṣalîbeh
8. *min al-biż jaḥjen leh 'ajûn at-teḥâbîb*
   w-al-miltebeh jinḥaǧ 'ala ḥebbeh jaǧî beh
9. *ḥandt má dabbar 'alejhen betaḥsîb*
   w-lâ ḫâjelen werd ad-debeî min 'aźîbeh

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231 since it is universally known that the enemy always tries
556 first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'urf w-nowmâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *marâfir* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when
[237] too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

233 The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *ḥeśle* (pl., *ḥâel*); a larger one, *ra'ijje* (pl., *ra'âja*) or *ḳuṭ'a* (pl., *ḳuṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zoud*. A little herd owned by a small family is called *ǧwejd*.

233 Each herd has its own herdsman, *râ'i al-bel*, who is hired
●463 for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meǧidijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely
465 six *meǧidijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either
554 a *maḫlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥeżż*. It is also his duty to help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

233 In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeṣâḥihen*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *maǧrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ûda*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeḥdeb leḥen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'ûda*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jeṣallî*) *bel-ba'ria jamm al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṣ-ṣarî es-sâreḥ*, usually form a single line,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

7. Order all the burdens to be taken up when ye resolve to go on,
   And load the camels with everything that in the desert is needed and that is ready.
8. Keep the North Star on your right, so ye may not lose the way,
   And watch the seven stars of the Great Bear that are visible.
9. Greet also those who went away from me and deserted me,
   Sejf and Šwardi, the light of my eye, my healing.
10. Thus to them speak: "Your father swears that ye must return,
    And if ye come not to him, he swears that he must come to you.
11. If thou toilest because thou art poor or to gain treasures
    [Know that] wealth does not lengthen a short life;
12. The world thou livest in lasted forever neither for al-Âjde nor Sa'dûn,
    So it is best to spit on a world beyond which there is death."

A certain Šammari had two sons, Sejf and Šwardi, who went to the Ḥawrân to earn money. This is done every year by many people from the settlements of inner Arabia. They generally join the Rwala in their march to Syria, which takes place in the latter part of June. In the Ḥawrân they help as shepherds, reapers, or threshers, receive grain or clothing for their work, and return home again with the Rwala. Some stay abroad only two months, others several years. As the sons of our Šammari had been a long time away, their anxious father composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm. When a chief sends out a mission he takes care that all ride camels of the same color. The prince of the Rwala sends out an embassy of this kind to the Ḥawrân every year, before he comes there himself. He sends letters and verbal messages to the elders of various settlements, to certain officials, and to his confidants, in order to assure himself of an undisturbed sojourn and of plenty of supplies. Our Šammari happened to see this party, consisting of ten youths on ten pale-gray she-camels, this color being the most favored in these animals. They resembled each other like sisters.

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2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). 231
If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥaǧla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra ṣreba'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damân*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra dṛama'*.

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabsa'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet al-ḫhawa*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ḥa'la* (pl., *ḥi'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ṛurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *maǧehmât*; for larger numbers, *meǧâhim* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to [552]
her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuǧûhah*. For example: Ṭâfḥa, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', 'Aǧla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awǧa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêẓa, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḥejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabâa, Ṭamâa, 'Ejda, Ǧerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc.

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of [422]
the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*.

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. 825
Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous 231
trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuṣuḥ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâtir*. A herd of white 422
she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the 476
control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâtir* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâtir* 231
are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd 556
has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years. Then it is called *al-'eli*, it is talked of in the whole desert, and the bravery of the clan that owns it is praised by all,

2:Musil S-4.5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

trinkets knock together at each motion of the wearer, the chains rattle, the bells jingle, and the sounds thus produced remind the poet of an approaching or departing procession of pilgrims riding on camels covered with ornaments and bells. *Dwâlîž* are slender shins above the ankles, which allow the rings to move around freely. 10. A fine firm step finds much praise with the Rwala. Every herd of gazelles has its own leader, usually an old animal which walks a few steps in advance of the others with a firm but prudent step, looks both forward and sideways, catches every scent, and is always ready to flee, should a suspicious object come into view. *Ḥedâlîž* signifies expressive, lively eyes or persons. 12. *Riḥâne* is sweet basil or other scented plants thriving especially at the edges of water holes in the channels where rain water remains for a long while. Before this water reaches the putrid stage it is pure and clear, and during that time the *riḥâne* grows luxuriantly, its juicy twigs, *razzât al-roṣûn*, rising and falling with the slightest breeze. 13. The fingers of the poet's sweetheart are so small and beautiful that he calls them all little fingers. 14. The name of the maiden is not easy to ascertain. 16. *Al-menâḥiǧ* are men who repair the roads and thus enable the laden camels to move along easily. Here the maiden's kin is meant, who refuse to permit the poet, a member of another tribe, to marry her.

1. *Bint eben lîfa w-al-mšakka ḫalîfa*
   abči laṭîfa ḫâl min dûnaha-l-lâl
2. *lejtah radîfa fowk warč al-'asîfa*
   aleḍḍ w-aḥla min mrâdafk jâ ḫâl
3. *lejtak fedâha w-asḫanak bedwâha*
   w-abî' belâm al-ḥebajjeb mijjet ḫâl
4. *šifetah bsarḥa wa-mtala'-l-ḳalb farḥa*
   min kubr ǧarḥa mâ žwcît ankol al-hâl
5. *šifetah behîše tenḳoṣ al-'ančerîše*
   w-lâ-rid 'îše illc rîžah elja sâl
6. *lâbesat al-mezâwi záwi ar-rûḥ záwi*
   ḫasa'-l-fedâwi mâ jiǧîb ṭîb al-af'âl
7. *ǧîtah b'aṡwa mizneten taw naṡwa*
   alli mṭarha zer' ḳalbi minneh ṭâl
8. *ǧîtah telumma râḥ ḳalbi jehummah*
   w-jal'an abû-mmah mâ tesammih čattâl

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

836 Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help
847 her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should
762 the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often
[693 commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that
684] his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *aʿal*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them.
848 Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it
851 would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its
483 illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs
836 of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḥef min allâh.*"

684 Only when the girl has been raped, *maṣṣûbe*, will her
847 relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot
[848] be left alive, as it would have no kin, *aʿal*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ḥubbi bil-ǧál	Against the rocky wall beat
já delw ǧbál	Thou, O Ǧbál's bucket! [drawn by]
be'aṣúd rǧál	The strength of arms of men
má hom ǧehál.	Who are not heedless.

The bucket strikes against the rocky sides of a deep well, making the work of the men drawing it exceedingly difficult. When they feel that its edge has caught on some bulge of the wall, they must not jerk at the rope lest they injure the bucket or tip it and spill the water; they should, rather, merely rock the bucket slightly so as to bring it into the center of the well. Such deliberation, of course, is possessed by real men, *reǧál*, not by harebrained, hasty, inconsiderate lads, *ǧehál*, who think that all things can be accomplished by violence.

Já maljána	Oh, the full bucket,
sallamha-lláh min ǧiljánah.	May Allâh save it from the sides of the well!
Má jarwi-l-bel	He shall not water his camels
reǧr muserbel.	Who does not pull up [the rope] steadily.
Abjen abjen	More visible, more visible,
čánha bil-bîn	If visibility be the question,
al-waṣha-bjen	A white she-camel is the more visible.
čánha biz-zîn	If beauty be the question,
al-ḥamra-zjen	A brown one is more beautiful;
čánha biš-šil	But if a load be the question,
al-malḥa-ǧjel.	Then a black she-camel can stand more than all.
Tawwa' tfaṣṣa' bâli	Now my mind has cleared,
al-ḥowṣ beh efḍâli.	For in the water trough there is a surplus.
Aš-šowl jirîd	The camels need
jowm at-tawrîd	On the watering day
'abdén w-sîd	Two slaves and one master.
en čell al-'abd	If one slave gets tired
má čell as-sîd.	Not so the master.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Jimess means, properly, a steady and equal pull on the rope. It is held in the left hand, caught below with the right, and is thus pulled up hand over hand. *Rarab* is the same as *rša*, the rope to which the leather bucket, *delw*, is tied. As some of the wells are as much as a hundred meters deep, the drawing of water is very fatiguing, especially on account of the bulges in the rocky sides which impede the bucket in coming up. The right hand must not only hold the rope firmly, but must shake it most of the time so as to keep it in the center. *Alli mákíleh dess* means "he who finds his food by feeling or searching for it." He eats more than the others, because his sweetheart has hidden something for him in a place he knows of, in order that he may eat it at night after returning from the pasture.

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LOST CAMELS

Many camels get lost. Finding good grazing in some deep gully, they stay there, kneel down during the hottest part of the day, and, having rested, graze again. When there is a spot with good soft sand, the truant animal rolls about in it, grazes once more, and when the sun sinks in the west cannot find its herd, which, pasturing slowly, has in the meantime passed out of sight. Sometimes a she-camel may like only certain plants. She is rested, fat, and can satisfy her desires. Some days she will not touch anything except her favorite dainty, hunting for it on all sides, leaving the herd, and moving on. At noon, kneeling for a while to chew her cud, she catches sight of her plant at some distance, sets off for it, and, then, in the evening moans for the herd she can no longer find. The lost she-camels run around all night and kneel down before sunrise, but with the evaporating of the dew they get up and run in almost any direction. They seem entirely to lack the sense of smell or the natural instinct which might enable them to find their herd. Being accustomed to follow the leading she-camel, they are at their wit's ends when they do not see her, and they wander aimlessly even if only one kilometer from the camp. On the other hand, the herdsmen cannot look for a lost animal for long. On returning to his tent towards evening he rides through the camp in all directions calling in his singing voice, *meššje'*, for the

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2. Where there is room for camps both small and large, 539
And where all prepare the water hoists and the needed gear.
3. I saw a conquering maiden there, with her dress tucked up above her calves
And sleeves tied behind the neck, stretching taut a rope with the bucket.
4. By Allâh I swear! if the rope were twice or four times as long,
The pourer out would not be obeyed, even if he shouted: "Come back with the rope!"
5. With my hand I felt her arm down to the elbow,
Drawing back my hand ninety times at least that day.
6. Mayst thou keep the secret like Ĝedê',
That noble man who never told when he saw some game of love.
7. He protects a scamp when every idler is afraid,
And he has a saber, the edge of which splits heads.
8. If I had fared yesterday as today, hunger would not have pained me,
For as I look at myself I see my fat is restored
9. By thee who didst allay my thirst when I kissed thy teeth.
O sweetheart, how sweet a permitted love kiss tastes!
10. By Allâh, I shall not suffer a violated or a violator to be in camp,
By Allâh, I shall not permit one tribe to come out against another.

The poet was Zejdân ar-Rwejli; the reciter, Mindil al-Kaṭ'i. The poet is drawing water at Majḳû', the last large [312]
watering place at the south end of the Sirḥân depression, the vicinity of which is always full of both small, *farâdîs*, and large, *nfûd*, camps. As some of the wells are as much as 483
thirty meters deep, a hoist is set up in the stony ground by the mouth of the well. The free end of the rope is held by one or two persons who draw the water. A third person stationed close by the hoist takes care that the rope does not slide off the roller, *bakra*, and shakes it occasionally to submerge and fill the bucket; he tells the drawers to walk till the bucket comes in sight. Then he shouts to them to stop, catches hold of the bucket, empties it into the leather trough, *hoaz*, and then bids them return and let the bucket down

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•483 again. When a woman has to pull the rope she tucks her gown *fowḍ*, up to the knees and throws the long, open sleeves ove her shoulders, tying them behind, lest they hinder her whe at work. If the rope is worked by two persons, they hold short stick tied to the rope's end. The poet remembers how near he was to his beloved, praises Ġedû', the pourer of th water, for not gossiping about them, and promises, stimulate by love, that he will quell all troubles between individual and tribes too.

Verse 1. *Marwâd* is a firmly trodden footpath for th persons hauling up the water bucket. 2. *Farâšin* are camp numbering less and *aṯṯâ'* those numbering more than te tents. *Wallam*, or *ǧwallem*, implies that he will prepare, pu up for himself, a hoist, *makâm*, with the necessary utensils *'edde*, such as the bucket, *delw*, the rope, *rôa'* or *ḥabl*, and the trough, *ḥowz*. 3. *Mutmaššeḫen*, or *mitmaššeḫen*, for *mut šallaḫen*. 4. The deeper the well, the longer the rope must be and the more work for those who pull it and impatiently wait for the pourer's call: "*Laḫḫâj ruddeḥ*." The poet feels such satisfaction in the company of his sweetheart that he means to disregard the pourer's command. 9. *Ḳarṭa'* means a
539x slight lick lasting only a moment. 10. *Bedd* for *bedîde* means the same as *'aširе* or *ḥabile*, clan or tribe.

1. *Já 'amm wa' wağdi 'ala mwaḳ ḥorra*
ba'îdat al-merwâḥ low dirt ana-l-warrâ
2. *tišrab ḥaṭâfil al-ḥalaṣ jowm ašarraḥ*
w-al-ǧaṭi min fowḳ al-ẓwâ'ed laḥen 'ark
3. *tiǧfel elja samâ'at ma' al-ḥazm farra*
farrat ḥuṭût ḥarrekat bêḍaha ḥark.

1. O uncle mine, ah, I long to saddle a thoroughbred camel
On which, crossing my legs, I would go far in a day;
2. When I bid her drink she will drink the last drop
from a small bucket,
While all around riding camels crowd together rubbing
the leather covers of their saddles.
3. She shies on hearing a swift flight in the hills,
The flight of the *ḥaṭa'* birds, who as they rise set their
eggs moving.

The poet was an 'Ateǰbi; the recitées, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i and Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣîb. A young 'Ateǰbi, whose father had died,

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415 (Fig. 21, *c*), about 70 centimeters deep and 90 centimeters in
417 diameter, the edges of which are sewn to a wooden pole bent into a circle. Three other poles curved in the form of semicircles and with their ends tied to the wooden circle, *ḥanijje* (pl., *ḥanâja*), surround the leather bowl, while three or four forked poles, *ḥarûr* (pl., *ḥwâṛir*), 90 centimeters high, support the circle and hold the trough above the ground. The water is poured from a leather bucket, *delw* (Fig. 23). This is a small receptacle about 40 centimeters in diameter and 30 to 50 centimeters in depth. It is sewn to a circular wooden frame to which, by means of straps, *wḏime* (pl., *wuḏum*) (Fig. 23, *b*), are fastened two wooden crosspieces, *'arḳa* (pl., *'arâḳi*) (*a*). At the point where they cross a small rope, *rša* (*c*), is attached to them, and by means of this rope the bucket is lowered into the well.

354 By the fireplace in the women's compartment there lies
252 a *ṣâj*, or convex sheet of iron, 60 centimeters in diameter, upon which the bread is baked. From the main pole there hangs a large straw hutch, *minsâf*, upon which the kneaded bread is placed.

USE AND TRANSPORTATION OF TENTS

484 During long marches in the summer season the tents are
342 not pitched. The adults lie down beneath the open sky, and a small tent, *ṭuzz* (Fig. 24), for the children only, is sometimes set up. This tent has a single pole about 1.2 meters high and measures about 4 meters long and 2 meters broad. A *ṭuzz* tent also has to satisfy the poorest inhabitants of the camp, who do not belong to the Rwala.

A tent with no main pole, but resting on four corner poles so that from the front only two poles of equal height are to be seen, is called a *ḫarbûš*. It is 4 to 6 meters long, 2 meters high, and 2.5 to 3 meters broad.

The usual tent has at least one main pole and is called *ḳaṭba*. It is 12 meters long, over 2 meters high, and 3.5 meters broad. A tent with two main poles is called *bejt ḳarnên*, or *mdawbel*; one with three poles is called *meṯawleṯ*; with four, *mrawba'*; with five, *mḫawmas*; with seven, *sab'a wsaṭ*.

If the chief does not intend to remain in the camping place more than two or three nights, he does not pitch a

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *afiaf*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳufa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ḳaûr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb ḥala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebûneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarrum*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *ḥabbelû al-bejt ǧâna-l-ḥawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *ruwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *ruwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *ruwâḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *ruwâḳ*! *ḥarre'û al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *ruwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *îdên w-riǧlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *má ḥawa anǧas min al-ḳalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'eǰé*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *aûǧ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampmemt during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 [825]

231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs,
492 *emmuw* (or *emṣa'ú*) *al-wtad*." The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḥuṭṭú al-'umed*; spread the tent out, *eṣfeṣú al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *eṭwú al-bejt*." With the large tents the ropes, which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *dawṣow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *ḥabl* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesdewe* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *nawwaḥow al-ba'ír*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ḥawwarow al-ba'ír*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ḥiadib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *maghâr* (pl., *megâhîr*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *seif*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are tied to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *raḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *raḥala ḥajjede*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

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kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *mawṣil*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

FIG. 13—*ʿAtab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *maʿāṣīr*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferīq*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *nefīʿ*, and one with more than thirty, *nesel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣleyb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *ballaṭ leh ḥallāṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mešīṭa* (pl., *mešāṭi*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥīr, of the Ḥabra ʿAnka, as well as of Liḥa. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (s = date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

someone asks the Rwala: "Where did you graze this winter? *wên ḳattejtu has-sene*," he regularly receives the answer: "Our winter pasture was in al-Ḥôr, *maštâna bel-ḥôr*." In the spring they prefer most of all to graze, *marba'* (plural, *marâbi'*), in al-Ǧûba and on the northern border of the Nefûd, *rabba'na bil-ǧûba*. In the region of al-Bijâẓ between al-Ǧûba, Tell 'Amûd, and the volcanic territory they find their pastures in the season of *ṣejf*, that is from about the middle of April to the middle of June, *maṣjaf*, whereas from the end of June to the end of August they graze, *maḳîẓ*, in the territory of an-Nuḳra south of Damascus. In the autumn their favorite resort, *maṣfar*, is in the environs of the Sirḥân depression. If there has been no rain in al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudîjân, they make their way to the environs of Tejma or to the eastern border of the Nefûd, where it rains more regularly.

FIG. 19—*Ẓirbe neǧdijje*, goatskin water container.

A camping place in a dangerous region exposed to raids is called *ṣâḳa*. The greatest danger threatens the tents which are pitched on the edge of the camp, *ṭwâref*.

Years afterwards it is still possible to recognize an old camping place, *marḥ al-'arab*. The fireplace hollowed out in the men's compartment; the small piles of clay and ashes; the three scorched stones by the fireplace of the women's compartment; the piles of stones or fuel, upon which the beds were laid; camel excrements, *dimne* (pl., *demân*); luxuriant annuals, which the camels avoid, as they grow on the *demân*; all this awakens memories in the mind of the solitary traveler.

Poems Relating to Camping Grounds

The Rwala have many songs in which the solitary wayfarer speaks to the old camping place.

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwala numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neğe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf jeżeddi al-meżâhir*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arṣa* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: *"Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Aδči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
w-aponn min jaδči ḥaleḥ mâ jiljâmi
2. *ǧit al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḫalb maʿ'ûm*
maḥâzel al-ǧullân ḥom w-al-'amâmi
3. *ḥâδa meδabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maṯlûm*
marka' dlâlen mut'abâten aš-šwâmi
4. *w-ḥâḍi merâbaṭ ǧeflahom dâjmen dûm*
ḫoḫb al-'ujûn mrowba'ât al-ḫwâmi

[539x] [492] [484] [592] [152] [726]

252 60 centimeters in diameter, turns it over on three stones above a fire, with a quick movement lays the cake on the convex side, and takes care that it does not burn. A cake of this kind is called *raṛîf*; if it is as thin as paper it is called *rahîf*; and if it is thick, *ǧerîm*.

For breakfast they sometimes prepare a thin batter for the guests, and this is poured into the concave side of the *sâǧ* and baked. This bread, called *maṣli*, when fresh tastes almost like our pancakes.

If bread is to be baked quickly, they knead one large cake from the dough, place it on the hot ashes, cover it with them, and light another fire above the ashes. It is turned once or twice and called *ǧamrijje*.

262 252 Leavened bread is eaten only in the cold season. They prepare the loaf in the evening, add a piece of yeast, *ḫâmer*, to the dough, and bake the bread in the morning. The Rwala prefer unleavened bread, *faṭîr*. They like to have the bread always fresh, *ǧedîd*. Bread of yesterday's baking, *bâjet*, must not be given to guests.

In the season of abundance, *rabî'*, they do not bake bread at all, and at other times seldom and usually only for guests. In two-thirds of the tents bread is not baked all the year round, and many of the women taste it only once or twice throughout their lives. They have an expression of praise: "This is the tent of bread; here bread is baked. So and So is very rich and bountiful; he has bread, he is the master of bread, *râ'i-l-ḫubez*."

In addition to milk the Rwala live mostly on *'ejš*. This is boiled from crushed wheat or wheat pounded in a mill. Among the chiefs the wheat is ground into groats, *ǧerîš*. On the crushed or ground wheat water is poured, salt is added, and it is boiled into a thick paste. If they have enough *leben*, the women pour it upon the *'ejš*, *tebajjeẓ al-'ejš*, making *bejâẓa*. *'Ejš* is prepared almost daily for supper. What is left over is served for next day's luncheon and eaten cold, *beride*.

[484 251] If the Rwala are proceeding on a short journey and know that they will find no tents for two or three days, they roast a little wheat on the *sâǧ*, shake it into a leather sack, and feed on it. This is called *ḫamîsa*. As the old men do not have good teeth, instead of roasted wheat grain they take a couple of handfuls of flour and eat this without any preparation. They call it *lehme*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x
539x

Mâ-rîd ana nâzel aṭ-ṭaffa
w-lâ-lli saken 'aḳlat al-wâdi
la' mâ ḥala mḳâbel aṣ-ṣaffa
w-al-raŝmeri ḳarm al-awlâdi.

I desire not him who camps on the plateau,
Nor him who lives at the well down the valley.
How sweet is he whose tent is pitched on the opposite side,
For he is the subduer, the flower of all youth.

[484
342]

It is the maiden's wish that her lover may pitch his tent on the other side of the valley. *Ṭaffa* is a plateau intersected by a deep valley. In a territory where no hostile attack is feared the clansmen pitch their tents where it suits them. Many choose the plateau itself, where their camels can graze freely; others prefer to be near water and therefore pitch their tents near the *'aḳla* well; others again — and these are the most numerous — select some wider and more level part of the channel bank, protected against the wind and sand and where they are also safe from the herds crowding down to the water. The tents are generally pitched in two rows separated by the channel. The sides of these tents as a rule are closed towards the wind, so that it is impossible to look from one into the other. But the women like to lift the canvas in the back of the tent and to peep through the chink at what is going on in the tents on the opposite side. To the last song they add:

Alli ḏelûleh leha ḥaffa
min fowḳeha-l-ḫurǧ w-šdâdi
jâ mâ ḥala lam'at ad-daffa'
čân al-ṛazi jammana bâdi.

Whose she-riding-camel is swift as a tempest
With a bag and a saddle on her back.
Oh, how sweet is the glitter of his mantle,
When the desired one rides hither in the evening!

Ḥaffa means a gallop as fast as a gale or tempest, an unsurpassed speed, during which the wind resounds in the ears. *Ḫurǧ* is a double bag that can be thrown across the camel saddle and also a smaller bag of the same kind to be put on the horse saddle. A *daffa* is a heavy winter cloak. Men

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD

831* 539* *Ṭâreš* (pl., *ṭrûš* or *ṭuršân*) is a native traveler. *Čeṭṭâ* means a rock or stone that is falling or crumbling to pieces. The maiden's heart dries up or crumbles with passion.

Min ʿaḏḏar waǧhi elja rommad
min baʿadakom jâ-l-kawâčibi
w-akfejtu w-slejfakom ʿammad
w-ani nahart at-taṛârîbi.

Who will excuse me if my face is covered with ashes and dust
Because of my parting from you, O you Kwâčbe!
For you have turned back, and a troop of your warriors proceeds on a straight course
While I go to the settled territory.

The maiden is sad because the Kwâčbe, kinsmen of her lover, are going to camp far in the rear, while her relatives [765] have started for Syria. If a woman loses a near relative, she throws dust and ashes on her head and face. The loving maiden would like to do the same but fears to be chidden for it. *Slejf* [484] (dimin. of *salaf*) is the armed troop at the head of the migrating clans, which does not ride now to the right, now to the left in search of good pasture but follows in a straight course *ʿammad*, because the grazing grounds have already been found by men sent out for that purpose and even the camping place has been decided upon. The verb *ṛarrabow* is employed with reference to Bedouins going to the settled territory in whatever direction. The maiden was to camp in Syria, the youth in the inner desert.

Jâ jumma ǧâni bèlaʾ muḫlef
waš ḫileti waš ana sâwi
damʿi ʿala waǧneti jaḏref
w-aṭneb ṭanîb aššab al-wâwi.

O little mother of mine! a sorrow has come upon me
What shall I do now? [without warning.
A tear flows down my cheek,
When I dwell in the neighborhood of a wolf howling.

Ṭanîb is a neighbor whose tent ropes, *aṭnâb*, touch the tent ropes of another. The maiden or woman has either lost her lover in a fight or he has proved unfaithful. She must

831x
539x

Zall ar-rabî' w-ḥawdarow lal-ḳejẓ
w-al-ṛarw mâ waḳna 'alejh
jâ-bu nhûd čannehen al-bejẓ
w-al-ḳalb waǧlânen 'alejh.

Gone is the time of plenty, and they have departed to the pastures of the midsummer;
But the beauty we nowhere saw.
Oh, for her with breasts like eggs!
My heart is grieving for her.

[484 221] In the time of the sultry heats of midsummer, *al-ḳejẓ*, the Bedouins camp in the lowlands, where water is found in abundance; therefore they have descended, *ḥawdarow*, from the plateaus.

Abṛi ataṛaṭṭa bel-manâm
w-al-'ajn mâ hi nâjime
'eddi ṣawîben bel-manâm
mâ žawwedû ḥazâjimeh.

I desire to cover myself in my bed,
But my eyes cannot close in sleep;
I feel like one lying wounded on his couch,
Whose bandages they have failed to renew.

[752] *'Eddi* or *čanni* means: "I feel like." *Ṣawîb* signifies to be wounded seriously, but not fatally. *Ḥazâjem* are poultices and bandages. If not applied well and renewed, *mâ žawwedû*, they cause still greater pain.

Ḳilt a'arẓûni 'ala-z-zarḳa
čann-ar-ramad ṣâjeben 'ajni
ḥabb al-ṛaṣi bel-ḥaša jarḳa
muḫṭar 'ala-l-čabd čâwini
wa' šejb 'ajni min al-farḳa
čân al-'arab bên šowrîni.

I said: 'lay me across a gray horse,'
For it seems as if blindness had struck my sight.
Love for the desired one grows in my entrails,
And burns me like red-hot iron laid on the stomach.
Ah, my eyes will become gray from the parting,
If the Arabs take different courses.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved.

Wa' šejb 'ajni, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' šejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart," are sayings used in misfortune.

Jâ râčeb alli ḏemîlaha zên
ḳamran ejdêha šarârijje
jâ manweti-lli ḥgleh mežfin
w-illa ṛariben naṣa ḥajjeh.

O thou who ridest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarâri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

Ḏemîl or *derhem* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḳamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarârât breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes, In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *mežfin*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, *ahl*. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṣa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṣa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*).

Jâ mdaḥraǧ ḫuf li ʿala-š-šaʿejle
čarreb li al-heǧên beššâdi
al-ʿafw mâ-ḳšarč lejle
ḥaššejt ṣanâdîl al-fwâdi
w-ašči leč jâ ḥajje jâ dwejle
w-ašûf ḥajjâneč ḳaffaw ṛâdi.

:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the rear." This was repeated several times. At last she sighted her lover. He drove before him two camels, each of whom carried two large water bags made of camel's hide and holding about 150 liters each; on a third, less burdened, he sat himself. 831x 539x

"Give me some water," begged the girl.

"Thou hast met so many *rwa*. Did none of them offer water to thee? Then if thou didst not get a drink from them, thou wilt not get any from me!"

Then the girl pulled out the appetizing cake. The hungry lover looked at it longingly, but she threw it to a dog near by and said:

"I shall not drink from thee, thou wilt not eat from me any more!"

Jumping down from the camel the youth now poured out the water for her, but she refused. When he called on her in the evening, she drove him away and sang the following *heǧêni*:

1. *Ḥaṭwa-l-walad jebči low mâ teʿašša*
   jeẓḥak w-low aṣbaḥ ʿala čabdeh az-zâd
2. *w-lâ hazhazanneh mebʿadât al-maʿašša*
   haḏâk alli jiẓher ṛajûb al-awlâd
3. *lâ waʾ ḥasâjef nehdi alli tnašša*
   jowm al-ǧehal w-arḥaṣt leh kill mâ-râd.

1. Many a youth cries when he gets no supper,
   And laughs when filling his stomach from the food
   taken for the journey.
2. But he who is not disturbed when a she-camel carries
   him away from his supper,
   Shows himself to be a pearl among the youths.
3. Oh, woe is me! how do I regret that he has inhaled
   the fragrance of my breast,
   In a moment of heedlessness, when I permitted him
   all that he wished.

Verse 2. *Mebʿadât al-maʿašša*, making distant the place of supper, are female riding camels moving away with their riders from the home tents, where supper was sure to be had, and speeding into the desert, where it is never known when a hospitable camp may be reached. Even if the riders are provided with flour or wheat, they are always uncertain where 484 539x 831x

2:Musil .S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[484] 539x 831x and when to prepare their supper. If a hostile troop or its traces are discovered, such a thing as cooking a meal is not to be thought of. 3. *Jowm al-ğehal* refers to those moments when, blinded by passion, one acts regardless of the consequences; such a person is called *ğâhel*.

Unrequited and Thwarted Love

Jâ ḥmûd wa' 'âreẓni šâbi
ṭard al-hawa' ğizt ana minneh
akûd wazzâḥ an-nijâbi
haḏâk minni w-ana minneh.

O Ḥmûd, alas, my gray hair is a hindrance to me.
Enough now in amorous contests;
Only she with the white teeth,
She is my love and I am hers.

Mâ-bṛi 'aširi walad ḳowbân
miṯl as-slûḳi jeloḅbi le
jâ leḥjeten minḳa' aṣ-ṣîbân
w-al-ḳaml w-er'û ženâdîleh.

I will have no lazy glutton for lover of mine,
Who would cling to me always like a *slûḳi*.
Oh, that chin beard of his, basin for nits
And lice; and only look at his big head!

Ḳowbân or *'efen* is a fat loafer who likes to eat and sleep but is no lover of raids. *Slûḳi* (or *sluḳi*) is a greyhound. [231] While other dogs are not allowed to enter the tent at all, the greyhound indulges himself both on the rugs and in the bed and will not stir from his master and mistress, eagerly waiting for a mouthful to be thrown to him.

Šowḳi jâ 'uwejd aṣ-ṣam'a
wa' mžejjilen beš-šîḥa
hâḏi 'elûmak teğîni
w-allâh ani mustarîḥa
edd edd mâ tšûfak 'ejni
jâ hâreb 'ala-ṣ-ṣîḥa.

Oh, that lover of mine! that little stalk of *ṣam'a*,
Ah! in *šîḥ* plants he hides at noon.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The poet, Ṣaḳḳâr, a native of the settlement of al-Kubejsa, was a peddler among the branch of the Šammar tribe camping between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris. The chief Fâres of the reigning family Âl Ğarba' was his protector. The name of the chief's father was Ṣfûḳ, his mother's name 'Amša. Both father and son hated the Turkish strangers intensely on account of the wrongs they had to suffer from the governor at Mosul. In the poem cited above Ṣaḳḳâr praises himself and extols Fâres. The narrators were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 3. *Howza,* instead of *hezz*, shake or nod. The hoofs of some she-camels are covered with too fine a skin. When such an animal walks for any length of time on rocky roads, especially in volcanic regions strewn with sharp pieces of lava, the hoof skin becomes covered with callous spots or scars so that blood flows at every step. In speaking of a camel in this condition the Rwala use the verb *ḥafat*, meaning "she has become calloused or scarred, she walks barefoot." To save his animal from loss of blood, the rider cuts out from a tough camel hide pieces of the size of the hoof, and stitches them, *jirḳa'*, under the scarred hoof. The she-camel tries to rid herself of the uncomfortable sole by rubbing it against rocks and often cuts the stitches, which must be repaired at once, causing the rider much fatigue and delay (see my *The Northern Ḥeğâz*, New York, 1926, pp. 194-196). 4. Al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb are valleys heading in the northeastern part of the desert of al-Ḥamâd. 5. *'Ûd al-leğâwi* is a stick made from an almond shoot. 7. Ṣalfîẓ is a son of Fâres. *'Awḳ ar-rudûm* is a poetical term. *Rudûm* here signifies she-camels so fat that they can hardly move. 9. Fâres lived in perpetual discord with the Turkish Government, refusing to recognize its claims, crushing them as would a millwheel. 11. Ḏijâb eben Ṛânem was famous for his bravery, *farse*, generosity, *karam*, and judgment, *'aḳel*. These three qualities gained for him the title *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa*, meaning "famous for his great sagacity," or, possibly, "gentleman." 12. A rider in the desert at night cannot guide himself by stars which change their place. The pole star, being almost stationary, is the traveler's safest guide. 14. *Ṣwâže'* are meteors which crush everything upon which they fall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

442 437 *mu'azzeb*, in so far as he protects him as his guest but does not board him. The Bedouins now bring their camels to his white tents, *ḫijâm*, and as a rule sell them for cash. Only when the agent has brought arms and ammunition from al-Kwejt or al-'Ażêr for sale, will they exchange their animals for these articles. On the sale of every camel the prince or the chief gets one-half or one *meğidijje* ($0.45 or 0.90). The purchased animal is then branded with the 'Aḳejli mark and left to graze in the herd with the others. For his herdsmen the 'Aḳejli hires youths from the tribe where he is buying at the time. Many herdsmen accompany the agent's herds as far as Egypt and on their return tell of the wonderful things they have seen or learned on their trip. If the 'Aḳejli buys camels in the inner desert, he remains with the purchased herds for many weeks, or even months, with the same tribe, waiting until it moves to the settled territory, generally toward the end of June. If he buys from tribes who never leave the inner desert he drives the herds he has bought from tribe to tribe, until he comes to some clan of a tribe which leaves as a rule in May or June for the tilled territory in order to supply itself there for its sojourn in the desert. On reaching the border of the desert, the 'Aḳejli proceeds to the nearest large town where camel markets are held. If he can sell his animals there advantageously, he will do so and return to the tribe from which he came and buy camels again; but should he think that he could do better in Egypt, he will buy everything he can from other speculators whom he happens to find in the town and then journey on to Egypt.

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442 676 The herds belonging to the 'Aḳejl may be captured by strange raiders, just as the herds of members of the tribe with whom he happens to be migrating, and for that reason the 'Aḳejl have in every large clan their brother, *aḫ*, to whom they pay, *jeḫîh*, from four to five Turkish pounds ($18 to 22.50), one good riding camel, and two or three good cloaks annually. This brother is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan. Among the Rwala and the Weld 'Ali the 'Aḳejl have brothers in the following kins: Eben Mašhûr, Eben Der'ân, Eben Ğandal, Eben Mğejd, Eben Me'ğel, and Eben Ḥamad al-Wlêd'i or al-Wahbi (of the Weld 'Ali, also called the Beni Wahab). If the Rwala bring home from one of their raids camels bearing the 'Aḳejl brand and there is no 'Aḳejli camping with them, the *aḫ* drives these

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539k Verse 2. All were big with young, wherefore they were followed by their owners, who were unwilling to sell them abroad. The animals were to return to their herds so as to bring the owners further profit after bearing. *Hom jetabârû* means "they follow" or "they are coming after us." *Teḳel*, [231] instead of the correct *teḳûl*, "thou mightest say." 3. A hard, therefore erect, neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and bulging fleshy shoulders are considered good qualities in a camel. 4. *Muwaffeḳin al-ḫejr*, has the same meaning as *šâjefin al-ḫejr*, perceiving luck. *Ṣu'lû* for *waṣṣelû* or *ṣelû*, "Make to reach" or "Bring!" *Ṛowš*, or *'ejâl*, indicates youths of eighteen to twenty [H 15] years, also heroes gallant in war. 5. *Ṣanḍûḳ* is a small box, case, or chest, a rare thing among the Rwala. The prince alone has one 50 centimeters long, 30 wide, and 20 high, in which he keeps his papers and money. As the common Bedouin thinks that every box is filled with gold, the traveler must wrap his cases containing scientific instruments in sacks, lest they arouse a desire for booty. The youths are to guard our poet's message like a treasure box. *Fetijje* is a she-camel from six to ten years old; the milk of such *fetât* is said to taste the best. 6. *Rajjeẓû*, *waẓẓefû*, *waẓfû* or *ta'awwaḳû*, mean "Halt!" [276] "Stop!" or "Wait!" *Ṛaljûn* is a tobacco pipe with a long stem; among the Rwala it is used only by women. *Ḥeber* is [212] a dry powder made from gallnuts and green vitriol which is put into an inkpot and mixed with water. 7. *"Ḥûfû 'alejhen"* [484] shouts the caravan leader to his comrades when the saddled camels have risen with their loads; thus he orders them to look around the camping place to see if anything has been forgotten, to examine whether the burdens are placed on the camels so as not to overbalance or gall the animals and whether the straps are tight, the saddles do not lean to one side, etc. *Ḳarâmîš al-ḫala* is the outfit needed in the desert, such as waterproof bags filled with water, flour, dry locusts, matches, and the like. Many a rider would take all kinds of supplies when going to the desert, but if he has to leave in a hurry, he has to be satisfied with what is just handy or ready, *wâlmât*. 8. The road from al-Ǧowf to the Ḥawrân leads almost directly northwest; the North Star is therefore against the rider's right shoulder. *An-na'âjem saba'a* are the seven principal stars of the Great Bear. 12. Al-Âjde is a division of the Weld 'Ali, famous for its wealth, as are also the Âl Sa'dûn, the house of the head chief of the Muntifeḳ tribe.

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Al-bel eḥmû laha-l-bir
samnat w-ṭâlat ḏerâha
wa' ḳorob ḥajjen tenaṣṣâh
wa' ba'ad ḥajjen warâha.

Go, seize the well for camels!
Their humps have become fat and have grown high.
Ah, how near the kin to which they hasten!
Ah, how far the kin they have left behind!

Whenever the Bedouins intend to encamp at a large watering place consisting of many wells, their youths ride ahead of the moving tribe on horseback or on camels and each seizes some of the known wells to make sure of water for his herds. Having seized a well, he unsaddles his animal, sits down by the saddle, and waits for the arrival of the tribe. At its approach he beckons to his own people to pitch the tent where he is sitting. If the spot is not suitable, the tent is put up farther away, but the youth watches the well till all the Bedouins are encamped and everybody knows to whom each of the wells belongs. As the water is not equally divided among all the wells, the owners of smaller herds to whom no well has been allotted ask their happier fellow tribesmen for leave to water from theirs. [484 312]

Ḏelûli jâ ša'êle	O thou, my dark ashen-gray riding camel,
ḏelûl eben 'îd	Camel from the Eben 'Îd breed,
žirbeti šowšelijje	Know that my water pouch is but small
w-al-mrawa ba'îd.	And the watering place distant.

The rider urges his camel to keep up her speed. *Žirbe šowšelijje* is a leather water pouch holding no more than six liters.

Al-heǧen jâ ḫaj jâ ramṭân
mâ jenlaḥež ǧezâhenne
ams az-ẓaḥa bidjâr al-ḳowmân
w-al-jowm bidjâr ahalhenne.

For the riding camels, O Ramṭân, thou little brother of
Naught can be found that would reward them. [mine,
Yesterday when dew evaporated they were still in hostile
And today they are in the land of their owners. [land

Mâ jenlaḥež ǧezâhenne, no reward will be found for them. When a man does a kind act for another, the recipient acknow- 000

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSPITALITY

SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâme*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *mâḫûḏ*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tarâkom mwaṣṣedîn w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwaṣṣed*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḳawwi* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ hala*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jesallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

576 "May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh je'âfik.*"
609 "How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"
484 "May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh je'âfik w-jesallem râlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[203] It takes some time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-ma'âzîb.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terawweḥûnahom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

2: Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teshûn al-'aṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ 'endana ma'*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *tafwîh*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *rana' b'âli ḥesseh*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[Travelers' Diaries]

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Jâ râčeb al-ḥamra' O thou who ridest a bay!
jâ ṣâreb an-nijje Thou comest as if sent for;
ekhar w-'allemni Stop now and tell me thy news,
elja 'âd lak nijje. If thou wishest, of course.

Bên al-bišri w-as-suḫne
jâ ṭejr hât 'elûmah
jiḏkar 'aširi waǧa'ân
w-min al-baṭa mâ-lûmah.

Betwixt al-Bišri and as-Suḫne,
O falcon! give me news of her.
My sweetheart is ill, I hear,
For the delay, therefore, I blame her not.

Bêni w-bên al-ṛâli
sinǧâr miṯl al-ṛejme
hâḏa mrâḥ al-ṛâli
w-hâḏa manâm ṭu'ejme.

Between me and my sweetheart
Sinǧâr is rising like a cloud.
This is the spot where at night my sweetheart's flock rested,
And this is the spot where Ṭu'ejme slept.

Jâ-hla-l-ešedde
jâ mwaffeḳîn al-ḫejr
allâh jeruddeh
ma'kom šerîč ar-rûḥ.

O ye camel riders!
O ye, who always meet with success!
May Allâh turn evil from you,
For my soul's comrade is among you.

A lover salutes the camel riders who accompany the moving clan of his sweetheart.

Mâ-'ṭi ḏelûli
low 'arraẓow li-š-šowḳ
nabṛi neḥûli
low ḥâlat al-ṛulmân.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

My she-camel I shall not yield
Even if they offer my sweetheart for it.
We are resolved to die from exhaustion,
Should our heroes not do as was agreed.

The singer will not yield his she-camel to the enemy even if offered in exchange his sweetheart, who has been refused to him by her kinsfolk. Without booty he will not return. Should he and his fellow travelers not be met at the appointed place by their companions bringing food and water, they will not ask these of their enemies but will try to return home with the captured camels across the desert.

Ḥasabt al-ḳoṛat [sic] *teṭawwel w-bejti ṭanib lebejtah*
lejteni čefijjet lešowki kill mâ-ltaṭam ḥabbejtah.

I thought the friendship would last longer and my tent
be pitched beside hers.
O that I were my beloved's kerchief, for whenever she
covered her chin with it I should kiss her.

RECEPTION OF THE TRAVELER

When the traveler wants to enter a tent as a guest, as a rule he approaches from the rear, stopping his camel by the side of the men's quarters. The inhabitants of the tents he is passing examine him at leisure, well knowing that he is not coming to them, as then he would not ride along the fronts of their tents. At the same time the people in the tents whose backs are turned to the rider take stock of him through every gap, women as well as men. They all are interested to learn who he is and where he will dismount. But when he is near the end of the camp, men come out running from many tents, seize his animal by the rein, and try to lead it to their tents, quarreling among themselves.

One shouts: "May I lose my right hand if thou wilt not dismount at my tent! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min jimnâi.*"

A second: "May I lose my head! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min râsi.*"

A third: "May I lose the faculty of begetting! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min maḥzemi.*"

Another: "May I lose my wife!" or "May I lose my gentility! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min al-mruwwa.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

15. Before your faces good fortune will bring success to all,
With help of the angels and of Him who built his heaven.
16. O chief, both warriors and clans migrating follow thee,
And the youths give the enemy that drink for which
he had much craved.
17. O chief, thou giver of she-camels with long reins,
Thou givest also long-paced fearless mares.
18. Ah, [this poem] should be sung at all gatherings!
Ah, they will have to ask us how it was rewarded.
19. Then I shall say: "From Eben Ša'lân came to me
A sorrel she-camel with bulging back and enduring of gait."
20. He who dwells far from his camp, seeks, when seized
by longing,
[To hasten home as fast] as an ostrich which has sighted
him who fired the shot.
21. Even if I slept, the eyes' sleep, O chief, will not bring rest,
For, O chief, every eye weeps for its own sorrow!

This poem was composed by Miz'el aḫu Za'êla from the despised Šlejb tribe and recited to me by the poet. He adapted his pronunciation to that of the Rwala, whose dialect he had perfectly mastered.

Verse 1. Among the Rwala there is no morning call to prayers, but the poet refers to it just as he used words which are not colloquial. The Muntifeš carry a flag on all their raids, and the members of the tribes allied with them do the same. 2. Al-Markab is sacred to all the Rwala. Should they lose it once only, should it be captured by the enemy, they would not be allowed to procure a new one, the emblem of their unity would be lost, and they would think that Allâh had deserted them. 3. *Al-mâṭeli* is a rifle constructed after the Martini model. *Ješda*, or *ješbah*: he resembles. 4. By *aš-šejḫ nâf* is meant here Prince an-Nûri, who excelled all by his bravery and prudence. 5. *Tefâfiš* are sharpshooters, marksmen; *tefaka*, a rifle. 6. *Aṣ'ân* are the camels which carry the tents, clothing, household goods, women, and children of a migrating clan. One of the principal tasks of a chief is to ensure safety during migration, as it is then that the tribe is in greatest danger, for then the camels are most easily frightened. The main body of the warriors ride, as a rule, at the head of the clan, while smaller troops are interspersed among the herds of camels grazing along the way. When the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

484 221 539² 726² enemy is sighted, the main troop advances to meet them. If the enemy is stronger, they are usually scattered, thus leaving the women and the laden camels without protection. The enemy then lead away the camels and search for what is most valuable, thus uncovering what the fair women have concealed. This was prevented by an-Nûri, who remained at the side of the deserted women. 7. *Lejṯ ṣarmân*, an angry, irritated lion, is another poetical expression. Like a bloodthirsty wolf, *ḏîb aṣ-ṣawâri*, did an-Nûri crush the attacking enemy, who were unable to resist him. 8. *Hafat* is said of a mare either utterly exhausted or with a dislocated foot which hinders her moving. 9. The fight took place between al-Ḥšejbi and Fejḥân, therefore the wolves there were howling with joy at the feast prepared for them. A hyena is called *'arǧa'*, lame, because it cannot run fast or for very long. 10. *Afṭar bkowsénen* means that he breakfasted on two fights, because the Rwala with an-Nûri at their head first repulsed at Fejḥân the raid made on them by Ṭâmer, the son of Sa'dûn, then attacked Eben Meglâd, a protégé of Sa'dûn, near al-Êweg northwest of Line, and finally defeated Sa'dûn himself in the encounters at al-Ḥšejbi and al-Mḥaṭa. 11. *Al-ḫejl emtellât* are mares, which, being too exhausted to run any farther, are left behind. *Al-ḫalîb elja ṯjaḍḍat ḥṭûha*, long-tailed mares whose pace grew slow, are mares with long tail hair and with their legs hurt in the fight; they are too slow to avoid the blows. 12. *Jaḥḍi* or *ja'ṭi:* he distributes gifts. Nawwâf does not keep the booty himself but distributes it among those whom he likes. 13. *Ṣḥûn* are large trays on which meat is set before the guests. Both Prince an-Nûri and his son Nawwâf entertain guests continually; meat is always being cooked, and therefore their trays are full of fat drops resembling [643] drops of dew. 14. The chiefs an-Nûri and Nawwâf are descended from a house which has given to the Rwala from ancient times chiefs and conquerors of riders. 15. *Miḥân* signifies success, favorable result. *Mulûk*, for *malâjika*, angels. *Bǧâh*, or *b'awne:* with the help, under the protection of. 17. *Koḥûm* is a horse afraid of nothing. 18. *Wa' ṣejjûr* is a poetical term for *lâ budd*, absolutely certain, necessary. 19. *Nâbi ḳarûḥa* is a fat camel whose hump resembles a bulging knoll, a cone. 20. The poet longs for a present so that he can return to his Šejb soon. *Tafzîz rabda* is the fastest gait of an ostrich, during which it flaps its wings. The bird runs in this manner

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

467 the brilliant blue of the skies. Bumpy, dried mud-paths ran through the bare fields and thin, grey meadows. Then came rolling plains, across which ran a puzzling confusion of paths. On the edge of the steppe stood a [486] Syrian Custom's station, where our passports were examined. At last we could leave the overland route; and now, without paths or signposts to guide us, we were in the uncharted desert. Our automobile raced over the hard, dry, pebble-strewn soil, ever eastward, along a never-ending, narrow tongue of land that seemed to dip deeper and deeper into a boundless, shimmering sea. A cloudless sky rose above us and on either side were misty gleams of water over which the air quivered. Suddenly, like apparitions out of the haze, appeared some Arab [492] sheep-breeders. They had but few camels and horses with them, but they rode on asses—a sign of their decadence. They were Fua're. We noticed them as we bore away towards a sheet of water glistening in an elongated depression of the desert.

133 Mirages were frequent and often incredibly deceptive. Only with difficulty was it possible to distinguish the real rain pools, which were only a foot or so deep with their surfaces ruffled by the wind, from the phantom pools, whose surfaces would be smooth and glassy. Suddenly we noticed ahead of us numerous flocks of sheep. Almost breast-deep they were crossing the flooded land. Automatically I reduced speed, for I suddenly saw, not a hundred yards ahead, a gleam of water—a shallow lake—and we were driving straight into it. I twisted the steering-wheel round, and then only did I realize that what we saw was a dry trough filled with

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 Our leader slipped from his *dhalul* and called back joyously: "Jirad ibn Jeneyb!" It was one of the *shiyukhs* of the Beni Sakhr, and an old acquaintance of Faris.

726 619 In a trice the Beni Sakhr broke cover and pressed about us. We were deluged with questions as they led us to their camp, a few hours' distant. On the way Faris told them of the capture of a scout of their tribe and of our peaceable journey of inquiry into their grazing-grounds. Ever and again Ibn Jeneyb protested that the Beni Sakhr were at "unclouded peace" with the Ruala and that the captured spy must be a robber and an outcast from the tribe, who wanted to plunder the Ruala on his own account.

• [486] When we had dismounted in his camp, Ibn Jeneyb had a camel slaughtered before our eyes. A slave caught its blood in a bowl. He then tore up a bunch of herbs, dipped it in the blood, and with this brush painted the tribal emblem on the necks and flanks of our riding-camels. This was to serve, as it were, as a guarantee of our peaceful intentions and as a safe conduct among the rest of the Beni Sakhr.

A small detachment of them were still pursuing Bedouins of the northwestern lava region, who had broken into the Wadi Sirhan and, the day before, had fallen on Beni Sakhr herders, grazing their camels. The raiders lost one dead—it was his corpse we had found—while the Beni Sakhr had two men wounded.

763 I visited these wounded men and found one of them, with two ghastly bullet wounds in his chest and abdomen, lying at the point of death. I did my best to save him—I had my case of surgical instruments, mor-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey. 609

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhaluls*. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty. 627 577

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory. 609 [486]

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

CHAPTER XVII

PROTECTION OF THE OPPRESSED

COUNTENANCE OR *WAĞH*

572 486 Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies to a person regardless whether present or not is called a countenance, *waǧh*. Before the countenance of some Rwejli it is possible to travel through the whole Rwala territory without fear of an attack or of violence. Before the countenance of Prince an-Nûri one may cross not only the Rwala territory but also that of all other tribes which acknowledge his sovereignty. It is said of the prince that he resembles a long branch to which smaller twigs are attached.

486 622 576 Whoever wishes to travel through the territory of a powerful chief goes first to him with the following request:

"I desire to ride through the pastures of thy tribe, so grant me the protection of thy countenance." If the chief answers:

"Undertake thy journey in peace! Behold, I give thee my countenance, *midd maʿ as-salâme tarâni eʿṭik waǧhi*," he may start as tranquilly as if accompanied by the chief himself.

If a man wishes to visit the territory of a strange tribe and has no comrade, *ḫawi*, of that tribe to go with him, he declares in the presence of some respected men of the neighboring tribe: "Behold, I go on a lengthy journey before the countenance, under the protection, of Chief So-and-So whose territory I shall soon enter." Then he continues his journey. When he meets the first members of the tribe in question, he shouts at them from afar:

"Behold! I travel under the protection of your chief." Should they disbelieve and rob him, he still tries to reach their chief, to whom he complains:

"I undertook this journey before thy face! *maddejt bwaǧhak*."

The chief, disliking complications, replies: "That is a lie, *čiḏeb*." But the plundered man continues:

"I undertook this journey before thy face, as So-and-So from the Such-and-Such tribe, whose word is believed, *raǧâlen maʿḫûḏen čalâmahom*, will testify."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him.

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-waǧh naẓîf mâ jaršâh ad-danas.*

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abher had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry:

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw msâfet šahr zamânen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḥâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
● 486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
635 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *takṭî' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
628] is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
619 traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The
more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his
protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to
protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division
of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have
an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats
a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet*
su'ra. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler
to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim
is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request,
min rejr nab' jefekkeh. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger
cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana
Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Bišr and also to all the
'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧḥ wâḥed*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou [illegible] my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSPITALITY

SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâme*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *mâḫûd*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tarâkom mwaṣṣedin w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwaṣṣed*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḳawwi* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ ḫala*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jesallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

nay deadly, enemies for centuries. But the family of 619
Faris had, because of a blood-feud, been living with the 628
Ruala for the past sixteen years. This accounted for the fact that a Shammar could act as my protector in the territory of his tribe's deadly enemies; but the choice also displayed Nuri's wisdom. Being a Shammar, Faris could safeguard me with the enemies of the Ruala, while as Nuri's confidant, he could answer for me before every Rueyli.

Faris was an exceptional man. From the moment of 157
our first meeting, when Nuri introduced him to me, I felt that this must be more than a mere chance acquaintance. The softness of his voice, as he wished me "Peace", and the grip of his strong, manly hand in an instant disclosed to me the open and pure soul of the young Bedouin. Under his hair-cloth cloak beat a heart so affectionate, yet so stout, that I must confess I have never encountered its like among the children of men. To his last breath he was the truest friend I have ever known. Faris was also one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His noble, oval face was unforgettable, with its gentle, dark eyes. His wonderful hair and beard, his flowing shepherd's cloak, made him a striking figure. Tender and gentle as he was, Faris was yet among the boldest and bravest of Ishmaelites. Perhaps he was living two thousand years too late.

After we had left the old suburbs of Damascus be- 487
hind us, our way led through walnut, olive and apricot orchards into the great open spaces. Majestically the snow-capped peaks of the Syrian mountains rose into

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD- wala MD4

●487 the brilliant blue of the skies. Bumpy, dried mud-paths ran through the bare fields and thin, grey meadows. Then came rolling plains, across which ran a puzzling confusion of paths. On the edge of the steppe stood a [486] Syrian Custom's station, where our passports were examined. At last we could leave the overland route; and now, without paths or signposts to guide us, we were in the uncharted desert. Our automobile raced over the hard, dry, pebble-strewn soil, ever eastward, along a never-ending, narrow tongue of land that seemed to dip deeper and deeper into a boundless, shimmering sea. A cloudless sky rose above us and on either side were misty gleams of water over which the air quivered. Suddenly, like apparitions out of the haze, appeared some Arab [492] sheep-breeders. They had but few camels and horses with them, but they rode on asses—a sign of their decadence. They were Fua're. We noticed them as we bore away towards a sheet of water glistening in an elongated depression of the desert.

133 Mirages were frequent and often incredibly deceptive. Only with difficulty was it possible to distinguish the real rain pools, which were only a foot or so deep with their surfaces ruffled by the wind, from the phantom pools, whose surfaces would be smooth and glassy. Suddenly we noticed ahead of us numerous flocks of sheep. Almost breast-deep they were crossing the flooded land. Automatically I reduced speed, for I suddenly saw, not a hundred yards ahead, a gleam of water—a shallow lake—and we were driving straight into it. I twisted the steering-wheel round, and then only did I realize that what we saw was a dry trough filled with

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 I, and two slaves—had consequences which we did not then anticipate.

[487] We held a straight northerly course until we crossed
[648] the old Tudmur-Baghdad caravan route—"The Road of Death", as the Ruala had come to call it since the French Administration had forbidden them to cross it. Their camps were already within thirty-odd miles of it.

The scenery changed after we had passed beyond this "boundary." With a hardly perceptible gradient, the wide plain rose toward distant hills. White clouds sailed in the blue sky—a long-missed and promising sight, for it was the first sign of rain we had seen for weeks. Herbage was visibly thriving here, thicker and much taller, and there were flowers. The farther we advanced into the North and the uplands, the richer became the vegetation; and many wild fowl and also some gazelles started up at our approach.

We pushed on through the virgin grasslands without stopping at a speed of twenty-five to forty miles an hour, in spite of mounds and hills rising in close succession, until we had travelled perhaps a hundred and twenty-five miles from our base—not, however, in a straight line, for I (who had the wheel) had made many a wide detour to avoid the enemy's tents. Now and then we had sighted enemy bands, sometimes appearing with startling suddenness, and had been fired at. But we were always out of range, and without being harmed or having to answer the fire, we reached, in the afternoon, the pastures of Nethel in the upland steppe among the northern hills of the Abu Rijmeyn.

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VI

The Commander of Our Camel-Saddles

721 [202] WHEN WE DREW rein, slaves were already lighting a huge signal-fire to call together the warriors of the tribe. A strong raiding-party of the Bishri (the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Saba, and Amarat) was reported to be advancing. It was said to number five hundred camel-riders, with some hundreds of war-mares. Perhaps the numbers were exaggerated.

That night Amir Fuaz made all his dispositions. Before the first grey of dawn Faris was at my bedside. "Awake, if thou wouldst ride with us," I heard him say, with a laugh. I jumped up and hastened to make ready for the march. Faris handed me a filled water-skin, a lump of pressed dates, several balls of hard Bedouin cheese, the size of a fist, and a stack of fresh-baked [492] bread-cakes. With the help of Mnahi, who was to be my rider-attendant, I stowed everything in the saddlebags of my *dhalul* (racing-camel), saddled Sadha, my white war-mare, and tied her by her halter to the dromedary's cinch.

Amir Fuaz had appointed Faris leader of our camel corps.

724 It was still dark when we started. The moon had set. The night was calm and the voices of the riders chanting as they rode made no echo, but moved over the desert

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

like a wave of sound—eerie, magic, beautiful. In the darkness loomed the indistinct figures of the camels; now and then only was heard the faint padding of soft soles, or the creak of a saddle. Thus, like riders from another world, we made our noiseless way among the hills, till dawn broke over them and at last the sun rose.

Slender, silver chains, braided girths, and coloured halters, embroidered with blue and red beads, adorned the necks and flanks of our camels. At their sides cantered the riderless mares, necks gently arched, supple backs taut, tails high—held only by the gay-coloured top-piece of the woollen headgear; for the Bedouins of Arabia, in contrast to the African, use neither bit nor bridle. The thin saddle-cloths were made of panther or gazelle skins, secured by a narrow leather girth.

Like wildcats, with glittering eyes and taut muscles, the companion-riders crouched behind their comrades on the high humps of the camels, carbines at the ready. From their shoulders floated the ends of their *kaffiyahs*, which they wore wound about head and neck.

In the early afternoon, Faris, riding at our head in the midst of his black bodyguard, gave the signal to change mounts; he had seen a dust cloud which, it appeared, was caused by two automobiles now approaching rapidly.

In the twinkling of an eye, sixty-seven fierce fellows had flung themselves, rifle in hand, from their trotting dromedaries to the backs of their mares and had unslipped the lines from the camel-girths. Then they dug their bare heels into their horses' flanks, and leaving the camel-troop behind, forged ahead and were lost in a

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 thigh. She loved to rub herself against me and to play with me; and at night, chewing her cud, she would snuggle and bend so cleverly that I had a comfortable, sheltered bed-place against her warm body.

She was sumptuously caparisoned. Her *shedad*, the silver-mounted saddle of acacia wood, with its leather cushions and three sheepskins, still rests on the floor of my room; and often of an evening I sit on it and read, or dream of Maha, the fleet Sharrarijeh. On the wall of my room hangs, wonderfully preserved, her saddle trappings and the huge goat-hair saddlebags, with long rows of knotted tassels and braided fringes that used to reach far below Maha's belly and swing in rhythm with her gait. Her *rashma*, too, I still have—the head-halter of fine, coloured wool—red, blue, and green on a black background.

492 533 Shouting merrily to one another and singing camel-songs, we trotted southward. In Arabia neither spurs nor whips are needed for urging on horses or camels. The riders' cheerful, rhythmic chants, their merry yodeling, their clear melodious voices, suffice. The Arab voice is very unlike the nasal, sleepy, monotonous croak of the Egyptians and Syrians. The Bedouin camel-songs are masculine, bold, and tuneful, so that the camels and the horses love this diversion. On the march these hardy, lean riders will sing hour after hour. But often enough they will be silent, when hunger, thirst, and dust have wearied them, or when it is expedient to muffle mouth and nose from the heat and sand.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

●492
701

Bedouin Raiders Riding out of Camp

Preparing for the Long Migration

221

following page 48.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

hour—but not half of that, as the crow flies—they were 133
doing well. When I expressed my wish to cross it, Faris sensibly protested that we were in no way prepared for such an undertaking and I had to content myself with Faris's extension of our ride southeast on the Nufud's margin. The desert spreads out here, sending broad tongues into the West Arabian plain; and it was over these outcrops that we first travelled, now among high dunes, then, a whole day long, across an upland flat. We rode round weathered sandstone ridges and across low depressions with dried-out rain pools, until we struck the Nufud proper again. There we reached the southernmost point of our journey. According to Faris, another day would take us to Teyma; we were thus within fifty miles of that famous oasis.

Up and down, up and down, went our way, as if over the humps of a myriad crouching, giant camels. At times our beasts became nervous and had to be led; and we even had to slip off our sandals or shoes to make headway, and on oversteep slopes stamp down footholds or shovel out steps with our hands and feet. It was fortu- [492] •
nate that we rode *dhaluls*, accustomed from early days to the Nufud. Camels from the flint desert or the lava regions will, indeed, steadfastly refuse to set foot on these unfamiliar sands.

The cheeks of the dunes were saturated with sunshine, glowing a deeper red as the day declined. They gleamed as if they were covered with smooth crimson silk. Were these virgin dunes, never yet trodden by a human being, knowing only the innocent little feet of the dainty gazelles?

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XII

Camels, Women, Children— and Locusts

231 OH, THESE CAMELS! They stamp and trample; they buck, they quarrel, they weep and take fright—yes! And they laugh; they are helpless, but ever and anon rebellious. They will run like a machine for hours, [492] and all at once stop or refuse to budge. Only with a rider in the saddle are they erect, proud animals, self-assured, noble, moving with elastic strides. With a dull herdsman seated on its hump, a camel too becomes dull, lazy and—gluttonous.

The camel is not merely a creature to ride. The nomad [262] makes use of it in many other ways. He cooks its wiry sinews and leathery muscles and eats them, though, even after boiling, the flesh is so tough that one's teeth are either blunted or loosened in the effort to chew it. The Arab drinks the camel's milk, and often in times of stress he will drink the turbid, sour fluid secreted in the [515] creature's stomach. On cold mornings the people warm their hands in the camel's urine and even wash their hair with it. It works deadly destruction on the parasites! The wool of the camel is collected and woven into [287] material for herdsmen's coats and for the garments of the women and children. The poor animals are loaded with incredible burdens; their dung provides fuel for

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 shall never be at peace until the slender blossom bends before the storm of my love," he said.

A few hours later Tuëma came. Her friend had given her the good news of her lover's return.

•[492] She appeared over the brow of a hill. Then she drew rein and leapt from her sorrel, drawing the halter between its forelegs and tying it over the left hock; thus the mare was free to graze, but could not run away.

Tuëma walked toward us with the grace of a fawn and we went to meet her. She put her arms around Faris's neck and said tenderly: "O thou, my life." And he replied: "O thou, my faith." Then we sat down together on the hill-top.

584 Tuëma cast her eyes about and asked with a mischie-
431 vous laugh: "Where is my bunch of wild flowers? My big beautiful bouquet?"

"Thy bunch of flowers?"

"Yes, and the silver anklets?"

Faris put on an air of importance and jingled the trinkets which he had in his pocket. Tuëma then gave him a look of surprise and, jumping up, reached for the hand which he had thrust into his pocket; but with the other he held her arm fast and said: "Thou must shut thy eyes and not open them until I have kissed them."

[301] She did as he bade her. Then he drew from his pocket the silver bangles which he had procured in Jauf and slipped them on Tuëma's ankles. She begged and begged to be allowed at least one look at the gift. "Not yet," cried Faris; "first I must deck thee with the flowers of the desert, the imperishable ones."

One by one the enamoured youth unloosed the ends

lr Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Raiders Resting on the Edge of the Nufud Desert

Riders Assembling to Go on a Raid

opposite page 81

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

221[x] North send them the longed-for rains. There had been no rain for weeks, except only in the region of Rueyshdat, where it had rained almost in torrents. The broad depressions were still full of water and smaller pools and puddles were dotted all over the district.

At last came the time for the start. The whole desert basin was alive and thronging with herds moving in one great heaving mass. There arose the confused din of more than three hundred thousand animals, which for miles round spread a penetrating musk-like smell.

492 493 221[x] Apart, on the flanks of the main mass, were the pack-camels, laden with tents, equipment, provisions, and so forth, under the guard of their drivers. Hundreds of lofty travelling-litters loomed up among them—the *kethabs* of the *shiyukhs* and wealthy tribesmen, tall "riding-tents" with widely curved horns, balanced on the backs of the long-legged beasts. Their interiors are adorned with costly silk and cashmere stuffs; the seats and backs are lined with rugs and padded with soft cushions. Like the wings of giant butterflies, the spreading sides of these tall and airy structures dipped above the tossing sea of animals.

221[x] Unceasingly, the stream of camels welled up from the basin to unite in an immense tidal wave more than five miles wide. The great columns of the camel trains began to take shape. With tireless energy, in all this heat, dust and noise, riders on sweating horses galloped from side to side, directing the herders where to fall in with their charges, mother camels and baby camels. The air resounded with the roaring, braying and squealing of the camels, the neighings of horses, the calls and curses of

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

were rolling up the tenting and covering the remains of the fire with sand. Milk-white camels were brought up for the women and girls of the *Sheykh's* household and made to kneel, so that they could mount to the travelling-litters on their backs.

In litters and saddlebags were carried the young of all species. From the lofty "riding-tent" of a *sheykh* looked out a smiling woman with a child at her breast. A camel calf, too unsteady as yet to travel on its feet, hung in a hamper suspended from its mother's hump; on her other side the wistful faces of two little girls peeped from the saddlebag. A troop of baby camels a few days old crowded up curiously and their mothers came and nuzzled them and tried to push them away.

Carried on camels in special saddle-frames, or hanging limply in the arms of their riders, were young foals, exhausted and starved, because the mother mares had been dry for days. Only the dogs were fat. They could glut themselves on the droves of fallen animals.

The multitude of the assembled tribe, with its chattels and herds, had swelled to gigantic proportions. Nothing like it had happened for generations. The whole nation was in movement. This was not one of the ordinary migrations that take place in the spring or autumn; rather was it one of the historic tribal exoduses that occur once in a generation—or century.

In their hundreds of thousands, grunting camels swarmed over the face of the wilderness. Their long necks rose and fell rhythmically. They undulated and flowed on as if they were carried forward by some invisible movement of the ground. Like locusts, they

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Raswan and Prince Fuaz with the Great Horsemen of the Ruala

[727]

Return from the Raid

following p. 128 (a)

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

622
291
492

Amir Fuaz ibn Nauaf An-Nuri, Mounted on His War-Mare, Shiha

following p. 128(b.)

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

701
.492

Camel Troop of the Ruala Returning from a Raid

Bedouins of Arabia on the War Path

opposite p. 129

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MJ4

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal, where our camels and horses were watered. One of the Fid'ans scraped a shallow hole in the soil and spread the saddle leather from one of the camels over it. Into this simple but practical trough we poured the stale water from the well.

After we had watered our animals, we travelled onward in the dry bed of the Al-Hajal *wadi*. We were crossing a flat between two branches of it when suddenly shots rang out and bullets whistled over our heads.

The Fid'an wheeled instantly to gallop out of range, but they did not get far. Our assailants, imperfectly visible but obviously numerous, followed up their warning volley with a raking fire that in as many seconds unhorsed four of the fugitives. Seeing that to escape was impossible, and to fight hopeless, they all stopped and signalled their surrender to the advancing force of camel-riders. More than a hundred of these had grown out of the ground, as it were, before my astonished eyes. The Fid'an had walked into a trap. They had been too reckless even to send scouts ahead.

I knew instantly that the newcomers were Ruala. The Saba have as intimate a knowledge of that region, but only the Ruala take the field with so many fine racing-camels; the Saba, like the Fid'an, favour horses.

"The Lord be with us!" exclaimed Matan, the leader of the Fid'an freebooters, now thoroughly frightened. He clearly thought himself lost; and he had every reason to believe that I should use the opportunity of paying him back in kind. But I reassured him. "We have made peace with thee," I said, "and I shall tell the leader of

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 entered the goat-hair roofs to sit round the camel-dung fires.

517 After midnight the parties broke up and we returned to our own camping-place. The Bedouins love these nocturnal palavers and, when not wandering, rest during the day in preparation for the long evening sittings.

224 We rolled up in our sheep skins for some hours, close to the fire, for the night had turned bitterly cold. Scarcely had we fallen asleep when it seemed to be time to get up again. It was still dark. Muffled figures rose and moved to the glowing embers, warmed their hands over them and thrust twigs into them to light their cigarettes.

"Get up, children!" was the cry.

• 492 The slaves went down the lines of camels, took off their woollen knee-hobbles and kicked or slapped them on the flanks. One by one the *dhaluls*, shadowy in the dark, rose and were saddled. The mares were as yet spared; they were to be ridden only in the chase. We led them with us, as usual, tied to our camels.

Dawn passed into a glowing, golden morning. Far out over the plain everything appeared pure and transparent, even in the farthest distance. Our spirits were refreshed, our senses awakened. The hunters changed from camel to horseback when we neared the ponds of Khabra Mirfiah, toward which ran many gazelle tracks.

Our beaters swarmed out and quickly put up a troop of gazelles, which they drove toward us.

The wild hunt was up. Halloo! How our mares stretched out! How the hoofs flew, as hunters and

2: Musil MD4 Rwala MD4

231, 232, 233, 492, 539

[General information about horses and camels will be found in category 231. Specific information about breeding, diseases and veterinary science will be found in category 232, about herding and pasturing in 233. Specific information pertaining to the use of camels and horses in transportation, associated practices and descriptions of gear will be found in category 492. For native texts applying to camels see category 116, pp. 340-346, 358-368; to horses, pp. 383-388.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṭw*, the names of the different parts of which as shown in Fig. 10 are: *a*, *râs an-naṭw*; *b*, *sida*ʾ; *c*, *ḥafa*ʾ; *d*, *nîra*; *e*, *ʿûd an-nîra*; *f*, *minšâz*; *g*, *ʿâžba* (or *leḥama*); *k*, *minša*ʾ; *h*, *ḥatwa*; *j*, *ḳâʿa*; *l*, *šîṣa*.

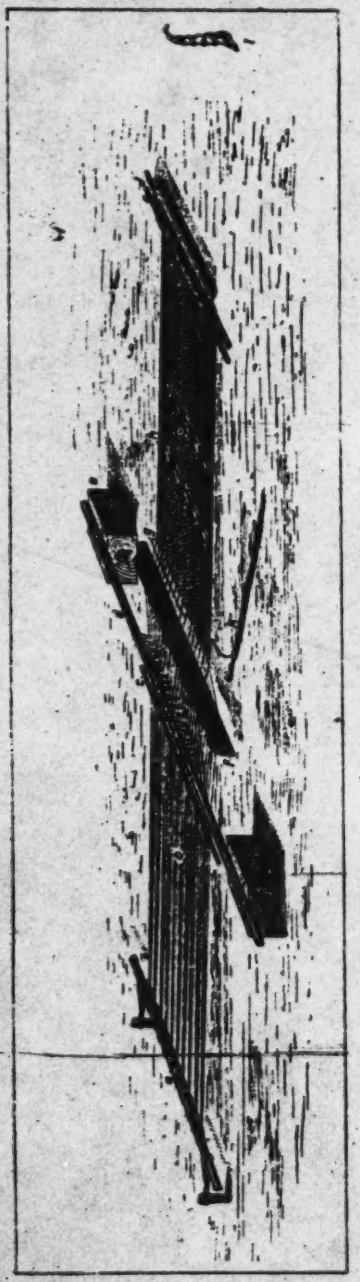

FIG. 10—A loom, *naṭw*.

The best silk kerchiefs and garments are kept in a small box, *ṣandûḳ*, which has a thin lining of tin.

By the side wall are placed the litters, either *žetab* or *ḳenn*, and the saddle bags with brightly colored trappings and long tassels, *mezwede*.

The *ḳenn* (pl., *ḳnene*) litters (Figs. 11, 12, 13) resemble rectangular cages, narrower at the bottom, and are made of wooden poles. The main poles forming the frame are called *ʿaṣjân* (Fig. 11, *c*), the four cross poles joining the main poles are called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*), and the vertical pole which strengthens the two back cross poles in the middle and terminates in a wooden knob is called *rwêʿi* (*a*). The *ḳenn* is fastened to the saddle known as *bedd* (or *wiṭr*) (*d*).

The *žetab* litters (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) are decorated in the most splendid manner. On the back of the camel is placed a saddle known as *wiṭr*, reinforced with cushions, *bdûda*. Upon these rest two pairs of wooden ribs, *ẓlâf* (Fig. 14, *f*), each terminating in a cone, *rwêʿi* (*a*, *j*). Two pairs of flexible poles, *ʿaṣfûr* (*d*) and *žaʿade* (*g*), each more than 5.5 meters long,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

are supported on these ribs and are fastened to the cones by stakes, *ḥoṣra* (*e*). The poles are joined by cross pieces, *ǧamb* (*h*) and *sâmûk* (*l*), and arched so that they form two pairs of wings, *ǧenâḥ* (*n*). These wings are drawn together in the middle on the top by means of wooden stakes, *lebad* (*k*) and *ḥani* (*m*). In the middle of the whole structure between the wings a leather seat, *soffa* (*c*), like a deep bowl is stitched to poles called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*). Of the poles which make the wings the upper parts and the outside ends of the lower parts have leather or linen twisted round them. The remainder of the lower parts, as well as the outer part of the two cones, are gaudily decorated with tiny shells. Here on a dark background there are small squares with red edges, and in the middle a blue rose with red leaves made of shells. Between the squares there are small white stars also made of shells. From the lower part of each of the poles marking the wings there is suspended a dark-red strip of cloth, *ḥwât* (*o*), about twenty centimeters broad and provided with tassels at either end which hang right down to the neck and tail of the camel. Red cloths or ribbons are also fastened to the upper parts of the wings. The *žetab* is placed on the saddle with the pillow known as *bedd* and is secured by means of straps under the breast, *ḥaḳab*, the stomach, *bṭân*, and tail, *ṭafar*.

The appearance of a number of these litters during a march is impressive. If they are seen in the distance on a pink sand drift surrounded by a blue, transparent atmospheric haze, they resemble huge butterflies swaying freely to and fro in the air. In the almost entirely flat, grayish-white desert of al-Ḥamâd, a grayish-white camel bearing the *žetab* and covered with various gaudy decorations fades from sight, while the magnificent litters project above the horizon and glide along as if upon bright and regularly rising waves.

In addition to this the women's compartment contains wooden and copper utensils. The following are made of wood: a large wooden mortar for crushing grain, *mihbâš*, with a wooden pestle, *'amûd*; a *maṛrâfa*, or small trough with an outlet, *ṭe'ebeh*, and a handle; a *ḳadaḥ*, or circular wooden jar; a *daḳḳijje*, or circular dish; a *ḳdajḥa*, or small plate from Mecca, *meččânijje*; a *ḳarwa*, or large dish which can contain enough food for ten persons; a *'elbe*, or circular vessel for the leavening of dough; a *muḫmar*, or vessel measuring sixty centimeters in diameter and twenty in height, for the

415 kneading of dough; a *miswâṭ*, or large spoon for the mixing of foods; a *meṭ'âbe*, or deep vessel provided with an outlet, from which one may drink and for use in measuring, *čël*, butter.

The following vessels are of copper: *židr*, a large kettle with two rings by which it is carried and holding 80 liters; *ṭâse*, the same as a *židr* except that it holds only 20 liters; *ṭwâjse* (sic!), which holds 8 liters; *ṛallâje*, a small plate with a handle for the warming of butter; *saḥale*, a dish 20 centimeters in depth and 42 centimeters in width; *ṣaḥen* (or *ṣaḥn*), a large shallow pan for eating from (Fig. 29); a kettle always rests on three stones, *hawâdi*.

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[492]

FIGS. 11, 12—Kesa litters.

The women also make various vessels of hide. They rub half the hide of a camel, *ṣafḥa*, with salt, *tamleḥha*, and dough prepared from wheat or barley flour, *tatmorha*. They then leave it for five to seven days rolled up in a shady place. Afterwards they scrape away the remains of the flesh and all the hair and, after stretching the hide, they lay it in a tanning mixture made of *arṭa* or *neǧib* roots. The former is collected by the women themselves, but the latter is bought. Finally they rub the prepared hide thoroughly with the marrow of camel's bones or with camel's fat, *widak*, and from it they cut out and stitch, *teḫarrezha*, water bags, *râwije* (pl., *rwâj*).

415 These bags resemble large knapsacks. In the two upper corners are stitched firm leather loops, *ḫruba*, midway between which is an opening about 20 centimeters in diameter, *famm*, through which the *râwije* is filled. When the bag has been filled, the hide is stretched over this opening and tied up. At the right lower corner there is left an outlet about two centimeters in diameter, around which is a stout piece of hide, *'ezle*. This outlet is stopped with a wooden peg, *'ûd*, and tied round with a thin string of camel's hair. Through the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

loops, *ḫruba*, are drawn coarse ropes, *'oṣob*, by which two *rwâj* are always tied to the camel's saddle, *mesâme*. A water bag of this kind will hold as much as 120 liters. Smaller water bags are known as *ḳrab*. A *žirbe kwejtijje* is made of oxhide and holds about 80 liters; a *žirbe baṛdâdijje* is made of a

FIG. 18—*Ḳeṇṇ* litters.

large goatskin and holds 60 liters; a *žirbe Šāmijje*, made at Damascus for the use of pilgrims, is likewise made of goatskin and holds 50 liters, while a *žirbe neǰdijje* (Fig. 19) of goatskin holds 40 liters. Smaller than the *žirbe* is the *ǰûd*, which will hold 20 liters of water and is carried by a single camel rider.

The *semîl* is a leather sack for sour milk. The *šakwa* is a small sack in which the herdsman keeps milk. The *ṣarf* or *naḥw* is a leather bag holding about 15 liters, in which dates or butter are kept. The *'ekka'* is a smaller bag which will hold 5 to 7 liters of butter.

The women also make buckets, *delw* (pl., *dli*), of hide. A bucket for 2 to 3 liters is called *ḳalaṣ*; a *sifra* contains 10 to 15 liters, and a *delw al-čebir* 20 to 30 liters of water, so that two men are needed to draw it up.

The water trough, *ḥawṣ* (pl., *ḥijâṣ*) (Figs. 20, 21, 22) also made by the women, consists of a leather bowl, *ṭawra*,

2:Musil S-4/5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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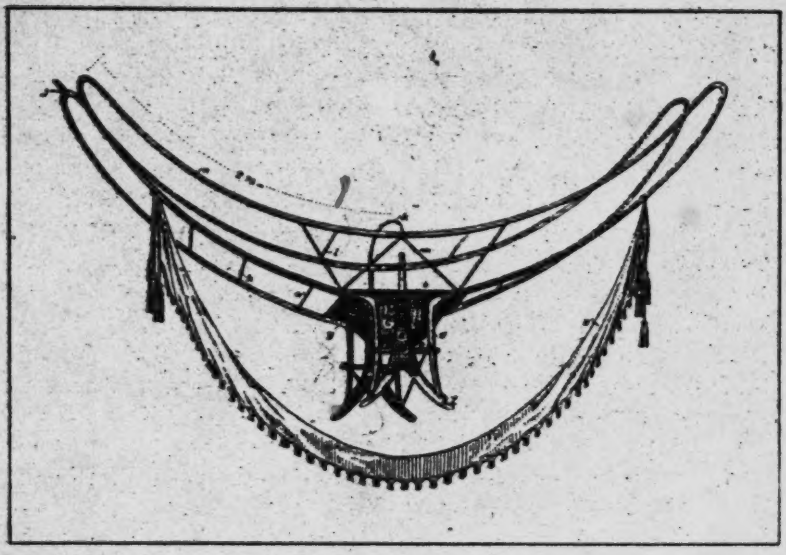

FIG. 14

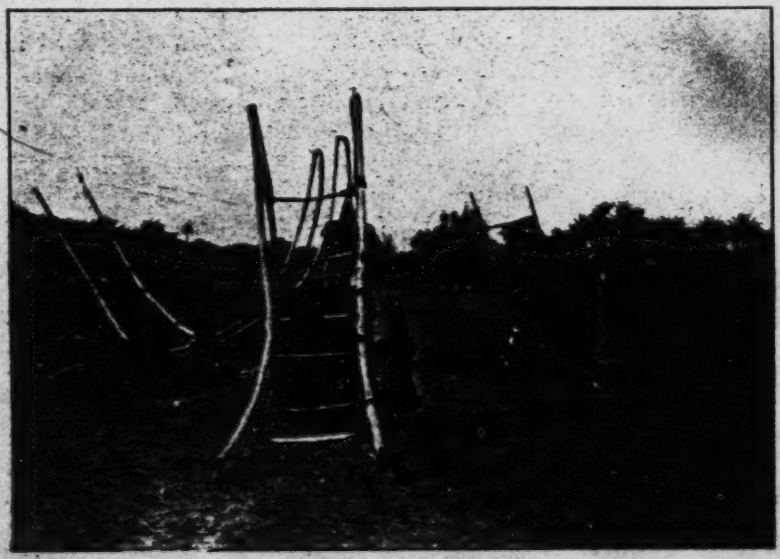

FIG. 15

FIGS. 14, 15—*Ṣetab* litters.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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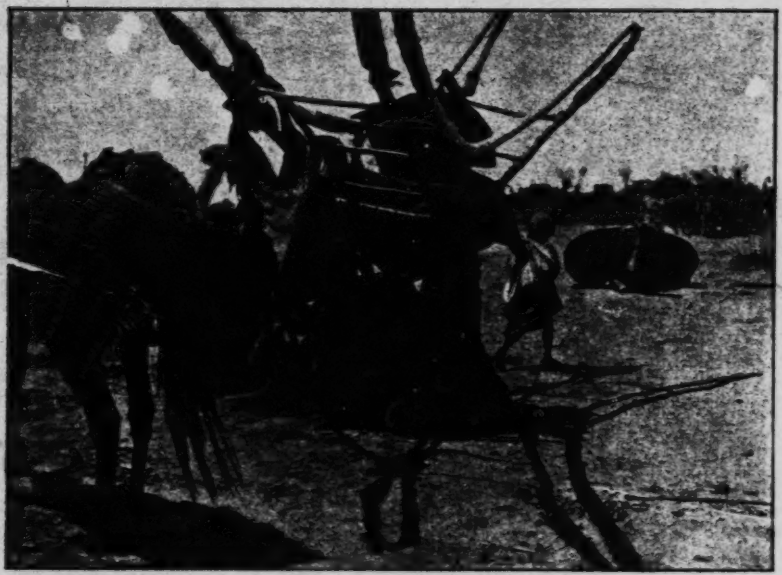

FIG. 16

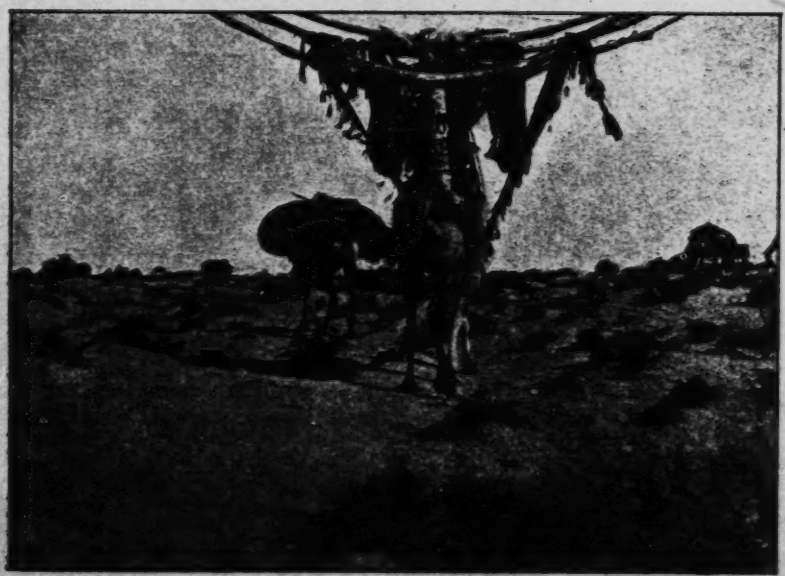

FIG. 17

FIGS. 16, 17—*Zetab* litters.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs,
492 *emsaw* (or *emṣa'û*) *al-wted*." The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḫuḍû al-'amed*; spread the tent out, *eṣfeṭû al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *eṭwû al-bejt*." With the large tents the ropes, which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *daraǧow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *krâṭ* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesâme* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *nawwaḫow al-ba'ir*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ṭawwarow al-ba'ir*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ǧindib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *maẓhûr* (pl., *meẓâhîr*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *salaf*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are tied to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *raḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *raḥala ǧajjede*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

kinsfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

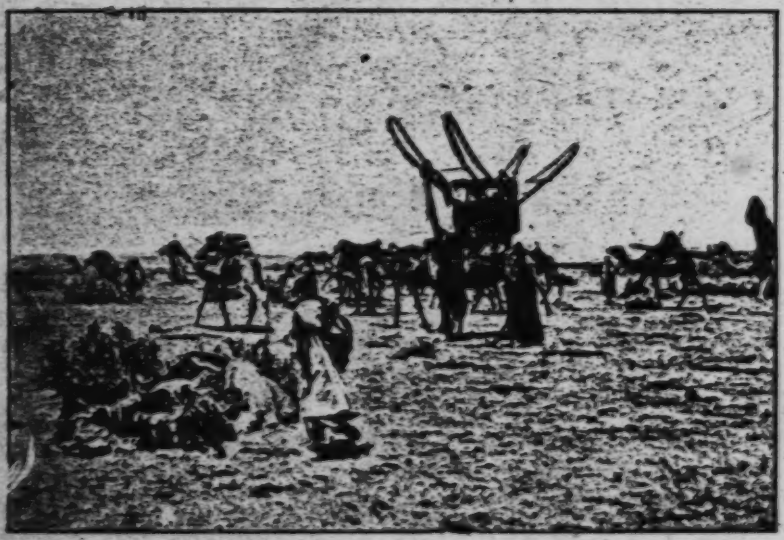

FIG. 18—*Ṣetab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'ašśow*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferīḳ*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *nejʿ*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *ballaṭ leh ballāṭen min rilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mašāṭ* (pl., *mašāṭi*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥōr, of the Habra 'Anka, as well as of 'Lāha. If

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwala numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neğe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf jeżeddi al-meẓâhir*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arṣa* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: "*Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Abči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
w-aṣonn min jabči ḥaleḥ mâ jiljâmi
2. *ğît al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḥalb mal'ûm*
manżel al-ğullân hom w-al-'amâmi
3. *hâğa meḥabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maḥlûm*
marka' dlâlen mut'abâten aš-šwâmi
4. *w-hâği merâbaṭ ḥejlahom dâjmen dâm*
ḥoḫb al-'ujûn mrowba'ât al-ḫwâmi

[539x] [492] [484] [592] [152] [726]

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264 574 the dish, kneels on his left knee, sits on the left heel, extends his right sleeve, *jefasser ʿan aḏ-ḏrâʿ*, and waits for the host's invitation: "Call on (God's name)! May Allâh preserve your life! *sammû allâh jeḥajjîkom*." With the words "In the name

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Fig. 25

Fig. 26

Figs. 25, 26—Pack camels, *al-maẓhûr*, on the march, carrying rolled-up tents and poles (see p. 76).

of Allâh" each one catches hold of the dish, rolls small pellets of *ʿejš* or bread, throws one after another into his mouth, and swallows them without chewing. If there is a pile of meat in the middle of the dish, each one tries as quickly as possible to make a trench in the *ʿejš* or bread till he reaches it. Nobody may clutch directly at the meat, as this is bad form. When the diner has worked his way underneath the heap, he may take whatever crumbles into his trench. A man who is esteemed must not gnaw the meat from the bone. He has to tear away the meat with the fingers of his right hand, without raising his hand from the dish. What he does not tear away he leaves on the bone, which he presses against the side of the hollow. Nobody is allowed to rise until all the men have finished eating supper from the same dish. Such a group of men having supper together is called *ḳalṭa*. When they have finished eating, they say: "May Allâh requite the hosts for this! *ḫalaf allâh ʿala-l-maʿâzîb*." The host replies: "Health and good digestion! *ṣaḥḥa w-ʿâfije*." Each one licks the fingers of his right hand, *jilḥas îdeh* (or *jedeh*), and goes to the side wall of the tent, against which he rubs one finger after the other, *jimḥaš jedeh*, and cleans his teeth, *jinḳaš*

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FIG. 27

FIG. 28

FIG. 27—Pack camels, *al-maghûr*, on the march; a camel carrying a *fîndib* saddle and tent poles (see p. 76).

FIG. 28—Pack camels, *al-maghûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

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and calls together the idlers from all sides to utter their greetings and to reply to greetings, only in order that as soon as possible they may gain the favor of those present. 4. Nine grains of cardamom are ground together with a pinch of

FIG. 29 FIG. 30

FIGS. 29, 30—Pack camels, *al-mazhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

saffron and mixed with the boiled coffee. The *hejl*, cardamom, gives the coffee a peculiar bitter taste, and the saffron makes it yellow in color. The coffee, when it has been allowed to stand and has been strained off, *mrawwaḳa*, is poured into beautiful cups, *as-snâfi*. *Har-raǧǧâl snâfi* means "this man is handsome, perfect." 5. *Ṣinijje* is the name of the shallow decorated metal dish upon which the cups are placed; such dishes were originally brought from China and hence were known as *ṣini*. *'Oddah* for *'odah* (or *'odha*). He who protects the fugitives is to receive an additional drink of coffee. *Akfow* means "made their escape, retreated." 6. *Trâd* is the term for actual warfare. In the midst of the most dangerous and fierce fighting the girls encourage the warriors with words and gestures. With loosened hair and bared breasts they dash on she-camels where the danger is greatest, shout to their lovers and friends, remind the former of favors received, and threaten to desert to the enemy should they be disappointed

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831x 3. Cut for her a *miḫğân* stick from the best almond tree
539x And tickle her with the longer prong under the tail.
4. A tent thou wilt reach, whose men's compartment resembles an escarpment,
And before the tent of my beloved put off the saddle.
5. A cup of coffee thou wilt get to loosen thy spittle,
And for eight days the platter will be moist with fat.
6. How does thy leg fare, O shield of all animals that raise their tails?
When from the group of raiders he emerged all were afraid.
7. Would that the evil thou hast met had been destined for cowards!
O Lord! take pity on my darling's leg.

A girl of the Durmân clan had a lover whose leg was shattered by a bullet during a raid. They brought him to the tent of Eben Haddâl, the head chief of the ʿAmârât, where he was attended to. His sweetheart composed and sent him this poem. The reciter was Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Buğ lena hal-bilâd* means "examine, scout this country for us." *Âl* is the quivering of the air on a hot day. The nearer the ground, the stronger the vibration. Grasses and bushes seem to be in motion and assume large dimensions. It is impossible to distinguish a rider from a bush at a distance of two kilometers. 2. A good female riding camel is at her best speed before and after sunset. The rider should not hold her back. *Rabḥ* are the small stones scattered by the hoofs of a galloping camel. 3. To make the she-camel go at the utmost speed the rider thrusts the two-pronged head of his stick under its tail, *jistadnîha*. Some riders even dig the prong in deeper than necessary, making the poor beast run madly. 4. The tent is pitched for male visitors only, whether strangers or natives. *Ǧâl* is a long steep scarp by which a high plateau falls off to lower level country. 5. *Fakk ar-rîž* is the breakfast; the real meal is the supper. With Eben Haddâl a guest may stay not three but even eight days if he wishes, and during all this time he gets meat from fat, sterile she-camels. The *ṣaḥn* — a large flat pan — is always moist with the fat. 6. *Mišwâl* is a fast mare or she-camel which raises her tail high when galloping.

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O riders on hardened camels! ride, my friends,
And in your course delay not the long-paced ones.
When you reach my darling, give her my message,
Bear tidings to her who is kept well informed.
At her father's, two coffeepots are in continual use;
With him is the usual pasture of riders on white camels,
whose bags are empty.
Ah, blessed be he, who grasps the cloak on her breast
And he who may rest in the bosom of the maid of full hips.

Sen' is the fast gait of the she-camels at night time. They do not graze, do not suffer from heat, and speed along at a measured pace. *Râ'i-l-arîčijje* is supposed to mean one who is well posted in all affairs and who therefore can tell truth from exaggeration. *Delletên mut'abâti,* two fatigued pots: in the one pot coffee is steadily boiling and from the other just as steadily poured out.

Jâ 'amm ğanna ṭalâṭ erčâb
ḳum sâjel al-'elem 'an henna
ğowni w-ana-žahžer al-ḥejrân
bel-ḥowri w-al-ḳafr jer'enna.

Uncle, see! three female riding camels come to us;
Rise, seek news of them!
They have come to me, and I drive away the young camels
From the depression, so that [their camels] may find
their pasture untouched.

The maiden rightly guesses that the matchmakers sent by her lover have arrived and asks her uncle to find out their errand, while she takes their camels to the fresh pasture, *ḳafr,* as yet untouched by any herd. *Ažahžer al-ḥejrân* means: "I run here and there behind young camels, driving them away." *Ḥowr* is a depression without an outlet, containing abundance of grass.

Hala hala blâbes al-mezwi
lâ jâ ba'ad kill singğâra
allâh jağîbak ma' al-ṛazwi
allâh jefukkak ma' al-ṛâra.

Welcome, welcome, thou who art dressed in a light
black mantle!
Oh, mayst thou live longer than all the Singğara!

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The Arabs are unable to agree as to where they should remove their camp. The lover fears that his sweetheart's kin may encamp in a different locality from his own people and thinks that his eyebrows might become gray and his eyes blind, should he not see his beloved. 831x 539x

Wa' šejb 'ajni, "ah, my gray, clouded eye," and *wa' šejb ḳalbi*, "ah, my gray, clouded heart," are sayings used in misfortune.

Jâ râčeb alli ḏemîlaha zên
ḳamran ajdâha šarârijje
jâ manweṭi-lli haleh meżfin
w-illa ṛarîben naṣa ḥajjeh.

O thou who ridest a she-camel with good paces,
With bright white forelegs, and of the *šarâri* breed!
O thou desire of mine, whose kin has moved back!
Even if far away, yet thou wilt come near to thy sweetheart's kin.

Ḏemîl or *derhem* is the trotting pace of a camel, when both halves of the saddle bag rise at the same time. *Ḳamra* is an ash gray female riding camel, whose forelegs are of a whiter hue than the hind legs. The Šarârât breed the best riding camels. When the clans wander into the inner desert or return, as a rule they all follow the same direction, so that the herds may pasture evenly along their routes. In the season of plenty, when the pastures grow again in a few weeks and the luxuriant perennials promise to yield abundantly, the regular movement in fixed directions ceases and the different clans move forward or backward according to the locality best suited to them by reason of the grazing land and water. Those going back are called *meżfin*. The lover's clan has moved backwards, the maiden's forwards. *Ḥajj* means kin, *ahl*. The lover, even if encamped far away, still approaches, *naṣa*, the camp of his sweetheart's kin, *naṣa' ḥajjeh* (or *naḥar ahleh*). [492 231] 484 221 233

Jâ mdaḥraǧ ḥuf li 'ala-š-ša'ejle
čarreb li al-heǧên beždâdi
al-'afw mâ-ḳšarč lejle
ḥaššejt ṣanâdîž al-ſwâdi
w-ašči leč jâ-ḥajje jâ dwejle
w-ašûf ḥajjâneč ḳaffaw ṛâdi.

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831 x1
539 x
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Verse 2. Âl ʿAwâǧi is the name of a clan of the Weld Slejmân, who encamp southeast of Tejma. The ʿAwâǧi captured the she-camel from the Šarârât and, in turn, were robbed of it by the warriors of Eben Šaʿlân. 3. *Mîrake* is a leather cushion. The rider crosses his legs on it. Sometimes two *mijâreč* are used. One, serving rather as an ornament, falls as far as the camel's neck, while the second, the smaller one, is the *mîrake* proper. 5. *An-nedâwijje* is the female of a hunting falcon, who finds her prey even when the atmosphere is filled with damp fog which settles down like dew, *nedaʾ*. 6. *Kudrijje* is a bird about the size of our jay, but more squat in body, of dark brown plumage, and with one half of its wings black.

1. *Jâ-bu rašid ašči lak al-ḳalb malkûš*
   jâ muntahaʾ šakwâj w-al-ḳalb muṛtall
2. *al-ʿafw lâ mirsâl lâ telfija ṭrûš*
   maẓaʾ šahar šawwâl wa-ḳṣajjeren zall
3. *jâ-bu nhûden čannehen ṭalaʿ baṭṭûš*
   bêẓ al-ḥamâm ar-râʿbi aw hen ašč̣al
4. *al-ʿejûn ječsen ḥadd al-owǧân ba-r-rmûš*
   sowdan maṛânîǧen hadabhen lehen ẓall
5. *ḥaddeh čemaʾ-d-dehdâr mâ jedni-n-nûš*
   wa-trafʿeh šemṭ al-hadâjeb ʿan aṭ-ṭall
6. *nhûdeh ḥačaʾ bêzen ʿala-ṭ-ṭaʿes mafḳûš*
   wa-ḳ̣deleteh čar-rîš sowden tahalhal
7. *al-baṭn leh ṛabbûṭ lâ ḳoṭn manfûš*
   lâ merʿezen lejân baṭneh w-lâ zell
8. *jâ bint min jaṭni li jâ kamal al-hûš*
   w-en dowbaḥow ʿawč al-marâkîz mâ ḏall.

1. O father of Rašîd! with my wounded heart I shall complain to thee,
   O thou last comfort of my sorrow and of my heart filled with passionate desire!
2. Have mercy! Neither messenger nor travelers have come to me.
   For the last month of *šawwâl*, and now the end of *al-ḳṣajjer* is near.
3. O maiden with breasts like the fruits of the *baṭṭûš*
   Or eggs of the cooing pigeon or some still fairer thing!
4. Her eyes, whose lids cover her cheeks
   Are black, and the curved lashes cast a shade.

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territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-ʿezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin owning them. *Ǧâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enǧâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
ʿaṭni faẓa bâli
fowḳ awẓaḥen ʿâli
maʿ waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ǧowzen ʿala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faẓa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben humejlaʿ
râʿih mâ jûmiṭ ʿaṣâh
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereh jâ min laḳâh
erʿeh maʿ ḏwejden ʿazîb
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-felaʿ
waʿ lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏib ǧellâni ʿawâh.

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539x

Oh, she who often rides a docile camel,
She gives me no sign with her stick!
Who is here that still remembers my sweet friend?
Who has looked for, who has found her?
See, she stays far beyond the camp with a small herd;
To that pasture I hastened at a trot.
Ah, but I found only a desert,
And the howling of wolves made me flee.

Not finding his sweetheart on the new camping grounds, the lover inquires and searches for her. She used to ride in a litter on a *humejla'*, docile camel of low stature, and to signal to her lover with a stick with which she guided her animal. A *ḏwejd* is a small herd owned by one family. When [233] the son who usually cares for the herd goes out on a raid the herd falls to the care of the daughter. A *'azîb* is a pasture at such a distance from the camp that the camels must spend at least three or four nights away and do not come to water or to the camp till the fifth day. *Mzerfel*, like *ḏowmal*, signifies the fast trot of a camel. *Fela'* is a pasture with good grass and perennials.

Šiddû min az-zemel, 'aljân
šêl al-lahad mâ jedânîhi
w-al-ḥokm ḥokm eben ša'lân
maḳrûden jâ-lli terâğîhi.

Saddle the pack camels called 'Aljân,
Who will not accept a galling load.
As for the command, the command belongs to Eben [Ša'lân;
Crushed be he who would oppose him!

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Zemel is the name given to the pack camels, always males, which carry the tent, supplies, and whole equipment of the chief. In the war cry of the Rwala all the herds are called 'Alja', which is here applied to the camels in the word 'Aljân. *Lahda* (pl., *luhûd*) are the callous spots or blisters on the camel's back and flanks caused by the heavy, unequally distributed load or by uneven saddles whether for freight, *ḥedâğe*, or for riding, *šdâd*. If these callous spots disappear, well and good; if they become blisters and open, suppurating sores, *dabra* (pl., *dabar*), are the consequence. The camels owned by the Rwala will not bear packs that hurt them, and the ruling Eben Ša'lân kin will not bear opposition.

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behind. Deserted and tortured with pain, he composed this poem, which was recited to me by Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. *'Â'a'* signifies the sound of a crowing cock. 2. *Ješ-ẓâni râsi* is the same as *jowğa'ani râsi*, my head is aching. *Swâhiğ* are the paths by which poison is spread; hence veins or arteries. 3. *Sâ'i* here means a messenger mounted on a camel traversing alone the desert between Damascus and Hît. 4. *Bâb aš-šebâbîč* is the gate of a walled-in market place on which the windows of the selling booths open. Allâh grants or takes away the merchants' profits — he therefore opens the gate of their market place and adorns the poet's sweetheart with beauty. 5. *'Ârefîn al-ḳâf* are men expert in reading tracks, whether of men or animals, and in telling how old they are and whether made by camels from the Nefûd or the Ḥarra. The name of the beloved maiden was Rumḥa, Spear. 7. *Jaṯi* or *jutaḥḥi* means that he calls for the sheep or goats with the words *eṯi, ṯa'*. *Mesâbiğ*, as was explained to me, are the conical ornaments sometimes half a meter high forming the back part of the pack saddle. When the backs of the pack camels traversing a vast plain project above the horizon, these ornaments on a clear night resemble vultures standing upright.

1. *Jâ râčeben ḥamra min al-heğen mehḏâb*
   ğeḏ'ijjeten ḳaṭ' al-fejâfi menâha
2. *jâ teḳel rabda 'âneḳat râs merḳâb*
   čann aẓ-ẓwâri tenhašha ma' ḳafâha
3. *elja twannat bass howza bimeš'âb*
   má danaḳ ar-raḳḳâ' jirḳa' ḥafâha
4. *merbâ'aha bimfarra' al-heri w-aṣ-ṣwâb*
   eljamâ tekâmel šaḥmha biḳarâha
5. *fowḳha ṣulâmen mâ jeḥasseb lil-ağnâb*
   ṣaḳḳâr bi'ûd al-leğâwi ğedâha
6. *račebtaha min dîrt aš-šâm ğallâb*
   abî 'ala-lli ṭammanha w-eštarâha
7. *telfi labu ṣalfîž zedden lil-ağnâb*
   'awḳ ar-rudûm alli ṭṭarraḳ ḏerâha
8. *sukkar 'asal ḥelwen 'âla-l-čabed low ḏâb*
   semmen 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi saḳâha
9. *saba' as-sbâ' al-firz lil-ḥukum dowlâb*
   low a'ẓamat kuṯr ad-da'âwi ḳazâha
10. *low hw 'ala-n-nahrejn w-aš-šaṭṭ w-az-zâb*
    w-illa 'ala kanzên mâlen fanâha

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The poet, Ṣaḳḳâr, a native of the settlement of al-Kubejsa, was a peddler among the branch of the Šammar tribe camping between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris. The chief Fâres of the reigning family Âl Ğarba' was his protector. The name of the chief's father was Ṣfûḳ, his mother's name 'Amša. Both father and son hated the Turkish strangers intensely on account of the wrongs they had to suffer from the governor at Mosul. In the poem cited above Ṣaḳḳâr praises himself and extols Fâres. The narrators were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 3. *Howza*, instead of *hezz*, shake or nod. The hoofs of some she-camels are covered with too fine a skin. When such an animal walks for any length of time on rocky roads, especially in volcanic regions strewn with sharp pieces of lava, the hoof skin becomes covered with callous spots or scars so that blood flows at every step. In speaking of a camel in this condition the Rwala use the verb *ḥafat*, meaning "she has become calloused or scarred, she walks barefoot." To save his animal from loss of blood, the rider cuts out from a tough camel hide pieces of the size of the hoof, and stitches them, *jirḳa'*, under the scarred hoof. The she-camel tries to rid herself of the uncomfortable sole by rubbing it against rocks and often cuts the stitches, which must be repaired at once, causing the rider much fatigue and delay (see my *The Northern Ḥeğâz*, New York, 1926, pp. 194-196). 4. Al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb are valleys heading in the northeastern part of the desert of al-Ḥamâd. 5. *'Ûd al-leğâwi* is a stick made from an almond shoot. 7. Ṣalfîẓ is a son of Fâres. *'Awḳ ar-rudûm* is a poetical term. *Rudûm* here signifies she-camels so fat that they can hardly move. 9. Fâres lived in perpetual discord with the Turkish Government, refusing to recognize its claims, crushing them as would a millwheel. 11. Ḏijâb eben Ṛânem was famous for his bravery, *farse*, generosity, *karam*, and judgment, *'aḳel*. These three qualities gained for him the title *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa*, meaning "famous for his great sagacity," or, possibly, "gentleman." 12. A rider in the desert at night cannot guide himself by stars which change their place. The pole star, being almost stationary, is the traveler's safest guide. 14. *Ṣwâže'* are meteors which crush everything upon which they fall.

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539x

6. What I only imagine, may really happen;
Fill therefore my short pipe and lay fire in its bowl
formed from a bone.
7. Pity him who, like me, has an enemy in his own belly,
Who never consults me and takes no advice.
8. O Allâh! I prayed to thee for she-camels pitifully grumbling,
In order that, as with various Bedouins, the one might
be hauling water while the other was returning,
9. And that I might rejoice at the messenger's arrival
From thee who protectest the deserted, even when all
the camel riders fled.

ʿAmlûš ab-al-Wkal of the Kwâčbe tribe was dogged by misfortune. If he took part in a raid, he not only did not capture anything but usually lost his own animal as well; if he stayed at home, his herd was attacked and some of his camels were stolen. Finally all that remained of his property were two female pack camels and one calf. Then it was that he composed this poem and sent it to the chief Abu Bejdar, who had just returned with rich booty.

Verse 1. *Ǧenîni* is a calf yet unborn. *Laheǧha* is used of a calf which presses on its mother's womb or clings to its mother. 2. A she-camel that has grazed so well during the march as to become fat is the desire of every traveler. Aš-Šâma is the region lying east of the center of the Sirḥân depression; aš-Šenîni (or Umm aš-Šenîni) is a rain pool on the road from al-Ǧowf to Tejma. A *ṭâr* is a long, high, and steep escarpment. The hump of a fat she-camel as seen from either side resembles such a steep slope. 3. *Eḳrân* is a long, fast pace; *ḏemîl*, the trot of the camel. *Teḏowmal* has the same meaning as *tederhem*, she trots. Both the pace and trot of a she-camel are so quiet and even that they allow the rider to slumber peacefully, *ʿamâs* (or *naʿâs*), and therefore he does not tire, *mâ mall*, even if making several long journeys, *enšâr*. *Enšerû* is often used instead of *emšû*, meaning "Run!" "Go!" 4. *Ṛânemîn* are men who almost always return with booty, *ṛanîme*. 5. *Nahâr aẓ-ẓaʿîni* is the day on which the tent with all its contents is loaded on camels for removal to another camp. *Ẓaʿâjen* are small groups of camels which carry the property of moving Bedouins. 6. A *šaṭne* (pl., *šṭûn*) is a thought, notion, or impulse of the Bedouin's heart, *ḥwâǧes alli bel-kalb*. It occured to ʿAmlûš to send his supplication to

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539 x

9. If thou reachest such countries,
With glad tidings begin and our greetings add.
10. Say: "From you a hunting falcon with a firm resolve came,
Like the star Canopus, which cannot be hidden.
11. Countries both settled and desert he explored
With mind acute, of distress unafraid.
12. Chief Mûsa, of whom are none but glad tidings,
Over ancient events holds sway.
13. To another like him no chaste beauty ever gave birth
And of all Bedouin chiefs none equals him.
14. A ruler he is, vizier, all things knowing,
And none is his equal except, perhaps, Abu Zejd the fabulous.
15. What fair examples his generous hand gives,
Like one who spends and fears no losses.
16. With smiling mouth, of will indomitable,
He excels all consuls, can offer advice in the hardest cases.
17. A reckless lion he, with only contempt for rascals;
Armor stout he has which the oppressed would desire for themselves.
18. If the Lord helps and his aim succeeds
He will return to you with tidings important,
19. With reports of Bedouins, the dwellers in the settlements and nomads, too, who breed goats and sheep,
Of the lands of the Rwala and Fed'ân and the 'Amârât [land,
20. Of the regions of Neǧd, of valleys vast,
Of the Ṣawwân country and the land of the Ḥwêṭât.
21. By these deeds he has gained for himself
A treasure of fame and a sea of knowledge and noble qualities."

This poem was composed by Prince an-Nûri eben Hazzâ eben Šaʿlân with the assistance of his clerk Ǧwâd, who recited it to me.

Verse 2. The Šarārât raise the best riding camels. 3. It was not for sale even if a hundred shé-camels of the common breed were offered in exchange. 5. *Mîraka* (pl., *mijâreč*) is a leather cushion stuffed with wool or camel's hair, which hangs from the front knob of the saddle, covering the camel's neck and serving as a foot rest to the rider. These cushions are sometimes richly ornamented and cost as much as £T10 ($45).

[231] [492]

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539x therefore acquainted Fejhân with the result of his search but could not convince him, Fejhân's opinion being that 'Abdallâh either had no taste for his errand or feared the revenge of the girl's betrothed because he had found her another lover. 'Abdallâh answered by this poem in which he tells of his journey from the settlement of Nefi to Fejhân, describes his she-camels, reproaches Fejhân for having cheated him on the delivery of other she-camels as well as for suspecting him of fear and weakness. Finally he tells him to look for another girl, whom he may find in his very neighborhood.

539x 231 ●492 Verse 1. *E'râben* means a descent universally acknowledged. 2. The Šarârât are famous as raisers of pure-bred riding camels. 4. Their shoulder blades are gray and they have white spots below their belts, *šîb al-ṛawâreb w-al-maḥâžeb emšibât,* because they are on the road all the time. The shoulder blades rub against the cushion on which the rider rests one foot while the other foot touches the *maḥâžeb,* the spot covered by the breast girth, which holds the saddle behind the forelegs on the breastbone. The she-camels alluded to have had no young as yet, therefore the herdsman has not needed to close their teats with sharp clamps to prevent their young from sucking at will. 5. A good camel will utter no sound while being saddled; this is very important at night or in a dangerous territory. On a forced march a camel is expected to listen well and to observe the country in all directions so that she can, by quick breathing, arching her spine, or by a motion of the neck, call the rider's attention to any possible danger. 6. Kabšân is an extensive ridge in the 'Atejbe territory. If the *niğm at-twejbe',* Aldebaran, due about the middle of December, is accompanied by copious rain, the waters of this rain irrigate all the basins and in Neğd produce luxuriant grass, and perennials spring up there as if by magic. 8. After exhausting marches the she-camels are given at least three months' rest; to this repose they are fully entitled, as their riders often require them to traverse by day and night regions where there is neither good pasture nor sufficient water. When these three months have expired, the riders are justified in setting out on a new trip. *Ḥarâjem* (sing., *ḥarîme*) are defiles or passages between steep slopes. 9. *Râ'i nefi* signifies here the inhabitant par excellence, or the lord of the oasis of Nefi; *râ'i-l-ğowf* means an inhabitant of the oasis of al-Ğowf. One may often hear *"râ'i mâred," "râ'i ḳna," "he*

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is an inhabitant of the Mâred fort" or "of the settlement of Ḳna," "*râ'i-l-ḳerije*, he is a settler." 10. 'Abdallâh eben Ḥasan eben 'Askar was the lord of another settlement. The Bedouin she-camels are easily scared by the shade and the rustling of palm groves, as well as by the high walls enclosing them. 14. *Ḳabb as-sera'* or *'oḳb al-bârḥa* means after yesterday. The well-fed she-camels on yesterday's march were still a little lazy, for their bellies were full and much of their food not yet digested. As they found no pasture on their whole trip from Nefi to Eben 'Askar and all they got in his house was a little dry grass, they digested all that was in their stomachs and emptied their bowels, which caused their loins to sink in. 16. The black Bedouin tents stood in the basin, while the she-camels were approaching across the plain. When they were in sight, the Bedouins sent out a rider to meet them and find out who they were and whither bound, also to inquire about the camping places of their friends. 17. Eben Ruḥmân was chief of a small kin of the Dowšân clan. *Zeml at-tḳût* or *zeml at-ṭḳâl* is a camel able to carry heavy loads (more than three quintals). 18. The Dowšân belong to the 'Elwa division of the Mṭejr but are often at war with the other Mṭejr, as they will not submit to the head chief. 20. Fejḥân eben Ża'ed eben Zrejbân, the Dowšân chief who ordered the search for the beauty (21), offered 'Abdallâh the assistance of a large number of his tribesmen mounted on she-camels, but cheated him in this. *'Arâwi m'arrât* are she-camels on which the riders sit only on a piece of cloth fastened between the hump and hips. 23. *An-neğâjer msawwât* was explained to me by Mḥammad to mean the same thing as *al-ešidde*, riding saddles, while Ḥmâr thought that it signified *ḥalâwa*, reward or gratuity given to the herdsmen. *Al-ḫerz terz* means, according to Ḥmâr, the bargaining for the pay to be given to the hired camel riders, while Mḥammad understood it to be the total expense of the expedition. *Râ' aṣ-ṣûf* is a seller of fancy bags for horse and camel saddles. 24. Before he could use these she-camels he had to have good saddles, *ḫašab*, bags, *ṣûf*, water bags, *ğlûd*, and arms for their riders, *âlât*. The riders too had many wishes and were insatiable in their demands. 25. Their stopping and shaking the little sticks used in guiding their camels signified that they threatened to leave if 'Abdallâh would not grant all their demands. The rattans were sold by the dealer in bags. 26. 'Abdallâh relates in a sarcastic manner that he

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In 1909 the price of a

maḫlûl	was 10 to 12	*meʃidijjât*	($ 9.00– 10.80)	435
mafrûd	15 „ 20	„	($13.50– 18.00)	
ḥežže	18 „ 28	„	($16.20– 25.20)	
ǧed'	30 „ 40	„	($27.00– 36.00)	
ṭeni	40 „ 60	„	($36.00– 54.00)	
rub'	60 „ 80	„	($54.00– 72.00)	
good riding camel	85 „200	„	($76.50–180.00).	

The prices fluctuate according to supply and demand; the price of fat old she-camels varies in accordance with the price of cotton in Egypt. If the *fellâḥîn* in that country have had a profitable year, they do not stint themselves in camel meat.

For camel's hair the Bedouins get but little. The largest quantity of hair and the longest is given by male camels up to their seventh, and by she-camels to their ninth, year. The older the animal the thinner its hair, the old ones being almost entirely bald on the shanks, belly, and both sides of the neck. Toward the end of April and in May camel's hair is gathered by girls, *al-bel ṭarr wabarha*, who make it into saddle bags, blankets, and sacks. 237

The camel is ridden by the Bedouin on lengthy marches. Indeed, such marches are always made on camels, never on horses. The she-camel is more enduring than the male, persisting longer without abundant pasture or water and not weakening even in the rutting time, whereas the males in the month of February are exhausted to such a degree that they cannot rise from the ground. 492

The most highly valued are those riding she-camels which can eat their fill while on the march without stopping or deviating from their course. An animal of this kind is called *ḥanîč*.

Hedijje is the term applied to a she-camel which grazes only near her resting rider and will not go far enough to lose sight of him.

A female riding camel who is loath to part from her young or herd moans grievously, *taḥenn 'an welef*, for several days and is called *mîlâf*. But often the murmuring becomes a habit lasting for months. Day after day, and often at night as well, the rolling murmur is heard at regular intervals. It will not cease unless the animal's mouth is tied with a cord, but even then a subdued sound is heard. No sooner is the 231

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231 cord untied than the murmuring starts again, *tarṛi*, in which case nothing remains but to kill the poor brute, or to sell it so that it may torment some one else. The Bedouin prays Allâh to free him from such a she-camel, which he calls *raṛṛâja*.

492 There are four habits sure to make even the strongest and most enduring she-camel fiercely hated, *ḫubṭ aṭ-ṭaba'*: *šrûd*, shying and starting to run away the moment the rider dismounts; *'atûk*, refusing to be guided by either the heel, stick, or rein; *'aǧla'*, when on the march running from plant to plant smelling but not eating any; and finally the habit of kneeling suddenly when on the march and throwing off her rider. A camel that does this is called *ḫallâja*. A she-camel with any of these bad habits is called *dûmijje*, guilty of death, [432] because she may cause her rider's death. The purchaser of a female riding camel in which one of these habits is found within twenty days, can return her, and his money must be repaid in full.

CAMEL SADDLES

The supports of a camel saddle (Fig. 37) are four stout boards about 70 centimeters long and each fashioned in such a way as to form an obtuse angle on the outside about the middle. Above this point a hole 4 by 1 centimeters is cut through each board. The boards are placed together in pairs and fastened with strong nails. Wooden stakes, *dḫâš* (sing., *daḫaš*), 30 centimeters long by 4 wide by 1 thick, are driven through the two openings and project 8 centimeters on each side. The upper portions of the united boards are turned into the shape of cones with knobs at the top. Each knob, *râs* (*a*), has a diameter of about 8 centimeters; the cone, *ṛazâle* (*b*), below the knob measures 11 centimeters, and just above the obtuse angle 32 centimeters, in circumference. The lower parts of the boards are fashioned like shovels, *ẓlâf* (*c*), about 27 centimeters long by 1 thick, 20 centimeters wide at the top and 22 at the bottom. The inner sides of each pair of "shovels" form a sharp angle.

These two pairs of united boards form the front and hind parts of the saddle and are connected by four crosspieces (*d* and *h*) called *'aṣjân*, *meṣâlib*, or *'aṣâjed*. Two of these are straight, 48 centimeters long by 1 thick and 8 wide at one end but

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only 4 wide at the other. The other two are bent, 52 centimeters long by 9 wide at one end and 6 wide at the other. Each straight crosspiece is tied with its broad end upwards to the *daḫad* stake of the front pair of boards and the narrow end

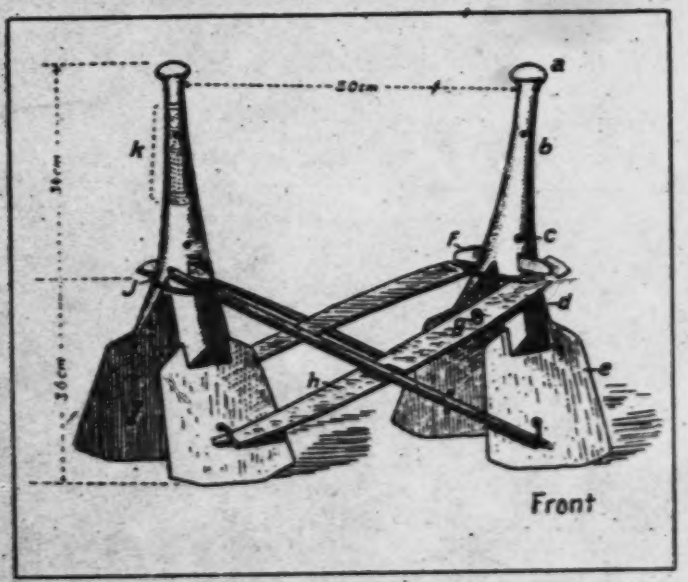

FIG. 37—A camel saddle.

to the middle of the "shovel" of the hind pair. The bent crosspieces are fastened in the same manner, with the broader end upwards to the *daḫaš* stake of the rear pair, and with the narrower end to the "shovel" of the front pair. At about the middle of the bent crosspieces is a notch into which the straight pieces fit. In each "shovel" two little holes are bored. The fastenings consist of dry camel tendons, *wsûr* (*j*).

The width of the frame thus constructed at the base (i. e. the distance between the lower edges of the two "shovels" of each pair) is about 42 centimeters; from the base to the sharp angles formed by the junction of the "shovels" is 36 centimeters. On the inside of the "shovels" two cushions filled with camel's hair, *ḥanâjef*, are tied (Fig. 38). Between them a cushion, *wiṭr* (Fig. 39), 22 centimeters high by 10 thick by 130 long, folded in the middle and stuffed with short straw or wool, is laid in such a way that the folded end is to the

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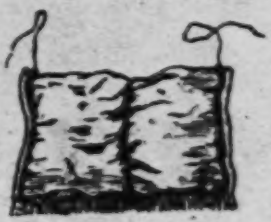

FIG. 38

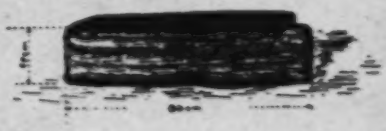

FIG. 39

FIG. 40

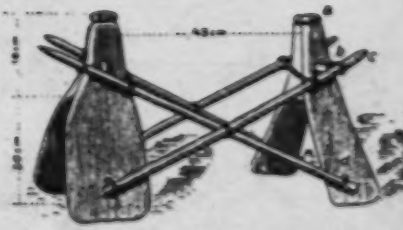

FIG. 41

FIG. 42

FIG. 43

FIGS. 38-43—Saddles and saddle cushions:

FIG. 38—A *kasîfe* cushion. FIG. 39—A *witr* cushion.
FIG. 40—A *mirake* cushion. FIG. 41—A *mesdme* saddle.
FIG. 42—A *kedâje* saddle. FIG. 43—A *witr* cushion for the pack saddl

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rear. This cushion is also called *madfûna*. To the upper half of the right-hand straight crosspiece a camel's hair rope or breast girth, *ḥaḳab*, is tied; a similar rope forming a belly girth, *bṭâne*, is fastened in a semicircular notch to the upper half of the right-hand bent crosspiece. 492

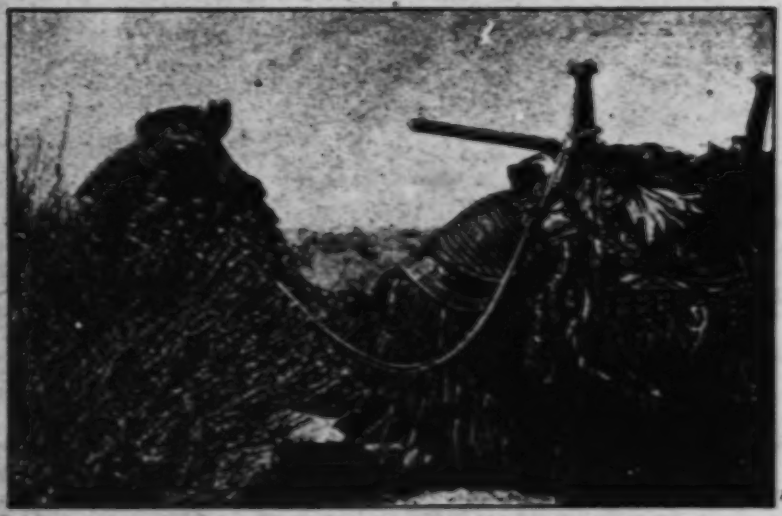

FIG. 44—An ornamented camel saddle with a *ḥi'ed* blanket.

The saddle is placed on the camel in such a way that the hump enters between the cushions and the saddle can tip neither forwards nor backwards. The breast girth, *ḥaḳab*, is drawn under below the breast close behind the forelegs, then passed inside the upper half of the left-hand straight crosspiece, to which it is secured after being tightened slightly. The belly girth, *bṭâne*, is drawn under the belly between the navel and the udder, passed inside the upper half of the left-hand bent crosspiece, and is likewise made fast. To the forward, upper side of each bent crosspiece a ring, *ḥalḳa* (*g*), is fastened with strips of leather, *saṭâjeḥ*, from which hangs a cushion, *mirake* (Fig. 40), that rests on the camel's shoulder blades. This *mirake* is ornamented with a fringe, *ḥadab*. Behind the rear cone, which is called *ṣurâb* or *miḥar*, either two or four woolen or camel's hair ribbons, *saṣâjeṣ*, about a meter and a half long by ten centimeters wide are tied; they flutter to right and left with each movement of the camel on the

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492 march. On the saddle a leather quilt stuffed with camel's hair, *naṭa'*, is spread in such a way that both the cones can be stuck through it. More ornamental is the blanket called *žâ'ed* or *žâ'ada*, made of the skin of a black goat with long [531] fine hair (Fig. 44). The knob of the front cone and the whole of the rear cone are usually ornamented with small metal nails, sometimes of silver or gilded, and variously shaped. A saddle with silver ornaments is called *muḳammar*; with gold, *muṣaffar* (*k*). The "shovels" and crosspieces of the finest saddles are often inlaid with little plates of engraved metal.

A *mesâme* (Fig. 41) is a saddle to which the water bags are tied. Its wooden skeleton resembles that of the riding saddle, except that both its cones are lower and flattened. The crosspieces are replaced by round sticks about eighty centimeters long. Inside a *mesâme* only the *wiṭr* cushion is used. This saddle is also provided with breast girth, *ḥakab*. A *mesâmé* with a thicker cushion and a stronger wooden structure, known as a *rabîṭ*, serves for carrying water bags made of camel skin.

A *ḥedâǧe* (Fig. 42) is a saddle used for carrying loads. Its wooden frame consists of four boards 42 centimeters long by 10 wide by 1 thick. These are fastened together in pairs, their broad sides being joined at the ends by metal plates to form almost right angles. About ten centimeters below the angle two holes are bored through each board and wooden stakes, *dḫâš* (*a*), driven through; a stick, *'aṣa'* (*b*), is tied below the stakes on each side. The *wiṭr* cushion (Fig. 43) to which this frame is fastened is almost a meter long by 35 centimeters high in the front and 65 centimeters high behind. Its back ends in an ornament, *'ejz*, resembling a red Turkish cap, with a tassel, *širšîb*.

[462] The camel halters, *rasan*, are usually made by women; the iron parts only are bought from traveling merchants (Fig. 45: *a*, *muḫṭama*; *b*, *'aḏâr*; *c*, *'ažâreb*; *d*, *sinsile*; *e*, *šerâšîb*; *f*, *ǧedîla*).

A rider about to mount sets his left foot on the left front knee of the kneeling camel, places his left hand on the front, his right on the rear saddle knob, and springs off the ground, throwing his right leg over to the saddle. At the same moment the camel gets up in three motions: first she lifts her breast and kneels on her front legs, this movement being called *tenbaṭ*; next she raises her back, *nowṣa*, and thrusts against

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the toes of her hind legs, *tenûẓ*; finally she stands up on both fore and hind legs, *teṭûr*. 492

A good she-camel will utter no sound while being saddled or loaded at night. A spirited, well-rested animal will stretch her neck backwards, catch the rider's dress with her lips, and touch him with her head. She will shy when passing a dark shadow, houses, or palm trees.

CAMELS ON THE MARCH

The rider, *râčeb* (Fig. 46), crosses his legs, *jelwi riǧlejh*, or lets them hang down on the left or right side, *jedîr al-wirč*. To make the camel go faster, he kicks her with his heel in the right or left shoulder blade, *jelhasha be'ažbeh*, and, waving his little stick, shouts: *"Hej hej hej!"* To guide her he taps the animal gently on the right or left side of the neck, *jeṣadderha bel-'aṣa'*. The rein must not be drawn too short by the rider nor left too loose. If he draws it tight, the animal cannot graze; if left loose it might be easily stepped over with the left foreleg while the camel is grazing.

If the saddle is not well secured it rocks to right and left, *mâjel*, or slides now forward, *ḳâlaṭ* or *meḳalleṭ*, now backward, *twaḫḫar*, *minfaked* or *minfesex*. Then the rider dismounts and arranges the saddle anew. In case his slave is with him, he orders: "The saddle is rocking; fasten it on tighter! *'aššedeh*"; or: "It inclines forwards, push it a little back! *waḫḫerek*"; or again: "It slides backwards, push it forward! *ḳalleṭeh*." In order to do this the slave must loosen, *orḫa'*, both the breast girth, *ḥaḳab*, and the belly girth, *bṭâne*, balance the saddle, and then tighten, *karab*, both girths.

Should the rider fall asleep and the animal change her course while grazing, his companion calls to him: "Set thy riding camel right! *jammen ḏelûlak*." In the daytime the rider guides himself in the desert where there are no roads by some prominent landmark, at night by the North Star. The older man advises the younger: "Mind the North Star! *oftos al-ǧedi*"; "Lay the North Star on the face of thine animal," meaning a northerly course; "Lay it on thy left brow," meaning a north-northeast course; "Lay it on thy left shoulder," indicates "go northeast"; "Lay it on thy saddleback from the left," "go eastwards"; "Lay it on the back saddle knob," "go south," etc.

492 To stop his she-camel the rider clicks his tongue, *ṭančar leha*.

The pace of a female riding camel varies. The most pleasant is a light, regular, long step called *ḫaṭwa zêna*. An animal with a heavy step is called *leḥûḥ*; if it rocks much, *redûḥ*.

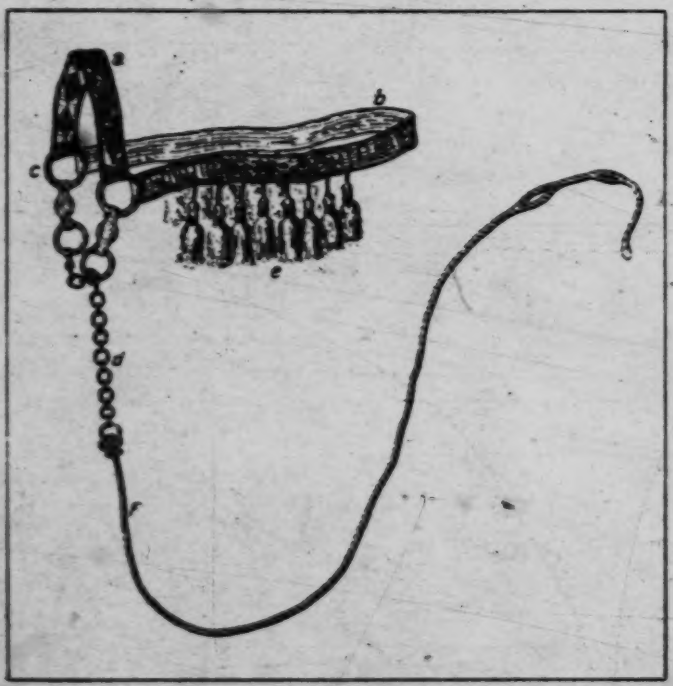

FIG. 45—A camel halter, rosen.

As a rule the she-camel walks, *maši*. Only rarely does she trot, *derḥem*. A long trot is called *da'âḳ*, a fast one *demîl*. A she-camel gallops only when on the attack for booty or when fleeing to escape death, *amma 'ala ṭum' amma 'an mezelka*.

A riding camel (Figs. 47, 48) runs best before and after sunset. The rider, when she is in full swing, must not hold her back or he will tire her. A good riding animal can make more than 200 kilometers in twelve hours. My companion, Nâṣel eben Ṭnejjân, started before sunrise from Ḳaḍîr al-Ḥejl and by sunset was in ad-Duḫejne, having covered 300 kilometers while being pursued. A courier of Prince Muḥammad

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

eben Rašid left Ğaw Jâṭob shortly before sunrise and at sunset reached Brejda, 250 kilometers distant; leaving there the next morning, by sunset of the same day he was back in Jâṭob again. 492

After exhausting marches camels must rest at least three months. If no pasture is found on their route and all they

Fig. 46—Camel riders.

can get is a little dry grass, they soon digest what was in their humps, their loins sink in, and their strength disappears. They are therefore entitled to a good rest after their riders have made them traverse by day and night countries where there is neither good pasture nor enough water. After three months the riders may take them out on a new trip. When a riding camel needs a rest, she kneels down, *brakat*, or her rider makes her do so, *jebarrekha* or *jenawweḫha*. The place where a camel has rested is called *mabrak* or *manâḫ*. "*Laḳejna mabrak arčâbhom* or *manâḫ arčâbhom*, we have discovered the resting place of their riding camels," report the scouts

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

492 on finding a place where the she-camels of a small raiding troop have rested. When speaking of a dog or donkey lying down, the words are: *"Al-čalb rabaẓ"* or *"al-ḥmâr rabaẓ"*; of a horse *"al-faras rabaẓat."*

Songs Relating to Camels

539* The Rwejli's delight in riding camels is expressed in many of his songs.

Jâ 'amm ḳum denni li ḥamra'
w-min al-heǧen 'amlijje
šiddû 'alejha šdâden zên
ma' žirbeten ǧild neǧdijje
ḫalli drejbak ma' ṣummân
arẓen želîle beha rijje.

Uncle, rise, and bring me the bay [mare]
And a tried riding camel.
With a saddle saddle her as is fitting
And put on a water bag from a Neǧd goatskin.
I heed not thy advice to travel through Ṣummân land,
For it is a land of few watering places.

An uncle advises a youth preparing for a raid to go through the Ṣummân territory. The youth declines the advice and asks the uncle to get a bay mare ready for him and a she-camel known for her endurance. *Neǧdijje* is a large goat or sheep of the Neǧd breed. A water bag made of the skin of either of these animals holds as much as forty liters.

Fuṭṭaren mâ sa'an bimḳâm
w-ar-radi mâ jištahenna
ṭâla'an diret al-aǧnâb
w-aṣbaḥan bidjâr ahalhenna.

The old camels were not content with a long and quiet [rest
Nor cared for any pastures.
Having examined the land of a strange tribe,
They came again to the land of their owners.

Old camels are very particular as to their food and soon become disgusted with even the best of pastures. They are used on raids to distant places, from which they return too exhausted to lead the other camels in the herd into disobedience.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

paid a visit to his uncle camping with the Šammar. The childless uncle meant to make him his heir, but the youth yearned for his comrades and after a stay of six days prepared to leave again. 539x

Verse 1. *Wsaḳ* means the same as *šidd*, "to saddle a camel." *Dirt al-warč* means "the rider crossing his legs above

[492]

FIGS. 47, 48—Riding camels.

the knees." 2. *Ḳalaṣ* is a leather bucket holding about six liters, such as the raiders take with them. Some camels drink only when there is still plenty of water in the bucket and stop as soon as their lips touch the bottom. *Afarrah* (for *afarrah*) means "to be urged to drink with the sounds *ṭerr ṭerr!*" *Ẓwā'ed* are saddle covers made of the skin of the black Neǧd goat, which has long, fine, slightly curly hair. The skin is tanned without the hair being taken off; this is clipped short and holes for both the front and back saddle knobs are made; it is then hemmed and laid on the saddle with the hair uppermost. When watered the she-camels crowd so that their saddles touch. 3. The *ḳaṭa'* sand grouse nests on small patches of flat ground in hilly country, *ḥazm*. It sits quietly till the rider comes near, when it flies up suddenly, striking the eggs with its legs and thus disturbing them. Its flight is very noisy, somewhat resembling the sound of the word *farr*. [281]

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such circumstances the chief might well decide to sell the animal in question himself and to give the unwilling part owner one half of the proceeds. The latter also is privileged himself to buy out the other's share in the mare at the figure offered by the stranger. The price paid for a mare is called *sijâḳ*.

EQUIPMENT, USE, AND VALUE OF HORSES

492 The word for a horse saddle (Figs. 52, 53, 54) is *meršeḥa*; "Saddle the horses! *meršeḥû-l-ḥejl*." The saddle consists of a leather or quilted, woolen cushion, *žerijje* (Fig. 52*a*), sewn to a cloth cover, *libbâde* (*d*), and firmly fastened to the saddle. The saddle is also supplied with girth and stirrups; *b*, *râs al-bedd*; *c*, *karbûz*; *e*, *ḥrûǧ al-meršeḥa*; *f*, *ḥelâḳ*; *g*, *ḥzâm*; *h*, *bṭâne*; *j*, *zamḥa*; *k*, *bzîm*; *l*, *rukb*.

The rein is very simple; the bridle proper, *ʿanân* (Figs. 55, 57, pp. 392-393) with an iron ring, *ʿazeda* (*a*), is but rarely used.

The forelegs of a mare are nearly always fettered with an iron chain called *ḥadîd* (Fig. 56, p. 392). "*Ṣakk al-ḥadîd ʿala-l-faras*," means "he fettered his mare's legs"; "*Ḥaddedû-l-ḥejl*, put fetters on the horses!" The single parts of the shackles are as follows: *a*, *ʿarejža*; *b*, *ḳṣuba*; *c*, *sinsile*. They are closed or opened by a key which is usually in the care of the owner's wife, daughter, or sister. It is also the duty of these women to harness the mare, especially when an alarm cry is given. Then the rein is thrown over her head and the bridle put in the mouth, *saffafatha* (or *ṣaʿaṭatha*) *al-ʿanân*, or *alǧamatha*. "*Saḳlab aw zabb beẓahr al-mohra w-dafaʿaha*" means: "the rider throws himself into the saddle of the mare and rides off."

The Bedouin never undertakes a long trip on a mare but always on a camel. Only when he pays a visit to a neighboring camp, or rides out to meet a dear guest, or repulses an attack, or assails the enemy's herds will he use a horse.

With a rider on her back the mare will walk with a light, long pace, *taḳudd ḳadda*. When defiling before their prince or commander, *ʿarẓa*, on a festive occasion or in time of danger, the Bedouins hold their mares up short so that they leap forward, rise on their hind legs, back slightly, and then leap forward again. This performance is called *hedeba* or *tehaddob*. In a mock battle, *leʿeb al-ḥejl*, or during a man-to-man fight, *ṭrâd*, the mares will spring in the same manner. Mares gallop

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only when racing or in the attack, *râra*. To stop his animal the rider cries: *"Hamš ḥaj;"* to start it: *"Ğhara ğharab."* 492

If I call a person, I say of myself:					*aṣiḥ.*
„	„	a mare	„	„	„ *at'i.*
„	„	camels	„	„	„ *ešâje'.*
„	„	a donkey	„	„	„ *eḳarreš.*
„	„	a dog	„	„	„ *ešli.*
„	„	sheep	„	„	„ *eṯḥi.*
„	„	a falcon	„	„	„ *ad'i.*

As mares are hardly ever sold, they have no fixed price. If a man wishes to buy a certain mare, he must pay whatever the owner asks, and the latter generally wants more than the buyer offers. It is said in the desert that the price of a thing is fixed by him who wants it, *as-sil'a tetba' ar-râṛeb.* The Bedouins pay each other as much as ten camels for a yearling mare; for a three-, four- or five-year-old mare they offer from fifteen to thirty thoroughbred riding camels. An adult stud horse is usually cheaper than a yearling mare. 435

LOSS OF HORSES

When a Rwejli's mare has been captured by the enemy and then recaptured by another Rwejli, the latter is obliged to return it to his fellow tribesman but must be paid a she-camel as compensation. A colt of the same mare captured by a Rwejli must also be given back to the owner, six camels being the reward in this case. Such a colt is known as *ṛî'*. The question then asked is: "Didst thou get thy [captured] mare or her colt? *ğâtak farask wallâ-l-ṛî'*." 425

On learning who has recovered the colt of his captured mare, her owner goes to him, saying: "The daughter of my mare is with thee, I demand her from thee, *ana ğâri'ha 'alejk.*"

"That is not true, this is not the daughter of thy mare. I myself paid so-and-so many she-camels for her;" to which the owner replies:

"Good, now keep to the figure thou sayest thou hast paid, *ok'od li bimâ sikt*, till I bring my witnesses."

"I will do so," agrees the other, and those present declare:

"We are thy witnesses that he will keep to such and such a figure and that he will neither sell nor take away the colt."

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425 Then the owner goes to seek the captor. The owner in search of his animal is called *ḳaṣṣâṣ*; he is free to go even to the enemy, who in this case must help. On arriving at the latter's tents, he inquires after his stolen mare and her colt.

●[492]

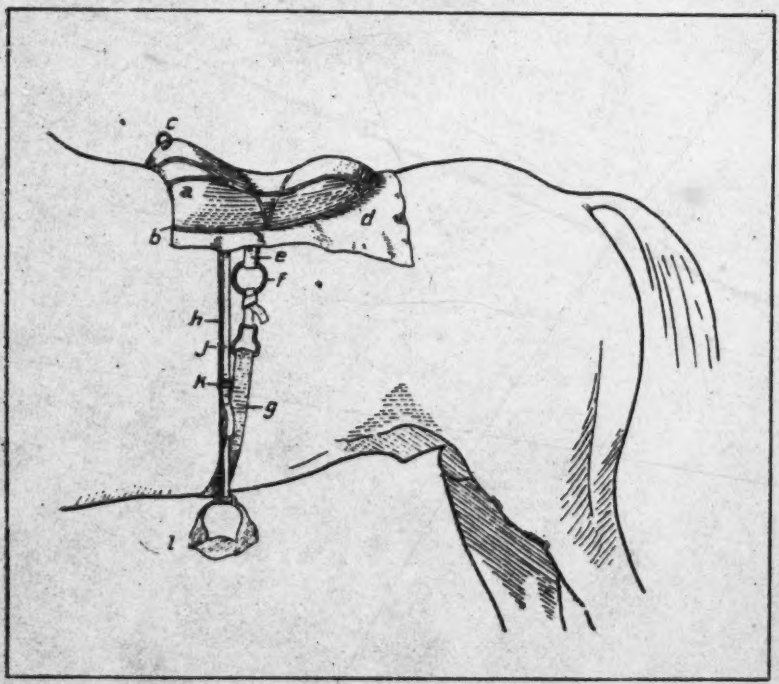

FIG. 52—A horse saddle, *meršeḥa*.

On finding what he seeks, he asks one of the enemy to come with him as a witness that the captured filly is actually the daughter of his stolen mare. Testimony of this kind being indisputable, his tribesman says: "Give me the proper compensation and take her! *hât li sowḳaha w-ḥoḍha.*" He then gets five camels, the witness helping in the search, *jaḳoṣṣ 'anha*, gets one, and the animal is returned to the original owner.

The owner of the captured mare tries first to ascertain who has captured her and where she is kept. For the earliest reliable report of her whereabouts a reward of five *meǧidijjât* ($4.50) is paid. Often the new owner, although an enemy, sends a report every year of the mare's condition and of the colts born to her.

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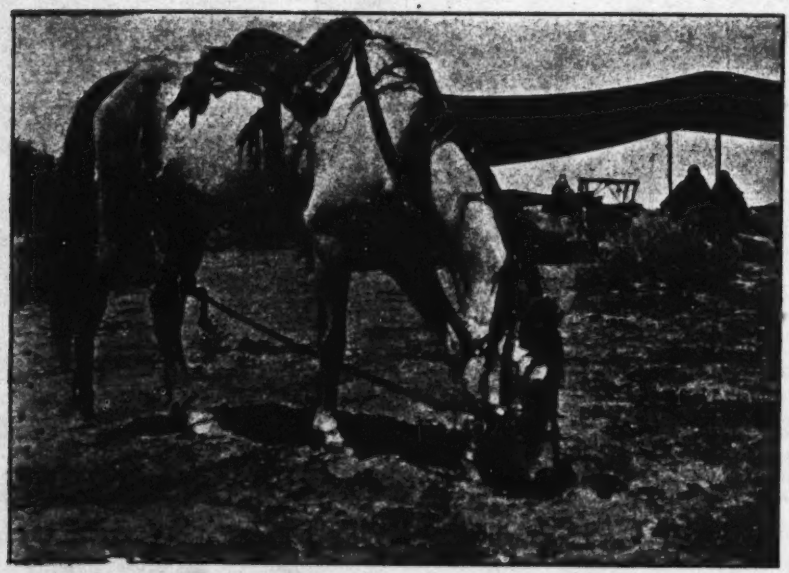

FIG. 53

FIG. 54

FIGS. 53, 54—Saddled mares.

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777 787 614 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. The Ṣlejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Ṣlejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

[492]

777 787 825 FIG. 55

FIG. 56

FIG. 55—A horse bridle, *ʿanân*.
FIG. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadîd*.
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥoṣejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḫaṭam ʿala-l-ṛaziw*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *ṛurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên*." A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḫaṣar* or *rsejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dâbb*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favorable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *aṯ-ṭlejžijjât*.

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A Bedouin who has led in his mare to the stud horse, mounts her afterwards and rides around the camp until he meets a girl, to whom he says: "O daughter, just now I have led in my mare." If the girl answers: "Be comforted with

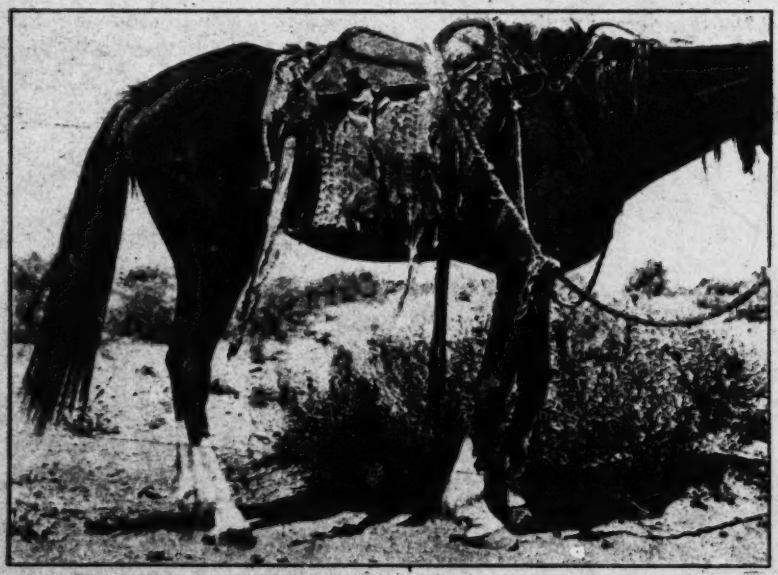

FIG. 57—A harnessed mare.

the glad tidings that she will bring thee a filly, *ebšer bemohra*," both the owner of the mare and his whole kin rejoice, for this is a favorable sign, and they all expect confidently that the girl's prophecy will come true.

It is a common belief among the Rwala that a one-eyed person is the bearer of misfortune. If a man meets one so afflicted, in order to destroy his unhappy influence he turns over a large stone, thus burying the bad omen. Hence the proverb: "If thou meetest a one-eyed person, turn over a large stone; *elja šuft al-'awar oklôb ḥağar*." Nobody embarking on a journey of importance will have for his guide a man with his right and left upper eyeteeth missing, *afrak as-sinnên*, or one with blue eyes, *azrar* (sic) *al-'ajnên*, for then nothing would succeed. Woe to those having intercourse with a woman whose breast is covered with down, or with a man without any beard or without down on any part of his body, *aǧnas al-*

777 *ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-halbaʿ w-ar-raǧol al-melûs*, as both are the
787 cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person
that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-daʿâja w-an-*
826 *naʿâja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both
828 he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her op-
789 ponent in the following sentences:

"Saḇʿ hal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear the face!"

"Saʿan jasbaʿ haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwû (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-rîḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Ṛâjbt as-saʿad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mowt an-nâr. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jilʿan zên hal-hdûm alli mâ hi ʿal-âdmi mâr ʿala ʿûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

777 In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful.
675 If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *ʿala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"ʿala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

777 If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its
825 rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other
●492 riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Sebʿeč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšaželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-šaʿâṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *ʿaḳer-*

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bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḥama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled.

825 492● [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'âwdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of

787 721

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12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Dṛejjem aẓ-Ẓulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Ḳna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Ḥâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Ḳuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Ḳna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Ǧlebba* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Ṭaḳḳ 'aṣijehom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *saḥâba* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bwağbet aṭ-ṭnên*."

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Jâ-llâh maksûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad*."

705 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water
492 bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl*. If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḥdaha*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They
701 are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabî'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40
[585 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young hus-
777] band, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *krân al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at
[834] home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their
[714] wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

539*

Já ḫajefin min·al-manâja
min ǧâh melek al-mowt mât
al-mowt mâ fakk as-sebâjə
jâḫoḏ ranâdir al-banât.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That he whom the death angel visits dies.
Death, however, cannot free captured she-camels
Yet can take those who always linger with the girls.

Ranâdir are elegant youths who from love of the girls remain at home instead of going out on raids.

Jâ ḫâjefin min al-manâja
al-mowt mâ ǧâ' leḥ naḏîr
al-ḫowf mâ fakk al-ḥabâri
w-lâ ṭawwal al-'omr al-ḳaṣîr.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That death is not preceded by a herald.
Fear cannot rescue the *ḥabâri* birds [from the falcon's talons]
Nor prolong life, short as it is.

Jâ-hal as-sebâja rûsehen
elja' mâ 'amâmi jelḥaḳûn
nakkâlaten ḫuṭul al-'aǧam
ḏabbâḥaten mâ jarḥamûn.

O riders! ye plunderers, pull up the heads of your mares
Till my uncles come,
Who are carrying arms of Persian make,
Who only slay and know not mercy.

Ahl as-sebâja has the same meaning as *ahl al-ḫejl*, horse riders who throw themselves on the herds and then drive them away as their booty. With *rûsehen eššeṭû* is understood: "lift up the heads of your mares." In order to stop the galloping mares the reins are pulled up short, which makes them raise their heads and slacken their pace. They are to wait till overtaken by their paternal uncles—that is, by their kinsmen, as maternal relatives are not considered kin if not related to the father in some other way. The Persian-made weapons are mainly swords, broad spears, and daggers.

[492]
[602]
[411]

539x

Aṭ'an la'ajni bakraten miš'âf
waẓha' tezedd ḥwâraha
min fowḳ šaḳra čannaha-l-ḥaṭṭâf
w-mu'askaran mismâraha.

I will stab to protect my she-camel with long thick hair on the hump,
Pure white, guiding her young by low murmurs;
I will stab from the back of a sorrel resembling a wild beast,
Whose shoe nails are bent inward.

[231] *Bakra* is a she-camel not yet eight years old. The humps of she-camels which have never carried loads or riding saddles are covered with long thick hair. They also grow very fat. *Waẓha'*, a pure white she-camel, is the most prized among the Rwala. *Ḥwâṛ* is the name given to a sucking camel calf. The careful mother looks back at her young incessantly and warns it by low and short murmurs not to go far away and get lost, *tezeddeh*. *Ḥaṭṭâf* is either a wild beast or a good hunting hound which attacks its prey without being urged. The warrior is mounted on a sorrel which also starts in pursuit of the enemy of her own accord. Nothing [492] will hold her back, except perhaps the sharp pieces of basalt and lava, which may injure her feet. But no such danger threatens the mare of our rider, as her shoes are well nailed on. The nail passes through the horn of the hoof and is then bent inward, *mu'askaran mismâraha*, to prevent its loosening and falling out.

Šiḳḥan ta'âwed lar-ruḥûl
jowm aṣ-ṣabî dawda laha
tišrah 'ala-lli jiṭ'anûn
jowm al-ǧanab jibra' laha.

White she-camels of reddish hue accustomed to carry loads,
As soon as the lad cries *'daw'*
Begin to yearn for those who can stab,
Knowing that the protecting troop will soon join them.

233 *Ruḥûl* means the she-camels carrying smaller loads, especially the tent and its furniture, on the march. They are usually good tempered and will obey the youth whenever he urges them in a quiet voice to turn or to stop. The lad, *ṣabî*, either sits on one of them or walks behind and cries: "*Daw*, O So-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* 726* also took part; in some of his poems he had boasted of his bravery and threatened to humble the Rwala. During the attack Meḥda's mare stumbled, *taḳanṭa'at*, and threw him to the ground; fearing for his life, he crawled into the bushy perennials, where the Rwala youths found him. Prince Saṭṭâm, before whom he was brought, let him go free, after some sarcastic remarks. Muḥammad âl Mhelhel, one of the Rwala poets, then composed this poem and sent it to Muḥammad eben Smejr. I learned it from Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *'Arâmîs* are she-camels which may be depended upon not to run away at night but to shift for themselves in the matter of food and to endure even the greatest fatigue. *Mîd* means far away, distant. *Ḥazm* is an elevation, rather low, but long, and dotted with many small hillocks. These *ḥzûm* usually run parallel. When shining in the sun's rays they assume variegated colors, white, pink, and bluish — whence their name, *mṣâḥamât*, multicolored. 2. The rider's garment is blown up when his camel walks at a fast pace against the wind. His cloak waves like wings, the long sleeves of his shirt fly up above his head, and its hem is lifted up, baring his legs to the knees. When this happens the rider wraps both the lower part of his shirt and the foreparts of his cloak around his legs and presses his knees to the camel in order to keep his garment close to his body, *jistaṣaff*. 3. If the rider wants his camel to go fast for a length of time, he grasps in his right hand the small stick hanging by a band from his wrist and holds it straight out over the animal's head. With the motion of the camel the hand holding the stick moves too; this action is called *herz*, rocking or quick pace. A *manǧûb* is a small stick from which the bark has been peeled off, no matter what its shape may be or what the wood it is made of. *Al-melâḥis* are she-camels which push to the front all the time, so that they must be held back with the stick. Therefore, "*Elḥas ḥaḏ-ḏelûl*, make go back, push back this riding camel," has almost the same meaning as "*Eṣreb ḥaḏ-ḏelûl*, strike, hit, this riding camel." *Nisâ'* is a long, regular pace, during which even a sick man can fall asleep. 4. *Heǧen* is never used in common speech; the poet thus prefers words which are seldom heard. A Bedouin would say *reḏâjeb* or, in the singular, *ḏelûl*. 6. The Weld 'Ali are known to be great lovers of black coffee. They are said always to be roasting, grinding, and making coffee. 7. *Ḥejlen marâwis* signifies a

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221[x] North send them the longed-for rains. There had been no rain for weeks, except only in the region of Rueysh-dat, where it had rained almost in torrents. The broad depressions were still full of water and smaller pools and puddles were dotted all over the district.

At last came the time for the start. The whole desert basin was alive and thronging with herds moving in one great heaving mass. There arose the confused din of more than three hundred thousand animals, which for miles round spread a penetrating musk-like smell.

492 493 221[x] Apart, on the flanks of the main mass, were the pack-camels, laden with tents, equipment, provisions, and so forth, under the guard of their drivers. Hundreds of lofty travelling-litters loomed up among them—the *kethabs* of the *shiyukhs* and wealthy tribesmen, tall "riding-tents" with widely curved horns, balanced on the backs of the long-legged beasts. Their interiors are adorned with costly silk and cashmere stuffs; the seats and backs are lined with rugs and padded with soft cushions. Like the wings of giant butterflies, the spreading sides of these tall and airy structures dipped above the tossing sea of animals.

221[x] Unceasingly, the stream of camels welled up from the basin to unite in an immense tidal wave more than five miles wide. The great columns of the camel trains began to take shape. With tireless energy, in all this heat, dust and noise, riders on sweating horses galloped from side to side, directing the herders where to fall in with their charges, mother camels and baby camels. The air resounded with the roaring, braying and squealing of the camels, the neighings of horses, the calls and curses of

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Bedouin Boy with "Horn" Headdress

Note the Heavy Robes of the Women and Children

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Mawia Climbing into Camel-Litter

opposite page 97

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Tuēma had meanwhile returned to her own dwelling at the lower end of the valley. Her girl friends had been busy selecting the handsomest camel-litter and decorating it for the occasion. With its ornate marriage canopy it was mounted on a fine, gorgeously caparisoned camel, which slaves then led to Tuēma's tent. There the bride mounted to her lofty seat between the slender horns of the camel-litter and, with songs and shouts and waving of scarves, her girl friends escorted her to the tent of the bridegroom.

Before the women's quarters, but so arranged that Faris on his couch could see everything, Tuēma made her camel kneel down. Faris's mother and sisters, attended by numerous men and women slaves, greeted and received the bride ceremoniously.

Close by, Mnahi held an old white battle-mare by the halter. Auda, "the helper", she was called, and also the "Virginal Kuhaylat-Ajuz", for she had never been mated. The Ruala all but worshipped her as sacred. As a three-year-old she had been presented to Misha'il as a gift, on the birth of her son, Amir Fuaz. The mare was thus twenty-seven years old and her body bore the scars of many a raid. Over her back was spread a white lamb's-skin rug, the "Virgin Fleece" which, according to immemorial custom, the Bedouin bride brings to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Tuēma had disappeared into the harem to be attired in her wedding dress by Faris's mother and sisters. When she came out again, she was resplendent in a rich cashmere gown woven in red and green (it had been worn by Faris's mother at her own bridal ceremony) and a

In the inner desert

132 the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is
805 therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the
821 spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes
132 neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

132 If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the
137 autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arẓ alli mâ tinwasem mâ terâbbe' muḫṭije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater
511 and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels
231 nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they
511 can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good
[233] pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every
515 one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

251 The chaff, *ḳišr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away,
while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to
262 dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in
the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw
away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they
may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is
called *semḥne* or *sebîb*.

137 The fertility, or abundance, *rabî'*, depends entirely on a
luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of
511 the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even
132 after a good *ṣejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *maṣ-
jûfa*; but no *ṣejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat
of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may
have no *rabî'* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring
one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more
noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they
say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have some-
thing to bite into), and men die of hunger; *hâḍi-s-sene w-laha
snûn nâs ja'išûn w-nâs jemûtûn.*" The Bedouin also refers
to a *rabî' al-mâš*, meaning a season when the entire growth
consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even
the youngest camels; a *rabî' aṣ-ṣafâra*, when nothing grows
except the *ṣafâra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rabî' ad-dimne*,
when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown
luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *šitwi* rains, fail to receive the
smâk rain and become yellow as early as the end of March;
a *rabî' an-naḍḍân*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly
carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rabî' aṭ-ṭafḥa*, when not
only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant
pasture.

137 Just as the Bedouins long for the *rabî'* years, so they
fear the years of want, or *ḥawa'*. If for two or three years
132 the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough
731 there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody
plants alone. The winter rain, *aš-šitwi*, makes these perennials
swell, but during the hot *smâk* days they dry up, become un-
palatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ajjâm al-ḥawa'*,
or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish.
But if the rains of the *ṣejfi* also fail, then not a single peren-
nial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken
and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêḍa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *raẓîẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamîsa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

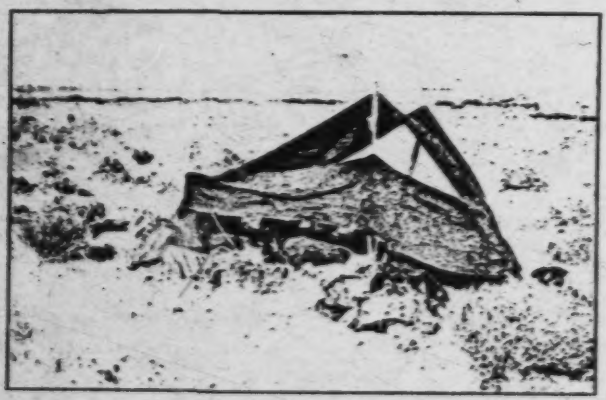

FIG. 24—A small tent, *fuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

291 wrap the feet around with rags, *ḫašwa* (pl., *ḫašâwi*). The young chiefs buy shoes, *ṣurmâje*, of the kind worn in the towns. The riders wear boots of fine red leather, *žazme* (or *ǧazme*), with high shoe irons made of rolled sheet iron, *ḥaḏw*. The best of all are the *žazme ḥalabijje* (Aleppan *žazme*); the cheaper kind is called *niswânijje* and is generally of a yellow color. *Žazme* reaching to the knees are called *rabbâṭijje*.

Those who can afford it buy a short coat, not unlike our waistcoat, made of a many-colored thin cloth, either unlined, *nuṣṣijje*, or lined, *derfil*.

291 The yearly expenditure of a common Rwejli for his clothing is as follows:

511

ḫaḫw, body belt	1/4	*meǧidijje*	($0.22½)
ṯowb, shirt	1	"	(" 0.90)
zebûn, outer shirt	1	"	(" 0.90)
maḥzam, outer belt	1/2	"	(" 0.22½)
ṭâžijje, cap	1/4	"	(" 0.22½)
mindîl, kerchief	1/2	"	(" 0.22½)
'aṣâba, kerchief cord	1/2	"	(" 0.22½)
'aba', mantle	3	*meǧidijjât*	(" 2.70)
farwa, fur coat	3	"	(" 2.70)
zerbûl, shoes	1	*meǧidijje*	(" 0.90)
Total	10½	*meǧidijjât*	($9.22½).

In addition to this his *obṭijje*, short fur coat, costs him 1½–2 *meǧidijjât* ($1.35–$1.80), his *ḫṭâṭa*, white kerchief, ¼ *meǧidijje* (22½ cents), and his *nuṣṣijje*, short coat, ½ *meǧidijje* (45 cents).

291 In winter the Rwejli puts on all the clothes he has, thinking that otherwise he would never get warm. A proverb says: "He who does not put on heavy clothing will not get warm by carrying it, *alli mâ jeṭaššel mâ jenaššel*."

WOMEN'S CLOTHES

A woman (Fig. 34) wears a dark-blue shirt or dress, *ṯowb aswad*, with broad sleeves ending in a long lappet. The shirt fits close to the neck and is about one meter longer than the wearer. Nearly every woman sews it herself, two pieces, *bejramtên*, of cotton fabric each eight *ḏrâ'* (6 meters) long being necessary for a shirt. The ordinary fabric is called *mastûru*, the better sort *abu rwêše*. A woman's shirt is without any decoration. It is held to the body by a broad belt

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

wad slightly, they touch the *koḥl*, which is kept in a tiny tin box, *mikḥale*, and then rub the color along the borders of the eyelids, believing that the use of *koḥl* strengthens the eyesight. Many therefore even rub *koḥl* on the edges of a telescope, being firmly convinced that the instrument then gives a much better view.

The woman's dress costs:

barîm, body belt	1/4	*meǧidijje*		($ 0.22½)
ṯowb, shirt	2	*meǧidijjât*		(" 1.80)
ḥwêṣi, belt	1/4	*meǧidijje*		(" 0.22½)
maḳrûna, kerchief	2	*meǧidijjât*		(" 1.80)
ṣiffa, head band	1/4	*meǧidijje*		(" 0.22½)
ǧibba, jacket	2	*meǧidijjât*		(" 1.80)
meswi, cloak	3	*meǧidijjât*		(" 2.70)
maḥnaḳa, coral necklace	4	piasters		(" 0.18)
ḥelâde, pendant	4	"		(" 0·18)
ma'ḍed, elbow ornaments	4	"		(" 0·18)
faṭḥa, finger ring	4	"		(" 0·18)
zmâm, nostril ring	1/4	*meǧidijje*		(" 0·22½)
Total	10	*meǧidijjât*,	16 piasters	($ 9.72).

PEDDLERS; CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE; INFANTS; STAFFS AND CANES

Whatever the Rwala need for their finery and ornaments they either buy from the merchants who visit them when they are camping in the settled territory in the months of July and August, or from the peddlers, who accompany them the whole year through, even going to the inner desert with them. A peddler or wandering merchant is called either Rḥejbâwi or Kubejsi: Rḥejbâwi after the ancient town of ar-Raḥba, Kubejsi after his native place, the little town of al-Kubejsa. The terms Rḥejbâwi and Kubejsi have come to mean any wandering seller of textiles or general merchandise and are now applied even to merchants known to hail from other places. Thus a peddler from Bagdad is called a Rḥejbâwi Baṛdâdi or Kubejsi Baṛdâdi. When a youth overfond of dress, *dâḥa*, visits a wandering merchant to be measured for a suit of clothes, he gives his order in the words of the ancient verse: "Measure me, O merchant! for a shirt with long sleeves, measure me, O merchant! O Rḥejbâwi! *Faṣṣel li ya tâǧer ṣâfi ardâni faṣṣel li ya tâǧer ya rḥejbâwi.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

233 stray beast to come back to its place. Often the lost she-camel joins another herd, goes with it to the camp, moans when she does not hear the familiar voice of the herdsman, and moves towards him as soon as his ditty catches her ear. In case the stray animal is not in the camp, the owner and his friends mount their horses and ride out the same evening to hunt for it. If it is not found, they return the next day before noon, saddle their female riding camels, and the search begins anew. During their absence a member of the owner's kin rides up and down the camp every evening shouting: "Who has seen such and such a she-camel?" If someone happens to have seen her, the usual answer is: "O thou who hast lost a she-camel, know that she is at So-and-So's." No one would ever keep such knowledge to himself. A stray or lost she-camel is called *ḏâheba*, the man who has lost her, *meḏheḇ*.

[789] Although sucking, young camels are constantly threatened with danger from many beasts of prey, mainly wolves, the herdsman cannot always watch them, especially in a rocky territory or sandy desert, full of drifts and pits. However, in order to preserve them he draws a circle around them with his staff or a sharp stone and says: "The circle of Solomon, son of David, is between us and thee [wild beast]! If thou breakest it, Allâh will break thee! *ḫoṭṭa slejmân eben dâûd bênana w-bênak w-en ḳaṭa'taha ḳaṭa'ak allâh.*" This circle is also called *leǧâm*.

VALUE AND USES OF CAMELS

231 Without camels the Bedouins could not live in the desert.
● 511 The she-camels give them milk all the year round; this forms
438 the principal, and in many families the only, food for months. With the money received from the sale of camels they buy clothes, arms, and grain for both themselves and their horses. The camels they usually sell to the *fellâḥîn* or to the merchants who import in caravans the various goods needed in the towns and settlements situated far from the sea or from railways; some camels are also sold for meat in Egypt and Irak. The *fellâḥîn* use the camels in plowing, hauling, and threshing, for raising water, and for bringing their various products to the market. Fat she-camels more than twenty years old are bought for their flesh by the 'Aḳejl.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

Verse 1. The young mare is called daughter of ʿÎda, not of Bdûni, because a colt is always reckoned as of the family of its mother. 2. The enemy generally attacks when the dew has evaporated, as the camel herds are driven to pasture at that time. *Ṣajjâḥ* is either the herdsman or watchman who first sees the enemy and gives the alarm cry. The men amuse themselves till past midnight and stay in bed until dinner is ready for them, as breakfast is not known among the Bedouins. *Maʿreḳa* or *meršeḥa* is a soft, light horse saddle. 3 *Ğibbe* is a short coat of good cloth with long, narrow sleeves tucked up at the wrists. *Dibbe* is a spear with a supple shaft. *Nafes* is an ornament of ostrich feathers fastened near the spear blade. When about to attack, the spear shaft is held at the right of the hip. Aš-Šarrâbi is a gallant youth, one of the *ḫaṭât al-walîda*, undaunted young warriors, and therefore not to be taunted by men descended from old families. *Walîd* as well as *raǧǧâl* is more than *walad* or *raǧol*. *Walîd*, meaning a a real hero, is a stronger word than *walad*, youth, just as *raǧǧâl*, a man to be depended upon, is stronger than *raǧol*, an ordinary man. Not every *raǧol* is necessarily *raǧǧâl*, or every *walad* a *walîd*.

[512]

1. *Ḳâl al-ḥzejri w-allati tadanna leh*
   bint ar-raʿejl min aṣlaha maǧḏûba
2. *w-lâ jaḳdar ar-raǧǧâl al-ḳaṣîr juʿennihu*
   illa fajarčîha ʿala šenẖûba
3. *jâ čenn ʿajânîha bimefrež râsaha*
   nîrân ḥarb biḳennaten mašbûba
4. *ḥamraʾ tawaṭṭaʾ bi ʿâla miṯl al-ʿamed*
   ḳejṭâtaha biẓahraha maẓbûba
5. *jabṛi-š-šerîf jaḥoṭṭ serǧeh fowḳha*
   hâḏi ʿelûm w-ḥeǧǧaten maḳlûba.

1. Al-Ḥzejri said of her whom he drew to himself, holding
   "By descent she is Raʿejl's daughter, her firmly
2. Whom a small man cannot bridle
   Except he stand on a big rock.
3. Oh, the depth of her eyes, there where the forelock sundal.
   They emit rays like beacons lighted on a high cone.
4. Behold, a bay steps under me like a pliant branch;
   Her back in the middle is unbending.
5. The Sherif would like to place his saddle on her."
   This is my answer and the bargain [for him] is lost.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 x
539 x

Such are the reports I have heard of thee—
And, by Allâh himself! I am at peace.
Be gone, be gone, so that my eyes may never perceive thee,
O thou, whom the mere sighting of the enemy turns to flight.

[577]

A maiden rejects her lover for hiding like a coward during a raid. *Śîḥa* is a plain covered with *šîḥ* growing as high as sixty centimeters, so that a man lying in it cannot be seen. [513] ●
Mžejjilen is one who likes to rest in the hottest hours of the day, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. *Edd* for *ruḥ*, away. *Ẓiḥa* is the first sight of the enemy.

Jâ wenneti wennet al-ṭenṭên
ṛâdi waladhen maflâhen
en rawwaḥen jeʿâžen ġourṭên
w-en ekbel al-lejl betnâḥen
ʿalejk jâ žâdel al-ḳarnên
ḳalbi šfûḳen limâtâḥen.

This is my lament, like the lament of two she-camels
Whose calf is lost in the pasture.
When they come back for the night, they wail with two voices.
Even when it grows dark and their legs are tied,
O thou, whose hair is plaited into two tresses,
My heart pities thee because of their meetings.

A youth warns the girl he loves, but who does not return his affection, that her lover has others beside her. If the Bedouins want to milk a she-camel whose young is a weakling, they kill the calf at birth and put another in its place. Both mothers now take this calf for their own, caring for and nursing it. When such a young camel gets lost in the pasture, either by falling into a pit or becoming the prey of a wild beast, both mothers wail day and night for a long time.

ʿAzzâk jâ barḳen jelûḥ
waṛa-ṭ-ṭawîl ġowbaha
jâ ḥejf jâ ʿašireti
wa'-l-mubṛeza ʿajjaw baha.

May Allâh comfort thee! The lightning flashed
Beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl, whither she wanders.

ments of the oasis of al-Ǧowf of Eben ʿAli, Prince of Ḥâjel. He was not comfortable there. Although al-Ǧowf is protected against both the north and west winds, Muḥammad complained of the severe cold and wished to return to Ḥâjel. He meant to make the trip on his old but tried she-camel; in three days he would reach Ǧubba, a settlement lying about 230 kilometers south-southeast on the road to Ḥâjel; he would leave Ǧubba after midnight and on the fourth day reach Ḥâjel about supper time. Thus he meant to cover the distance of 320 kilometers in four days and half a night. It should be born in mind that this route extended for about 280 kilometers over sand drifts and that therefore he had to sleep out two nights.

Verse 1. *Garhadij*, destroyer, is said of sleep because it tends to weaken a man and to make him feel wretched. 4. *Śbâṭ* corresponds to our February. A north wind makes not only the inhabitants of al-Ǧowf but also those of Ḥâjel shiver with cold, as I myself have experienced. Muḥammad exaggerates in order to give more than due praise to Ḥâjel. 5. *Al-munâdi*, the crier, the commander, was the prince of Ḥâjel, to whom the settlements of al-Ǧowf belonged. The prince could summon his governor to Ḥâjel. 6. In the neighborhood of al-Ǧowf there is no camel pasture. What grass and perennials grow there are cut by the settlers and dried for hay that they may have fodder for their own cattle and for the animals of their guests and also to sell to the trade caravans. It is necessary to drive the camels fifteen kilometers out before even a sparse pasturage is found. Any of the settlers who possesses a good she-camel places it under the care of a reliable Bedouin camping with his clan in the district of al-Ǧowf and sends for it a few days before he desires to depart. Muḥammad's she-camel was grazing with the herd of the Âl Wejlân Bedouins. A spirited, well-rested she-camel often streuches her neck backwards, catches the rider's dress with her lips, and touches him with her head. 7. From ʿOmân thoroughbred camels are imported. Every tribe, every clan brands its camels with marks commonly called *wasm*. Each brand again has a name of its own. The brand of Muḥammad's camel is called *merzel*, owing to its resemblance to a spindle. 8 means that the camel's neck is very long. 9. When kneeling, the she-camel's front knees are extended far forward; her shoulders are drawn back and nearly reach the breastbone

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

787 herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a 721 number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâʿ comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *mʿâwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥoḏ lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḫûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭîʿ*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḫûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

787 A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard 302 shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

●513 While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers 774 from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *ʿaǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

628 A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 belonging to human beings would die of hunger there. Camels and horses are not raised by them.

776 Woe to the Bedouin who falls asleep in a region inhabited by the spirits! For if a *ǧânnijje* observes him, she crawls into 828 his body either through his nostrils, forefinger, or big toe, and, as soon as she gets hold of him, she makes him jump 755 up and run into the desert, whence he can be brought back to his tent only by force. A man so possessed is known as *maḫšûš* or *muharfal*. To cure him, a seer, *râʿ as-sirr*, is called in, who, after working himself into an ecstasy, commands the female spirit to come out: "Crawl out, crawl out! *eṭlaʿî eṭlaʿî*," her answer being: "I will not, I will not crawl out, *mâ-ṭlaʿ*." Then the sorcerer orders his disciples to play louder and faster, he himself circling and dancing round the possessed with increasing vigor, finally lies down upon him and again shouts: "Crawl out and away with thee to the place whence thou camest! *eṭlaʿî maʿ makâneč min alli ǧîti minneh*." It takes some time for a female spirit to be driven out, because a woman is headstrong and will not obey.

A Ḳmâṣi spent a night in some ruins west of the al-ʿAzîb valley and perceived a *ǧânnijje* there, who instantly entered his body. He then ran into the neighboring hills and would not return home when found by his relatives, but threw himself on the ground, struck out at them, and frothed at the mouth. This showed him to be possessed, *maḫšûš*. A sorcerer was sent for. He played over him, *laʿab*, for several days, but the *ǧânnijje* tormented him still more. Then they began to beat him so that blood began to trickle from almost every limb of his body. The beating of a man possessed is permitted, for the blows are not meant for him but for the female spirit, and it is she who feels the pain, not the man. It is observed that the *ǧânnijje* shakes her victim less violently after the beating, and they then beat him only at intervals. On the twenty-fourth day the *ǧânnijje* finally left the bruised body for good, the prolonged beating having proved too much for her. The man, of course, recovered immediately afterwards.

513 The Bedouin does not like to sleep long, as many dangers lurk about him during sleep, not only from men but also from the earthly spirits, and, moreover, sleep reminds him of death. A Bedouin saying is: "He that sleeps one third of the night has done as well as he that sleeps all night, and he that sleeps the whole night will wake up an idiot; *min nâm ṯilṯ al-leil*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

nâmha killaha w-min nâm kill al-lejl haḍâk habîl." Sleep during the hot midday, *ḳajjalna*, or at sunrise, *ṣaffarna*, is preferred to the night sleep. This is also the time when the animals are allowed to rest. 513

Women and girls are in constant danger from the male spirits. If a girl, especially a pretty one, falls asleep in a locality inhabited by the spirits, she is approached by a male spirit, who has sexual intercourse with her yet without violating her virginity. Should he succeed in that only once, the girl cannot resist him ever afterwards. He compels her to leave her tent at night and to come to a place selected by him. Such a woman or girl must not marry; should she do so voluntarily the spirit would torment her still more, and if she is compelled to marry the spirit would attack her husband. 776 833

Me'zeb eben 'Eḳla' of the Mwâhîb married a pretty widow, a relative of his, who was dominated by a *ǧânn* and was therefore unwilling. When on the wedding night he approached her, the *ǧânn* seized him by the throat, throttled him, and then threw him out of the tent, threatening him with death should he dare to approach her again. Such a husband expelled by a spirit is called *menḥi*. But a spirit can never beget children by a woman, as spirits never have any children at all.

The wells of the watering place of Line are very deep, hewn in the rock spirally, and have smooth walls. According to a Bedouin tale, a chief's pretty daughter was often molested at night by a *ǧânn*. When she complained to her father he lay in wait for the spirit and finally caught him on the night of *as-sarra*, or of the dark of the moon. The chief tied the *ǧânn* both hands and feet, seated him on the rocky plain of Line, and commanded him to keep on circling around until his posteriors should dig a well with spring water in the rock. The *ǧânn* began to do as he was bidden, his back grinding out the rock and his head pressing up the sand, which was changed by his sweat into a thin dough. Yet no sooner had he deepened one well that the chief made him dig a second, a third, and so on, urging him on with the words: "Soften the rock, soften the rock, and change it into dough! *lîni lineh w-erdih 'aǧine.*"

Not long ago some travelers, *rab' aṭ-ṭrûk*, rode by the impassable crags of al-'Afâjef in the deep depression of al-Ka'ara. Below a hillside there a hedgehog, *ḳunfud*, of extraordinary size was warming himself in the rays of the sun. 776 825

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. An

nowm sâs al-lowm, sleep is the cause of reproofs, because at night, when the guards are fast asleep, the activities of the Bedouin's enemies, whether men or beasts, are most successful. He that keeps awake can prevent evil. *Šelâfiḥ* implies the lack of a certain thing; thus, "*Waredna hal-mokr saḳweh šelâfiḥ*" means "We wanted to water in this rock cistern, but there is little water there." 4. *An-riżḳ betûl al-ḫaṭa'*; he whose pace is longer will win more, can go farther. *Fiḥ* (sing., *fejḥa*) are good-tempered, enduring she-camels. The rider of such will reach distant places where he can get booty more easily. 5. *Jidûk* signifies the continual motion of the rider's two heels, which tear the animal's hide by constantly rubbing against it. *'Ajrât an-neṣa'* are she-camels used for raids to distant places. A raiding troop cannot spend the night in a large plain surrounded by mountains, *ad-dawwo*, for it is impossible to build a fire there; it would be seen far around. The she-camels must, therefore, exert their whole strength to cross such a plain as quickly as possible in order to reach a region with deep, hidden gullies before sunset. 6. Behind the camel saddle the Bedouins fasten one or two pairs of many-colored ribbons, *sefâjef*, which, fluttering with every step the she-camel makes, are seen now far behind the animal, now high above or below it. The waving of the ends of these ribbons reminds the onlooker of the motions the falconer makes with a piece of cloth when he wants to coax a falcon to return to him. These cloth pieces, *malâwiḥ*, also float out, to vanish the next moment, according to the motions made by the falconer. 8. The guard watching the camels is called *ǧaṣab*. For this duty the bravest youths, as a rule, are selected, objects of warm desire on the part of many a married woman dissatisfied with her easy-going, often cowardly husband. A woman of this sort is known as *ṭaṣâḥ*. She would not bear sons resembling their father. 9. *Akwaḥ al-'ajs*, means "[a good marksman] half closed his eye." Such eyes send out sure death, for they are *ǧawâbiḥ*, killers.

539x
577x
[513]
[831]
[826]

Seize Opportunity When It Offers

Elja' kabbet rijâḥak kebb ma'ha
w-lâ budd ille-r-rijâḥ min ca-eukûn
w-en darret nijâḥak w-ehteiebba
w-lam jidro-l-ḫwâṭ limin jekûn.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. I for myself twisted a rope to pull this world with, 539x
But, instead, the world pulled me without a rope. 577x
4. O thou who sittest in the shade! it is as if thy shade were gone,
And over thee who sittest in the sun has fallen a shade.
5. He that says "I am better than others" is destined for torments,
And he that says "I am violence" will be violated by men.
6. Become not a long spear, even if thou reachest its length,
But be not downcast, even if the present has treated thee mercilessly.
7. A well cannot be filled with dew or moist fog,
And a revolt will not be calmed without an effort.
8. The informer shall not whisper in a noble man's ear,
And true men shall not eat lies.
9. How many are there who rest on the goods of their father and grandfather,
But, if the Lord of this world shall destroy those goods, they will perish.

The poet was Rumejzân at-Tamimi of the Beni Tamim tribe, who live in various settlements of Neǧd; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd, and Ǧwâd al-'Âni.

Verse 1. *Jowm* signifies a day from sunset to sunset, hence the night too. The days are secret, because nobody knows how many people were begotten in them, *ad-dinja telbak w-teled*. 2. Grief caused by various troubles does not torment so much in the daytime as at night, when the troubled man cannot sleep. *Čwenek* means that the nights lay on the red-hot iron used in curing various diseases. *'Âtiḥen* means putting oneself above or being offensive to others. 3. Sooner will the surroundings spoil a man than a man reform his surroundings. 4. A despised person ought to be conscious of his condition and should not press into the foreground, while he who is famous ought not to forget that the time may come when his fame will end. 6. *Markâd* is the term applied to an unusually long spear. No matter how many good qualities a man may have, he should not put himself above others and wound them with his sarcasms. *Hef'en* is one low in spirit, downcast, crushed. 7. *Ǧibb* is a deep well. *Nada'* means the dripping moisture which settles on clothing, tents, animals,

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bedouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *istaddow ṯârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

In the rainy season of 1906 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the 'Ebede between al-Ṣurâb and at-Tînf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *'ajjar 'ala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the 'Ebede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *garab bek lendîtek*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tekdawâow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *mugrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realised what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Msîke, ran inside, and begged:

the powers that he had not bewitched any one on that day, but was seized by the enraged brothers of the girl and dragged to her bed where she was still lying unconscious. Na"ûs took his spittle, *rîžeh*, in his three fingers, besmeared the girl's throat and neck with it, and then walked round her seven times, after which the girl awoke as healthy as before. This sudden recovery confirmed all the women there in the belief that Na"ûs' eye could bewitch, and they took counsel together as to how they could destroy this injurious power of their neighbor. Knowing or taking for granted that the eating of human excrement was the best remedy in this particular case, they appointed a woman whose tent adjoined that of Na"ûs to apply it to him. So she watched him till he went to fulfill the needs of nature, *jetaḫalla' bel-ḫala'*, took up some of his excrement, *neǧaseh*, on a stalk, mixed it with flour, from which she then baked a thin loaf of bread, dipped it into melted butter, and inviting Na"ûs to dinner gave it to him to eat. Na"ûs, who was a frequent guest in his neighbor's tent, ate the bread and butter, praising its taste. From that time on no one complained of having been bewitched by him. His uncanny faculty had left him forever.

With some people the power of the evil eye is so strong that it can even bring down a bird from the air. Thus a troop of the Rwala were once riding through the desert. In one place they scared two birds called *ḫabâri*, which flew up, then alighted, and rising again flew some distance in the direction followed by the riders. Finally Ṣaḫr âl Murabbaṭ exclaimed: "Faith, we shall roast one of the birds; *wa' ḫalôla jâ ḫada ḫal-ḫabâri naštwiha*." At the same moment one bird fell down to the ground as if struck by a bullet.

For protection against the evil eye small sea shells with red, white, and green spots, called *ḫarazt an-nafs*, are recommended, also two marbles, *nekṣên*. Both the shells and marbles can be bought from wandering merchants. If there are none in the neighborhood, the Bedouin selects seven pebbles, *summ ḫeṣwât*, pares off a splinter from the left (north) side pole of the tent, takes a grain of salt, *ṭowr melḥ*, and a small piece of alum, and sews all in a piece of new black cloth, *ḫebbe*. Still more effective is a fragment of a turtle shell, *'aṣm al-leǧa'*, fastened to a peg made of almond wood. Of the *nekṣên* balls or marbles there must be always two, a black and a white one. The latter gives protection in the daytime,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. From pots standing in the fireplace
A thin stream of coffee flows like a silk thread winding on a reel.
4. If travelers come to us by the northern path
We must daub the necks of their riding camels with blood.
5. And if [this world] allows, we shall offer a wether with boiled wheat;
If not, then the word 'welcome' will take its place.

The poet was Eben 'Abejče, mayor of the settlement Ḳna', lying on the road leading through the Neḥûd from Syria to Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ǧwâd al-'Âni, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Žâḳ ṣadri* signifies a gloomy mood, depression, worry. *Ǧeḍâmir* are thick logs of wood cut from palm stems, *eṭel* or *raṣa*. Ḥmâr pronounced this consistently *žeṭâmir*. 2. *'Owǧ al-menâžir* are coffeepots with long, crooked spouts. 3. *Čir* is a blacksmith's red-hot forge, a heap of red-hot coal. The word *jiǧleẓ* is used when speaking of a boy whose urine flows in a long, thin stream. 4. *Ḥall* is a path or trail over sandy ground. 5. *Mîr* is the same as the Rwejli *'ejš*, boiled crushed wheat covered with meat. In the Neǧd settlements, as with the Bedouins in general, wheat is quite a rarity, as it has to be brought all the way from Syria or Irak. If there is no grain, there is neither *'ejš* nor bread, and the guest must be content with dates, meat, milk, and kind words.

1. *Já klejb šubb an-nâr já klejb šubbak*
'alejk šabbak w-al-ḥaṭab jiǧâbi
2. *'alejj-ani takliṭ ḥejlak w-ḥabbak*
w-'alejk takliṭ ad-dlâl al-'eḍâbi
3. *w-ḥalleṭ leha min ǧazel rimṭen beḥabba*
w-ḫmes elja' nâmat 'ajûn al-ekdâbi
4. *bniǧren jenabbi tâli-l-leǧl nabba'*
w-en endaḳḳ ṭâra teḳel ǧiben jenâbi
5. *'asa-lja šabbejtha wa-šahab bak*
teǧǧeb lena já klejb sirâten ṣijâbi
6. *w-en šâza' al-masbû' ḫaṭwa-l-ǧlebba*
w-ḥelw ṭaḳḳ 'apijehom birâbi
7. *al-wâlme já klejb lirab' ṣubbak*
w-ar-rizek 'ind-alli jenâbi-s-sahâbi
8. *bnirijjeten já klejb ṣalfen mahabbak*
mačatfin w-eswḥehom bel-'alâbi

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XII

Camels, Women, Children—and Locusts

231 OH, THESE CAMELS! They stamp and trample; they buck, they quarrel, they weep and take fright—yes! And they laugh; they are helpless, but ever and anon rebellious. They will run like a machine for hours, [492] and all at once stop or refuse to budge. Only with a rider in the saddle are they erect, proud animals, self-assured, noble, moving with elastic strides. With a dull herdsman seated on its hump, a camel too becomes dull, lazy and—gluttonous.

The camel is not merely a creature to ride. The nomad [262] makes use of it in many other ways. He cooks its wiry sinews and leathery muscles and eats them, though, even after boiling, the flesh is so tough that one's teeth are either blunted or loosened in the effort to chew it. The Arab drinks the camel's milk, and often in times of stress he will drink the turbid, sour fluid secreted in the [515] creature's stomach. On cold mornings the people warm their hands in the camel's urine and even wash their hair with it. It works deadly destruction on the parasites! The wool of the camel is collected and woven into [237] material for herdsmen's coats and for the garments of the women and children. The poor animals are loaded with incredible burdens; their dung provides fuel for

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

fires and their hides[1] are cut up for water-bags, belts, and sandals. 231 [281]

In the grey of one morning I noticed a woman moving amongst the resting animals. Whenever she saw a female camel get up, she would hurry and catch the urine, for which she was waiting, in a bowl she carried for the purpose. The camel's urine smells sweetly of herbs and aromatic plants, it must be remembered. Returning to her tent, one side of which was open, I saw her gather the loose tresses of her little daughter's hair in her hand and dip them into this much-prized hair-wash. She then combed, parted and braided the damp black hair into the usual lovelocks. Again I saw her return to the camels; but suddenly she sat down. A moment later she rose again, threw away her bowl, and hurried back toward her tent, but collapsed before she had gone far. I sprang up and ran to her. 515 ● 302

She said never a word as I tried to help her to her feet; she only withdrew her arms from my hold and cowered on the ground. Then I noticed that she was in labour. As there was no adult within hearing, I called to the woman's little girls to bring bedding and sheepskins. With these I made a couch for her, right among the camels, sent the children back to the tent, and planted myself as a screen before the woman with a sheepskin held over her. Thus she gave birth to her first son. 844

Presently her husband arrived and two slaves of Faris's. The father picked up the newly born babe, and the three men ran to a camel, kicked it in the hip to make it rise, and with their right hands continued to massage the beast's right flank until it let down urine. With this

1 - [Of Camels -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

In the inner desert

the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arẓ alli mâ tinwasem mâ terabbe' muḫṭije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

destroyed. In the afternoons and evenings the young people hasten to the water holes, *ruḍrâṭ*, in the valley bottoms for their ablutions. They bathe separately, the youths in one place, the girls in another. Their shouts of joy and various songs are heard on all sides. In the tents mushrooms and truffles, young bulbs, and fresh vegetables are cooked and enjoyed.

The local name for the mushrooms is *hawbar*. They grow after warm night rains, *emṭer bel-lejl w-râḥ jaṭaḏamna-l-hawbar*. On the mornings following such nights both men and women go out in search of this dainty, which grows best of all near the channels, while the truffle prefers soil mixed or strewn with sand. When they come to the surface the latter form tiny hat-like lumps, which attract the eye of the picker. The earth or sand covering them is then turned over by the hand or a stick, and the truffle dug out. In cooking they are boiled in salt water and then served with butter or camel's fat. Another method is to bake them in hot ashes after a thorough salting.

Of the truffle, *faḳa'*, there are three kinds: *al-čema*, *az-zbejdi*, and *al-ḥlâṣi*. A Bedouin, having gathered a heap of truffles, sorted them in his tent according to their kinds, saying: "This one is *al-čmajje*, the mother of the little girl will get that; this *az-zbejdi* I will give to the mother of my little son; and the best, *al-ḥlâṣi*, I shall keep myself; *al-čmajje lumm al-bnajje az-zbejdi lumm wlejdi al-ḥlâṣi lardsi*."

All Bedouins greatly enjoy the small bulbs of certain wild plants, especially *aṣ-ṣiṭa*, *rubaḥla*, *hurrâṭ*, etc. Mothers send their boys in search of them with the words: "My little sons, O sonnies! go bring me *aṣ-ṣiṭa*; I will prepare for you *muṭṭiṭa* (a dish of mashed bulbs); *'ejâli ṣâ 'ejâl aṣ-ṣiṭa w-muṭṭiekom muṭṭiṭa*."

In the sun-baked gravel plains (called *ḥamâd*) in a year of abundance the *semḥ* grows with its subvarieties, *ad-da'â'* and *el-ḥawwe*. These plants, when already ripe and still fresh are much sought after by the Bedouins, who place them in pits safe from water or in bags. When dry the plants are beaten with sticks and shaken, and the seed, *ḥe'ber*, which have fallen to the ground, are put into sacks, *'eidl*, and brought to rain-water holes, where they are either left for some time or at least thoroughly soaked until the dry husks crack. Sometimes the large leather water troughs, *ḥowṣ*, are filled with water and the full sheafs are put in; in time they swell and burst.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

was indemnified, *jeddân 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they

Fig. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḥûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḥûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḥûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Jeḥûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣlc'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *qâra'*.

A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos, refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids it, *telemm râsah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *kuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḏâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *kuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *židle*, *'erf*. or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ḳa'-ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telahha' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧîk al-manḳûše*."

Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *nûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *dakk al-wšâm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *min šân zerâfa*.

Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gazelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *rusejni*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *ma'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ṯowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *meǧidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-15
435 *meǧidijjât* ($3.60-$13.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening. [296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Slejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ǒnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freǧi from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'ari. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Sḳûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

[516] 619 728 577 six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

572 He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarîm*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reğâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafğûğa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafğûğa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efeḥkû al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *murtaḳi*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *mutarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeḥ w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeḥ*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meṭ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥeṭ*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jeznčče'* (or *jinâd*), he turns over on his back, *mutaselṭi 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minğeda'*.

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He said: "Enter and nothing fear,
While on my shoulders my head remains."

The women and girls praise Nawwâf and his spouse Mešâ'el, daughter of Saṭṭâm and Turkijje.

Ma'nakijje is considered one of the best breeds of horses. The good news that a *ma'nakijje* mare has been bought signifies Nawwâf's wedding with the daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm — that is, with the offspring of the best family. When entering a litter the woman must bend and involuntarily show the calves of her legs. *Darârîǧ* (sing., *darrâǧe*) are spindles wound full with thread. *Al-ḥanijje* signifies a litter of the *žetab* variety, with long curved poles. Mešâ'el may sit tranquilly in her litter. Nawwâf will repulse any hostile attack threatening the women during the march.

[516]

Wa'-šûf žebâl aš-šaṭṭ
bujûten tbanna
nawwâf já mesčâj
nabṛi waṭanna.

Ah, before the Euphrates I see
The pitching of tents.
O Nawwâf, thou appeaser of sorrow!
We long for our country.

A few Kwâčbe kins revolted against Prince an-Nûri, left the Rwala, and encamped with the 'Amârât on the Euphrates. Their women and girls sent word to Nawwâf to intercede for them with the prince, his father, in order that they might return home.

Waṭan, territory, is used but seldom; the common expression is *dire*.

Tasamme'ú já-hla-l-ḫejl
flân jeṭawwel šebâbeh
má ṭâl ḥajj 'ala-l-ḫejl
aṣ-ṣarâ killen jehâbeh.

Hear ye, O riders!
So and So, may Allâh prolong his youth!
As long as he shall live and ride horses,
Any herd will be afraid of him.

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12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Drejjem az-Zulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Kna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Hâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Kuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Kna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Glebbe* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Ṭakk 'upijelhom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *suḥâbe* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

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132 the while. The *saḥâba* is always followed by rain. 8. *Nisrijje*
• 516 is a dry, icy wind of high velocity, a gale. When caught in it, the rider places his right hand in his left and his left hand in his right sleeve, pressing them to his breast to keep his cloak from being opened by the wind and urging his animal on with heels only. 9. He sits in the same posture when a heavy rain, accompanied by a piercing wind, beats against his face. *Nisnâs* is a light, moist wind which cuts the face and penetrates the clothes to the bones. 10. *Mutîn al-'alâbi* is one who, disliking to bend his neck or to salute, is full of conceit. *Aṭ-ṭine* or *bejt aṭ-ṭine* is a hut built of large unbaked bricks. 11. *Šahâlîl* are the single date-covered twigs of the date bunch, called *ǧenw*. The settlement of Ǧubba lies north-northwest of Ḳna' in the Nefûd. 12. The host paints on
231 both sides of the necks of the she-camels belonging to his
554 guests a thick line with the blood of the animal which he has killed for them. Men seeing these marks ask the host's name, and thus his praise extends to all parts. The head of
262 an animal is never set before the guests but given to the poor.

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224 entered the goat-hair roofs to sit round the camel-dung fires.

●517 After midnight the parties broke up and we returned to our own camping-place. The Bedouins love these nocturnal palavers and, when not wandering, rest during the day in preparation for the long evening sittings.

224 We rolled up in our sheep skins for some hours, close to the fire, for the night had turned bitterly cold. Scarcely had we fallen asleep when it seemed to be time to get up again. It was still dark. Muffled figures rose and moved to the glowing embers, warmed their hands over them and thrust twigs into them to light their cigarettes.

"Get up, children!" was the cry.

[492] The slaves went down the lines of camels, took off their woollen knee-hobbles and kicked or slapped them on the flanks. One by one the *dhalul*, shadowy in the dark, rose and were saddled. The mares were as yet spared; they were to be ridden only in the chase. We led them with us, as usual, tied to our camels.

Dawn passed into a glowing, golden morning. Far out over the plain everything appeared pure and transparent, even in the farthest distance. Our spirits were refreshed, our senses awakened. The hunters changed from camel to horseback when we neared the ponds of Khabra Mirfiah, toward which ran many gazelle tracks.

Our beaters swarmed out and quickly put up a troop of gazelles, which they drove toward us.

The wild hunt was up. Halloo! How our mares stretched out! How the hoofs flew, as hunters and

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223 down upon the hare, this is called *aṣ-ṣejr jedlik*. If it succeeds in plunging its talons into the hare's back, *'alak*, the falconer rides up at full speed behind it, covers it and its prey with his cloak, slaps, *jiṭabṭeb*, the bird on the back, shouting "*kiš kiš*," and endeavors to remove it, *tenaźneš*. The falcon receives its share of the prey only inside the tent, never on the open plain. A well-trained falcon can catch as much as ten *ḥabâri* and twenty hares a day, but only if there is an abundance of game. But there are few falconers who keep their falcons as long as three or four months, as they all get lost. In February and March they do not return, especially if they meet with wild falcons.

539x The young Bedouin is fond of hunting with falcon and greyhound. He can then ride more freely among the throngs
● 517 of his migrating countrymen and can approach his sweetheart,
524 talk to her, or offer her his booty. He therefore sings:

Jâ lejt li ǧerwen w-jâ lejt li ṭir
w-ḳu'ajjeden nenseṣ 'alejh aš-šdâdi
neǧi mâ bejn as-salaf w-al-meṣâkir
w-neḥalli-l-ǧerwa w-aṣ-ṣejr ṣâdi.

Oh had I a hound for the chase! Oh had I a hunting falcon
And a little camel! we would place a saddle upon it,
And would ride forth between the leader's troop and the migrating tribe,
We would call to the hound, and the falcon would hunt.

223 The *ǧerwa* is the bitch of the greyhound species. The
539x leader's troop of warriors, *salaf*, rides generally one or two kilometers in front of the pack train. The *ǧerwa* runs out in front and raises hares and *ḥabâri*, which flee from the danger behind the *salaf*, but are turned back by the migrating tribe. Thus a good falcon has the best opportunity for hunting between the riding troop and the camels with the baggage.

Aṣ-ṣejr 'ajja jâ-l-ḳzej'i jeṣṭâdi
jâ alli 'ajja jeṣṭâd al-ḥebâra
lâ wa' ḥaaljaf naḥlejteh 'al-âdi
meseḥḥ ar-riḍa 'ufen aṣ-ṣejâra.

The hunting falcon, O al-Ḳzej'i! has refused the chase,
Alas for the one which refused to hunt the ḥebâra;

726x
539x

Cowardice Reproached

1. *Al-waǧd waǧdi lahel lebde*
   alli 'ala-l-ǧam' dellâḳe
2. *al-herǧ mâ 'âd leh zebde*
   low čaṭṭerowh kill melḥḳe
3. *eben ṣabbâḥ ḥabeḍ hebde*
   w-sa'dûn mâ ṭallaḳ eṣjâḳeh.

1. I pity, I pity the people of Lubde,
   Who with courage throw themselves on the enemy.
2. Butter cannot be had for mere talk;
   The more they spread the tidings, the more they all lie.
3. Eben Ṣabbâḥ ran till his head shook, [camels!
   And Sa'dûn! Oh, how he dismissed the captured she-

Eben Ṣabbâḥ, the lord of al-Kwejt, together with Sa'dûn al-Aškar, the head chief of the Muntifeḳ, made a raid on Eben Rašîd, whose troops offered resistance. Each troop consisted of the inhabitants of the same district of Ḥâjel under a flag of their own. The troop of the Lubde district took to flight, thus endangering the others. But they took heart again and drove the enemy back. To excuse themselves the Lubde men then pretended to have retreated of set purpose.

Verse 2. *Al-herǧ mâ leh zebde*, chatter without butter, [521]• signifies empty talk, gossip. He works his mouth as if churning skimmed milk but will never make butter.

Advice to a Chief

1. *Jâ-bu reǧa' jâ-l-ḳarm 'endi lakom ḫowr*
   w-eften tara-l-aḫwâr muḫṭi w-ṣâjeb
2. *jâ mâ ḥala-l-ma'bâr min 'enda manǧûr*
   w-lâ taḳṭa' ax-naḫwât kûd aṣ-ṣalâjeb
3. *nanḥar eben ša'lân w-al-'ezz madjûr*
   jâ 'ezz min dâr al-ḥara' w-el-ḥarâjeb
4. *naskof min aš-šâma elja-l-ǧerr abu ṣôṭr*
   marâte' aš-šidḳ al-abkâr al-anâjeb
5. *rwejlât w-en ḥaṭṭaw bihen kill ḥâbûr*
   ṭarîḥahom taǧbor 'alejh ax-nuṣâjeb
6. *awlâd 'abdallâh ma' awlâd mašhûr*
   mercin ǧadd muṣabbaḫât al-ḥêzâjeb
7. *w-en ǧaw hal al-belka da'âfîr w-da'ṭûr*
   bejmânahom tamreǧ 'ala ǧâjr ṭâjeb.

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This disposition gave Fuaz twofold satisfaction. It would facilitate the execution of his plan to recover his mare by stratagem and confirmed his assumption that the Saba did not reckon with the possibility of a Ruala raid so soon, as very little rain had fallen in that region and travel therefore was still very difficult. They probably thought that the Ruala would not venture so far into the inner Hamad until much later, when water and pasture would be plentiful. It was clear at all events that, for the time being, Falha's keepers felt themselves quite secure. Furthermore, if a skirmish proved unavoidable, the fighting would be away from the Saba tents, for Bedouins of noble lineage consider it barbarous to engage the enemy near their own camp. They believe that only the Turks, the "Franks" (Europeans) and the rulers of agricultural Arabia wage war in such a way as to endanger the women and children.

Luck favoured Fuaz's designs from beginning to end. We broke camp early in the morning and a few hours later circled round the pasture where the Saba horses were. Then we wheeled and got between them and the camp. The whole movement was made smoothly and without contact with our opponents. But now their outposts sighted our troop and sought to evade us and carry word to the camp. Our camel-riders easily caught the fugitives, who stopped when a few shots were fired over their heads and let themselves be taken without attempting any defence. They were mere boys, fourteen to sixteen years of age. In rough jest, their captors cut off some of their long plaits and with these bound them

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721 522 hand and foot. This was a terrible indignity to such proud lads, who set great store by their six or eight "horns", as the Arabs call these tresses.

721. 233 It was nearly midday when we reached the depression in which the horses were grazing. It was a lovely scene, the sky was blue, the brilliant spring sun warm and pleasant, and the air was filled with the sweet smell of the fresh herbage. The horses and camels ranged about, browsing quietly. The sleepy herders were totally unaware of our presence until our camel-riders suddenly appeared over the lip of the depression. Then they awoke to a realization of what was happening. I was rather loath to disturb their *dolce far niente;* above all was I sorry for the Saba horses, which were to be so suddenly driven from their delectable pasture.

The mares raised their heads inquisitively as the herders, rudely awakened from their siesta, sprang to their feet and yelled warnings one to the other. A few of them were successful in loosening the woollen shackles of their horses, and, leaping on their backs, made their escape. They were but a handful, however, and of these two or three were eventually captured.

The horses of the Saba became restive as the Ruala horsemen galloped about them, but, shackled by the forelegs, they could only hobble round helplessly.

721 [231] At last our people cut out some twenty horses, including Falha, the brown mare of our search. Falha was shackled with iron links instead of the usual woollen ropes. Amir Fuaz had brought with him a couple of files in anticipation of such an eventuality. His delight on seeing Falha again was obvious; she was worth more

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"And therefore thou would'st have back the mother of thy foals?"

"Not because of that, but because it is a shame that thou shouldst steal the *wool*-shackled mares from our pastures."

"Did I not honourably warn you?"

"We trusted thy word, which only referred to Falha, and therefore we shackled her with *steel;* all the other mares had only *woollen* shackles."

Amir Fuaz looked thoughtfully into the distance and, as was his habit, toyed with his hair-plaits. Then, twisting one of the locks round his index finger, he stared the young Saba straight in the eyes.

"Thou art daring. But thou speakest the truth and I am not offended. Now I understand why Falha alone wore iron shackles. Therefore I will reward thy trust. Falha is our booty; take back what belongs to thee."

The Prince ordered his men to dismount from the captured mares and return them to the Saba. He also commanded Mnahi to take the plaits cut from the heads of the young Saba from his saddlebag, into which he had stuffed them as souvenirs, and throw them away.

●522 As Fuaz noticed me sitting peacefully and satisfied on Falha, he burst out laughing and cried:

"Allah Karim!—God is benevolent! Look at Aziz. First he comes on a raid against us, then we capture him, and now he rides home on our best mare."

Ali, my gallant protector, who stood near, took up the joke:

"Amir Fuaz will permit me to say that one must

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watch Aziz carefully, or he may flee to your enemies with Falha."

"Allah give him strength," said Fuaz. "He rides with the panthers and the falcons!"

"With the lions!" was Ali's improvement.

Despite their show of cheerfulness, I could see that it went hard with the Ruala tribesmen to watch the Saba ride off with the captured mares. But no one uttered a word of complaint against the magnanimous gesture of the chief, for generosity is held to be the highest virtue amongst the Bedouins.

So we started on our long ride to the home camp, and eleven days later rested again under the hospitable roof of Nuri Sha'lan's dwelling.

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people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuĕma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuĕma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuĕma,

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small *khanjar* is a curved dagger, and it was with this very one Nuri had killed in single combat a minor chieftain of the Muntefiq.

One afternoon young Fuaz and a group of his little friends were practising with slings, the ancient weapon with which David slew Goliath. They shot flat pebbles with astounding accuracy at the small wooden pegs, which held the tent ropes down about thirty paces distant. Unseen by them, I suddenly stepped out from behind his tent. A stone, which had hit its target close to me, rebounded from the smooth wood and struck me on the forehead between the eyes. For a moment I was nearly stunned, more perhaps from shock than from the actual blow. My first thought was that I had been struck by a bullet.

Gasping and with a frightened face, Fuaz ran up to me. He had noticed the wound in my forehead and a few drops of blood on my fingers, which I had, in my confusion, pressed to my head. When I took the lad in my arms and laughingly lifted him up, to let him know that it was no great matter, a look of anger crossed his face, as if he had been offended. He wriggled free and stood still before me. Then he tore his *aghal* and *kaffiyah* (the veil and head-cloth) from his head, letting the six fine braids of his hair fall over his shoulders. They reached to his hips. With tears welling from defiant eyes, he cried, "*Ana dachilak!* Before the face of God I deliver myself unto you: tell me the price of your blood." It sounded not in the least regretful, nor did it suggest any wish to be forgiven. It was sheer defiance, because he thought I had made fun of his offer.

223 down upon the hare, this is called *aṣ-ṣejr jedlih*. If it succeeds in plunging its talons into the hare's back, *'alak*, the falconer rides up at full speed behind it, covers it and its prey with his cloak, *siapa*, *jiṭabṭeh*, the bird on the back, shouting "*kiš kiš*," and endeavors to remove it, *tenaźnel*. The falcon receives its share of the prey only inside the tent, never on the open plain. A well-trained falcon can catch as much as ten *ḥabâri* and twenty hares a day, but only if there is an abundance of game. But there are few falconers who keep their falcons as long as three or four months, as they all get lost. In February and March they do not return, especially if they meet with wild falcons.

539r 517 524 The young Bedouin is fond of hunting with falcon and greyhound. He can then ride more freely among the throngs of his migrating countrymen and can approach his sweetheart, talk to her, or offer her his booty. He therefore sings:

Já lejt li ǧerwen w-já lejt li ṭir
w-ḳu'ajjeden nenseṣ 'alejh aš-šdâdi
neǧi má bejn as-salaf w-al-meṣâhir
w-nešalli-l-ǧerwa w-aṣ-ṣejr ṣâdi.

Oh had I a hound for the chase! Oh had I a hunting falcon
And a little camel! we would place a saddle upon it,
And would ride forth between the leader's troop and the migrating tribe,
We would call to the hound, and the falcon would hunt.

223 539l The *ǧerwa* is the bitch of the greyhound species. The leader's troop of warriors, *salaf*, rides generally one or two kilometers in front of the pack train. The *ǧerwa* runs out in front and raises hares and *ḥabâri*, which flee from the danger behind the *salaf*, but are turned back by the migrating tribe. Thus a good falcon has the best opportunity for hunting between the riding troop and the camels with the baggage.

Aṣ-ṣejr 'ajja já-l-ḳzej'i jeṣṣdi
já alli 'ajja jeṣṣd al-ḥebâra
lâ wa' ḥaddjef nešlejteh 'al-âdi
meseḥḥ ar-riṣâs 'afen aṣ-ṣejâra.

The hunting falcon, O al-Ḳzej'i! has refused the chase,
Alas for the one which refused to hunt the ḥebâra;

work. If they deserve it they are spanked with a stick, not only by their mother or father, but by the slaves both male and female. The Rwala believe that the rod originated in Paradise, *al-'aṣa aṣharat ṣin al-ǧenna*, and that it also leads man back to it. The older boys attend to the mares, guard them on the pasture grounds, take them to water, and ride on them while migrating; they also bring fuel to the men's quarters, serve the guests with water, etc. They squat with the men around the fire listening to the conversation and learn also to recite poems and songs, in this manner acquainting themselves with all public affairs. Boys learn to shoot before they are fourteen and take part in at least one raid before they are sixteen. At this period the father would not think of punishing the disobedience of his son simply with a stick but uses a saber or a dagger instead. By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life. In the opinion of the Bedouins the son who disobeys is guilty of rebellion, for which the proper punishment is the saber, *as-sejf lemin 'aṣe'*.

BOYS' GAMES

The boys are never idle. When they are not helping their parents, they play. Some of their games are dangerous; all, however, tend to harden them and sharpen their faculties.

In playing *rumḥa* two lines are formed. The members of each side, holding their companions by the hand, take position and advance against the other side, kicking their opponents till one whole side rolls down, *jetardmaḥún*. Many leave the game with their bellies black and blue, but will stand up as long as they can bear the pain.

A very dangerous game is *ḥáru*. The boys bring their slings, *miḥḥa'* (pl., *maḥáli'*), gather a supply of pebbles, separate into two hostile groups, and, declaring war on each other, throw stones from their slings, *jetaḥárún*. Blood always flows. Often a boy loses an eye, gets a broken head or a split bone in his hand or leg, or even falls down dead; and yet the parents never forbid the game. For a dead boy the kin of the player who killed him must pay the blood price; for other serious hurts half of that. If the guilty party cannot be found, the relatives of all the boys participating in the game must pay, compensation of this kind being called *medda' ṛdejja*.

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Ma'ḥâla, another game, is not so dangerous. The boy takes off his kerchief, ties a knot in the middle of it, first putting a round pebble into it, posts himself at the goal, *mid*, and then throws the knotted kerchief to his comrades who are waiting about fifty paces away. The boy who catches it beats the others with the knot while they run to the goal. Then, returning to his place, he throws the kerchief among the boys, who shout at him: "Give the kerchief to him who gave it to thee, *'aṭṭa min 'aṭâṭîhe*," and the game starts over again. Here also many a bump on the head or bloody bruise on the body is carried home from the game. 524 857

At night the boys play what is called *muḏmaḥ sarw'*. They take a peg sharpened at both ends, *ḫâṣ*, of the kind used to fasten the back wall of the tent to the roof. One of the boys takes his stand at the goal, *mid*, and throws the peg to his playmates posted about twenty paces from him. The boy who catches it cries: "*Muḏmaḥ sarw'*, *muḏmaḥ* goes with me," and runs straight for the goal. The others throw themselves on him, trying to get hold of the peg and shouting: "I am the father of strength, I shall crush thee, *ab-al-'arejč w-'ârreč*." The assailed boy defends himself as best he can, stabbing with the peg, kicking, and biting, so that he may reach the goal with the peg in his possession. Most of the scars resulting from this game are, of course, found on the clothes of the players.

When *ḥâǧîje* is played, a pit is dug on a level plot of ground, and inside it a smaller but deeper pit. On the edge of the larger pit a stone ball, *ḥâǧîje*, is laid; and a similar ball, *sie*, only some sizes larger, is thrown from the goal at the first ball so as to knock it down into the large pit where it must roll into the smaller one. When all have had their turn, the boys who have succeeded in putting the ball in its place mount the backs of their less fortunate comrades, who must carry them like horses from the pit to the goal. That the riders seldom forget to kick and cuff their horses to get more speed out of them hardly needs to be added.

In the game of *ḥejl w-ḥejl* riders and horses are chosen by drawing lots. The riders take their places, the horses carrying them to the goal. There the horses cry: "*Al-ḥejl aḫlâb*," roll over to one side and then sit on the backs of their riders.

For the game of *ṭakka* every boy arms himself with a large tent peg. The boy chosen by lot lays a small sharp peg,

524 857 *ḥṣâṣ*, on the highest stone near by, taps it with his large peg enough to make it fly up a little, and when in the air gives it a good blow so as to make it fly to the other players who wait at a distance of about thirty or forty paces. Every one of them tries to hit the flying sharp peg with his own peg in order to send it back. As long as no one succeeds, the peg is returned to the first boy, who continues to bat it until one of his comrades finally strikes it and takes his place. When striking at the *ḥṣâṣ* peg the head or shoulders of a player often come in contact with it, with consequences easy to imagine.

Many a kerchief is torn to ribbons in the game called *dehdûn*. One boy rolls a large stone down a slightly inclined plane, while the others try to stop it, *'akadîha*, with their kerchiefs. The one succeeding in this is entitled to roll it, *jedahdîha*.

'Akê 'akub is a game in which all the boys run for the goal, about a hundred paces away. He who reaches it first shouts: "*'akê 'akub*," a command for the others to turn and run back to the starting point. The first boy to reach it now calls out the same words, "*'akê 'akub*," and flies with the others to the goal again. This is repeated until all are exhausted. Finally the one to reach the goal first exclaims: "A pile of wood, *korkob ǧaḍub*," and sinks to the ground; the others follow his example, lie still for a while, but then begin to kick and strike out all around regardless of whom they hit.

DITTIES SUNG BY GIRLS

539x 857 533 The girls have no such games. Occasionally at night they form two choirs and alternately sing, *jesemrun*, various ditties called *summejr*:

Tafawwalû bel-faṣa	For a good sign take a great plain,
jâ-lli ṭalab fâlî	O all ye who ask me for a good sign!
fâli râḍen w-ar-raḍed	Fortunate is my sign, for luck
ǧajjeb al-fâli.	Is the best of all signs ye may want.

539x 857 777 726 When the women and girls are about to start their *summejr*, the men and youths gather not far off. Before a raid or any act of importance every man observes the first word uttered by the woman or girl dear to him. That word they

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Verse 1. The wandering dervishes come from China, India, and Persia to Irak, where they join the moving clans or the pilgrims, so that they may reach al-Medina or Mecca. The Bedouins look after them, passing them on from tribe to tribe, but the pilgrims pay no attention to them. If a dervish is stricken with disease, they leave him lying on the camping ground without any scruples as to his fate, which is usually death. 2. *Walad al-ḥalâl* is an honest, godly man. 4. *Musfehel* has the same meaning as *mukujjef*, in good spirits, happy. 6. *Ṭwârîd* or *'alâjem* are symptoms of disease.

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RIDDLES

The Rwala love to solve riddles, *ḥabâwa*, clothing them always in poetical garb. The following were told me by Ġwâd al-'Âni the third one having been known also to Ḥmâr abu 'Aww.

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Anšedk 'an sabʿ masmijjât
lâ jetîhen w-lâ jṣîbhen 'atîzât ǧedîdât
kill men miša' miša' bihen alli ḥajj w-alli mât.

I ask thee for seven already named:
They err not, cannot be forgotten, are both old and new.
Whoever walks in them walks in life and in death.

Answer: *Sbû'*, the seven days of the week.

Anšedk 'an ḫamsen ǧîll
lâ hen ḫejl w-lâ hen bîl
eṭnên bišams w-ṯalâṯen bẓill.

About the important five I ask thee —
It is not horses, not camels;
Two are in the sun and three in the shade.

Answer: *Ṣalawât*, the five prescribed prayers.

Anšedk 'an šî'en salla-l-ḫejl w-an-nûk
w-kill al-bwâdi bil-maḥabbe sallâha
teḍḥak leh al-bîḍ al-'aḏâra
saḥaf rowk jarmi ḳarâniṣ al-ḳaṭa' min samâha.

For a thing that rejoices mares and she-camels I ask thee —
That cheers the whole desert with love;

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Fair women have smiles for it,
While anxiety for it brings down even the wild foes of the *ḳaṭa'* from heaven.

Answer: *Ẓana*, progeny, offspring.

Sahaf rowk is grief, sorrowing or anxiety for children. Ĝwâd said "*ḳurânis*," Ḥmâr "*ḳarânis*." *Ḳarânis* means "birds already feathered," thus "adult." *Ḳarânis al-ḳaṭa'* are the old *ḳaṭa*, sand grouse, who abandon their flights when anxiety for their young seizes them. They nest generally in low plains covered with luxuriant grasses and perennials, the seeds of which furnish the young with their first food. From these nesting places the *ḳaṭa'* often flies as much as a hundred kilometers to watering places. According to Ḥmâr *ḳarânis al-ḳaṭa'* are falcons hunting the *ḳaṭa'*. They too abandon hunting when overcome by anxiety for their young.

A Šarâri who had never seen a goose asked a Rwejli what it looked like and said: "What has it in common with a gazelle?" The answer was: "Its unsteadiness and timidity." "And what with a white antelope?" "The smoothness of its hair and the eye." "What with an ostrich?" "Thin calves and its manner of moving." Then our Šarâri said with glee: "Allâh be praised! now I know what a goose looks like!"

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girls, who wishes for a son. Here a friend of the poet is meant. *Má ǧi, for má ǧwa'* or *má ǧwi*, means "what is in my heart." 6. *'Adîl* is fat or flesh; *'adla'* is a fleshy, fat she-camel. *'Arabna mu'addelin abê'erhom 'âǧifet aš-šaḥm* means "our Arabs are satisfied because their camels are covered with fat." *'Adal* has the same meaning as *simen*, fat; hence *'adla'* is synonymous with *semine*. *Smân abê'erhom* means "their camels are fat." *Kâbûn serǧi* is a very soft cover for a horse saddle. Love has deprived him of both his fat and soft flesh to such an extent that his saddle galls him as if the thick, soft cover were not there. 7. *Derǧe* (pl., *deruǧ*) is a piece of cloth cut for one person. 8. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥafâǧi is the name given by the Rwala to Ḳaṣr eben Aḥejẓer or al Aḥejẓer, southwest of Kerbela. The better the mortar, the stronger the building. The Rwala admire the firmness with which the mortar has cemented the stones and bricks used in building the al-Ḥafâǧi castle, making it impossible to demolish it. 9. The brother of the girl Der' was often publicly insulted with the taunt "*'Aǧrûb*, shame," but the poet defends him. The troop led by him does not limp but merely rides slowly in order to protect its comrades fleeing in fear. 10. *Jowm al-ḥara'* is the day set apart by the Rwala for visiting, entertaining, and bringing small gifts to each other.

Meetings, Greetings, Good Wishes

Fâṭeri rawweḥi 'an ḥamw ḳejẓaha
'aššeti ṣâlije má-ḥmal ṛejẓaha.

Hurry, my old she-camel, for a night's lodging from the heat of the mid-summer,
My beloved is dear to me, I could not bear her anger.

The warrior returning from a raid in the *ḳejẓ* season, mid-summer, longs for his sweetheart and urges his tired animal to greater speed.

Ẓel' ǧubba ṭaleḥ The rugged hill at Ǧubba begins to appear
miṯl râs aṭ-ṭaḥât Like the border of a dark cloud!
marḥaba já nwa' Hail, O Nwa',
já 'anûd al-banât. O thou wilful maiden!

The settlement of Ǧubba lies in the Nefûd, lat. 28° 2′ N., long. 40° 40′ E. Close by rises a tall, dark, rugged hill, visible

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223 wolflike watchdogs and herd-dogs attacking the more delicate hounds and tearing them to pieces.

Twelve of the Amir's slaves carried hunting-hawks, each bird hooded and in full attire. Relatives of the Prince and other Ruala nobles also carried falcons on their mares, some of the birds borne on the riders' gauntleted wrists, others, in fact the majority, on the sheep skin which is spread over the horse's croup, when the Bedouin goes hunting.

The *"Sala"* or beater corps, comprising more than three hundred camel-riders and about two hundred horsemen, began to spread out right and left, to round up and drive the game towards the centre of our line. Ringed by the greyhounds, our wild troop galloped over the wide plain in the fresh morning air. Our hearts beat [787] with excitement. It was to be an auspicious and lucky day, according to every soothsayer whom Fuaz had consulted during the past days.

[531] The young Prince galloped at my side. On his raised fist sat Anaga, in its red leather hood embroidered with gold thread, on the top of which was sewn a beautiful pearl; and instead of eyes there blazed on its sides two precious emeralds.

"Aziz," cried Fuaz to me, "I love the wine of war—but, oh! I also like to drink the milk of the chase. Is not hunting the sister of war and the quarry a warrior struck to earth?"

He reined in, and I also pulled up my mare, to let the train of hunting comrades ride past. They were a splendid knightly troop, on beautiful mares and camels. The falcons balanced with outstretched wings on the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Fabrics are woven on a loom, *naṯw*, the names of the different parts of which as shown in Fig. 10 are: *a, râs an-naṯw; b, sida'; c, ḥafa'; d, nira; e, 'ûd an-nira; f, minšâz; g, 'âžba* (or *leḥama*); *k, minša'; h, ḥatwa; j, ḳâ'a; l, šiṣa.*

Fig. 10—A loom, *naṯw*.

The best silk kerchiefs and garments are kept in a small box, *ṣandûḳ*, which has a thin lining of tin.

By the side wall are placed the litters, either *žetab* or *ḳenn*, and the saddle bags with brightly colored trappings and long tassels, *mezwede.*

The *ḳenn* (pl., *ḳnene*) litters (Figs. 11, 12, 13) resemble rectangular cages, narrower at the bottom, and are made of wooden poles. The main poles forming the frame are called *'aṣjân* (Fig. 11, *c*), the four cross poles joining the main poles are called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*), and the vertical pole which strengthens the two back cross poles in the middle and terminates in a wooden knob is called *rwê'i* (*a*). The *ḳenn* is fastened to the saddle known as *bedd* (or *wiṭr*) (*d*).

The *žetab* litters (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) are decorated in the most splendid manner. On the back of the camel is placed a saddle known as *wiṭr*, reinforced with cushions, *bdûda.* Upon these rest two pairs of wooden ribs, *ẓlâf* (Fig. 14, *f*), each terminating in a cone, *rwê'i* (*a, j*). Two pairs of flexible poles, *'aṣfûr* (*d*) and *ža'ade* (*g*), each more than 5.5 meters long,

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are supported on these ribs and are fastened to the cones by stakes, *ḥoṣra* (*e*). The poles are joined by cross pieces, *ǧamb* (*h*) and *sâmûk* (*l*), and arched so that they form two pairs of wings, *ǧenâḥ* (*n*). These wings are drawn together in the middle on the top by means of wooden stakes, *lebad* (*k*) and *ḥani* (*m*). In the middle of the whole structure between the wings a leather seat, *soffa* (*c*), like a deep bowl is stitched to poles called *mibṭâḥ* (*b*). Of the poles which make the wings the upper parts and the outside ends of the lower parts have leather or linen twisted round them. The remainder of the lower parts, as well as the outer part of the two cones, are gaudily decorated with tiny shells. Here on a dark background there are small squares with red edges, and in the middle a blue rose with red leaves made of shells. Between the squares there are small white stars also made of shells. From the lower part of each of the poles marking the wings there is suspended a dark-red strip of cloth, *ḫwât* (*o*), about twenty centimeters broad and provided with tassels at either end which hang right down to the neck and tail of the camel. Red cloths or ribbons are also fastened to the upper parts of the wings. The *žetab* is placed on the saddle with the pillow known as *bedd* and is secured by means of straps under the breast, *ḥaḳab*, the stomach, *bṭân*, and tail, *ṭafar*.

The appearance of a number of these litters during a march is impressive. If they are seen in the distance on a pink sand drift surrounded by a blue, transparent atmospheric haze, they resemble huge butterflies swaying freely to and fro in the air. In the almost entirely flat, grayish-white desert of al-Ḥamâd, a grayish-white camel bearing the *žetab* and covered with various gaudy decorations fades from sight, while the magnificent litters project above the horizon and glide along as if upon bright and regularly rising waves.

In addition to this the women's compartment contains wooden and copper utensils. The following are made of wood: a large wooden mortar for crushing grain, *miḥbâš*, with a wooden pestle, *'amûd*; a *maṛrâfa*, or small trough with an outlet, *ṣ'ebeh*, and a handle; a *ḳadaḥ*, or circular wooden jar; a *daḳḳijje*, or circular dish; a *ḳdajḥa*, or small plate from Mecca, *meḳḳânijje*; a *ḳarwa*, or large dish which can contain enough food for ten persons; a *'elbe*, or circular vessel for the leavening of dough; a *maḫmar*, or vessel measuring sixty centimeters in diameter and twenty in height, for the

2:Musil S-4.5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

in a lappet more than a meter long, *ṭowb mrawdan*. When walking or working, the man ties the sleeves behind his neck; when riding he lets them hang down loosely. On the breast the shirt is opened, *ǧejb*, to be fastened below the throat by a button or a cord sewn to the shirt. A *ṭowb* has no collar, but is sometimes ornamented with blue, red, and black embroidery around the neck and on the breast.

A well-to-do Rwejli puts on over the *ṭowb* a garment called *zebûn* (pl., *zebnât*) made of light material, never of cloth. This resembles our shirt, except that it reaches to the ankles, has no collar, is open the whole length of the front, and is provided with wide sleeves overlapping the hand by about ten centimeters. The sleeves are slit open at the ends for about fifteen centimeters, lined with dark-red material to the same extent, and then folded back, *kalâba*, so that the lining is exposed. The ends of the sleeves, both the slits, and the edges around the neck and on the breast are bordered with a colored cord, *herǧ*, which ends below the chin in two small strings, *krân*. At the tail the material is turned up to the width of about two fingers, *kejṭân*. On the breast and at the hips of the *zebûn* two inside pockets, *maḥba* (pl., *maḥâbi*), are sewn on. The *zebûn*, if made of white linen without a lining, is called *ṣâje*; if made of white linen with a lining it is called *zebûn bêża*; if of black half-silk with yellow stripes it is called *mejdâni*; if of pure silk with variegated stripes it is called *anmar*; and if of cotton with variegated stripes it is called *dîma*.

Both *ṭowb* and *zebûn* are fastened to the body by a leather or woollen belt, *maḥzam*, of about a hand's breadth.

A man covers his head with a round cap woven of rough wool or camel's hair, *ṭâžijje*, on top of which he lays a kerchief about 1.2 meters long and 1.15 meters wide. Folding it at first like a triangle, he throws the middle lappet, *dîl*, back over his shoulder, arranges the outside ones, *riǧlên*, with both his right and left hands to an equal length, and then pulls the headcloth over the middle of his forehead. Most of the time the Rwejli wears cotton kerchiefs of some dark color, *mindîl*, seldom of pure white, *kṛâṣa*. A *mindîl* woven of red and black threads is called *ḥammarijje*; a black *mindîl* shot with red is a *hendijje*; one with variegated dots is a *stambûlijje*. *Homṣi* is the name of a *mindîl* with yellow or pink stripes; *šmâṛ*, of a blue or red checkered one. A *kṛâṣa*, or white kerchief with a red or blue border and short fringe, *hadab*, is called

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291 *ḥâšije*. A silken kerchief is called *maḳrûna*; if interwoven with silver threads, it is known as a *mḳaṣṣaba*. Most popular of all is a dark-blue *maḳrûna* or a violet one shot with red.
[292] A pure white *maḳrûna* is worn by the chief alone and that only on festive occasions. As soon as it becomes soiled, the chief gives it to a negro. The kerchief is not tied to the head, but merely fastened with a cord about one inch thick made of wool or camel's hair and wrapped double around the forehead and the skull, *'aṣâba*. The lappets are crossed under the chin and pulled through under the *'aṣâba*, so that they project above the forehead like two small horns. A man who has the lappets of the kerchief, *riǧlên*, crossed under the chin, is known as *mutalaṭṭam*. If he does not wish to be recognized, he simply pulls them up above his chin, even over the nose, so that only his eyes are uncovered. Whoever meets a man thus disguised, shouts: "Remove the curtain, so that I can recognize thee; *fukk al-luṭma ḥatt-a'refk*."

The most important part of a man's dress is the cloak, *'aba'*. It is made from two pieces, each 2.5 meters long and 60 centimeters wide. These are sewn together along their long sides; the narrow edges are folded, and their upper ends also sewn together. In the two folds at the top, which are about sixty centimeters broad, holes are cut about fifty centimeters long. The cloak is then thrown over the shoulders and the
[531] hands thrust through the holes. Around the neck and along the breast the mantle is often embroidered, or a strip woven of yellow and gold threads is added. A light-gray mantle shot with yellow is called *bišt*; a light-gray one made of fine wool is a *ḥâčije*; a light-gray one of half cotton is a *lûmijje*; one of medium weight with long white and dark-gray stripes about ten centimeters wide is a *mubaddaḥa*; one of the same color but made of good wool is a *rḥejbâwijje*; one of good wool with white and reddish stripes is a *sa'dûnijje*; a good woollen one with white and dark-brown stripes and ornamented at the neck and above the shoulders is a *ḥasawijje*; one of good wool or camel's hair, not striped, of a plain color (generally black or brown) shot with pink is a *mezwi*. The inhabitants of the oasis of al-Ǧowf manufacture mantles of the *bišt* (Fig. 33) and *mezwi* varieties.

In the winter time a sheepskin coat, *farwa*, is worn by the Rwejli instead of the mantle. If it covers only the breast, it is called *obṭijje*. A *ḥarrâṭijje* is a sheepskin coat of white

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iron blade sharpened on both edges and a wooden shaft, *'ûd*. The blade is either broad, in which case it is called *šalfa*, or narrow, *ḥarba*. The *šalfa* either is brought from Persia, *'aǧamijje*, in which case it costs 2 or 3 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$2.70), or is a common one made by a blacksmith from iron for half a *meǧidijje* (45 cents). The *ḥarba*, manufactured chiefly in the town of ad-Dejr on the right bank of the Euphrates, is also called *'arejnijje* and sells for a quarter to a half *meǧidijje* (22½–45 cents). The sharpened edge of the *šalfa* or *ḥarba* is called *'asla*; the lower end driven into the wooden shaft, *ǧibb*. For the shaft, *'ûd*, either a thin but strong piece of wood, *'erč*, or a thick piece, *šâčri*, is used; shafts are also made from a hollow bamboo-reed, *ḳṣuba*, costing generally 1 *meǧidijje* (90 cents). The lower end of the shaft is provided with an iron point, *kunṭâr*, so that the spear can be stuck in the ground. Sometimes the spear is ornamented with ostrich feathers or thin chains fastened to the *ǧibb*.

The sword, *nemeša*, is either a *morrebi*, with three long grooves, costing 2-40 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$36); a *šentijân*, very flexible, costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât* ($1.80-$9); or a *ḥsênijje*, with a single long groove, also costing 2-10 *meǧidijjât*.

The sabers, *sejf*, are as follows: *dâbân*, 5-10 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$9); *hendi*, made of black steel, 40-150 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$135); *'aǧami*, of gray steel, 5-40 *meǧidijjât* ($4.50-$36); or the *ǧawhar*, made of cast steel from Ḥorâsân, 150 *meǧidijjât* ($135). The grip, *ḳuma'*, of the sword or saber often extends up to the *šubbâk* guard, where the blade begins, and is richly ornamented with gold and silver. The scabbard, *ǧefir*, is provided with two metal rings, *ḥwâmel*, to which the cord used in hanging up the sword or saber is fastened.

The dagger is either short and narrow, *šibrijje*, or broad and long, *ḳdejmi*, or broad and short, *ǧanǧar*. It costs as much as 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70), but if the handle is ornamented with gold chains and precious stones it may cost 50 *meǧidijjât* ($45) and even more.

Spears are carried mainly by the poorer Bedouins, the sword and saber only by the more important men; but every one is in possession of firearms, be it a revolver or a rifle.

The revolver, *vedêni*, is either the old heavy kind, *karabîṭ*, which was formerly used by the Montenegrins and is sold for 12 to 14 *meǧidijjât* ($10.80-$12.60), or the Mauser, either of the *sânlatân* or *snâlâsi* variety. The original *sânlatân*, from

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behind. Deserted and tortured with pain, he composed this poem, which was recited to me by Blejhân eben Meṣreb. 539*

Verse 1. *'Â'a'* signifies the sound of a crowing cock. 2. *Ješ-ẓâni râsi* is the same as *jowğa'ani râsi*, my head is aching. *Swâhiğ* are the paths by which poison is spread; hence veins or arteries. 3. *Sâ'i* here means a messenger mounted on a camel traversing alone the desert between Damascus and Hît. 4. *Bâb aš-šebâbîč* is the gate of a walled-in market place on which the windows of the selling booths open. Allâh grants or takes away the merchants' profits — he therefore opens the gate of their market place and adorns the poet's sweetheart with beauty. 5. *'Ârefin al-ḳâf* are men expert in reading tracks, whether of men or animals, and in telling how old they are and whether made by camels from the Nefûd or the Ḥarra. The name of the beloved maiden was Rumha, Spear. 7. *Jathi* or *jutaḥḥi* means that he calls for the sheep or goats with the words *ethi, tha'*. *Mesâbiğ*, as was explained to me, are the conical ornaments sometimes half a meter high forming the back part of the pack saddle. When the backs of the pack camels traversing a vast plain project above the horizon, these ornaments on a clear night resemble vultures standing upright. [492 531]

1. *Jâ râčeben ḥamra min al-heğen mehḏâb*
   ğeḏ'ijjeten ḳaṭ' al-fejâfi menâha
2. *jâ tekel rabda 'âneḳat râs merḳâb*
   čann az-zwâri tenhašha ma' ḳafâha
3. *elja twannat bass howza bimešâb*
   mâ danaḳ ar-raḳḳâ' jirḳa' ḥafâha
4. *merbâ'aha bimfarra' al-heri w-aṣ-ṣwâb*
   eljamâ tekâmel šaḥmha biḳarâha
5. *fowḳha ṛulâmen mâ jeḥasseb lil-ağnâb*
   ṣaḳḳâr bi'ûd al-leğâwi ğedâha
6. *račebtaha min dîrt aš-šâm ğallâb*
   abî 'ala-lli ṭammanha w-eštarâha
7. *telfi labu ṣalfiž zedden lil-ağnâb*
   'awḳ ar-rudûm alli ṭṭarraḳ ḏerâha
8. *sukkar 'asal ḥelwen 'âla-l-čabed low ḏâb*
   semmen 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi saḳâha
9. *saba' as-sbâ' al-firz lil-ḥukum dowlâb*
   low a'ẓamat kuṭr ad-da'âwi ḳazâha
10. *low hw 'ala-n-nahreju w-aš-šaṭṭ w-az-zâb*
    w-illa 'ala ḳanzên mâlen fanâha

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492 march. On the saddle a leather quilt stuffed with camel's hair, *naṭa'*, is spread in such a way that both the cones can be stuck through it. More ornamental is the blanket called *žâ'ed* or *žâ'ada*, made of the skin of a black goat with long [531] fine hair (Fig. 44). The knob of the front cone and the whole of the rear cone are usually ornamented with small metal nails, sometimes of silver or gilded, and variously shaped. A saddle with silver ornaments is called *muḳammar*; with gold, *muṣaffar* (*k*). The "shovels" and crosspieces of the finest saddles are often inlaid with little plates of engraved metal.

A *mesâme* (Fig. 41) is a saddle to which the water bags are tied. Its wooden skeleton resembles that of the riding saddle, except that both its cones are lower and flattened. The crosspieces are replaced by round sticks about eighty centimeters long. Inside a *mesâme* only the *wiṭr* cushion is used. This saddle is also provided with breast girth, *ḥaḳab*. A *mesâmė* with a thicker cushion and a stronger wooden structure, known as a *ṛabîṭ*, serves for carrying water bags made of camel skin.

A *ḥedâğe* (Fig. 42) is a saddle used for carrying loads. Its wooden frame consists of four boards 42 centimeters long by 10 wide by 1 thick. These are fastened together in pairs, their broad sides being joined at the ends by metal plates to form almost right angles. About ten centimeters below the angle two holes are bored through each board and wooden stakes, *dḫâš* (*a*), driven through; a stick, *'aṣa'* (*b*), is tied below the stakes on each side. The *wiṭr* cushion (Fig. 43) to which this frame is fastened is almost a meter long by 35 centimeters high in the front and 65 centimeters high behind. Its back ends in an ornament, *'ejz*, resembling a red Turkish cap, with a tassel, *širšib*.

[462] The camel halters, *rasan*, are usually made by women; the iron parts only are bought from traveling merchants (Fig. 45: *a*, *muḫṭama*; *b*, *'aḏâr*; *c*, *'ažâreb*; *d*, *sinsile*; *e*, *šerâšib*; *f*, *ǧedîla*).

A rider about to mount sets his left foot on the left front knee of the kneeling camel, places his left hand on the front, his right on the rear saddle knob, and springs off the ground, throwing his right leg over to the saddle. At the same moment the camel gets up in three motions: first she lifts her breast and kneels on her front legs, this movement being called *tenhaṣ*; next she raises her back, *nowṣa*, and thrusts against

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

000 thigh. She loved to rub herself against me and to play with me; and at night, chewing her cud, she would snuggle and bend so cleverly that I had a comfortable, sheltered bed-place against her warm body.

She was sumptuously caparisoned. Her *shedad*, the silver-mounted saddle of acacia wood, with its leather cushions and three sheepskins, still rests on the floor of my room; and often of an evening I sit on it and read, or dream of Maha, the fleet Sharrarijeh. On the wall of my room hangs, wonderfully preserved, her saddle trappings and the huge goat-hair saddlebags, with long rows of knotted tassels and braided fringes that used to reach far below Maha's belly and swing in rhythm with her gait. Her *rashma*, too, I still have—the head-halter of fine, coloured wool—red, blue, and green on a black background.

492 533 Shouting merrily to one another and singing camel-songs, we trotted southward. In Arabia neither spurs nor whips are needed for urging on horses or camels. The riders' cheerful, rhythmic chants, their merry yodeling, their clear melodious voices, suffice. The Arab voice is very unlike the nasal, sleepy, monotonous croak of the Egyptians and Syrians. The Bedouin camel-songs are masculine, bold, and tuneful, so that the camels and the horses love this diversion. On the march these hardy, lean riders will sing hour after hour. But often enough they will be silent, when hunger, thirst, and dust have wearied them, or when it is expedient to muffle mouth and nose from the heat and sand.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Near me a fine, full-grown, reddish-brown falcon sat 223
captive on a horizontal perch. It fluttered its wings and tried to fly away, but a strong leather strap held it fast. It had been captured only two days before, and its eyelids were still sewn together, as is the Bedouin practice with newly caught hawks. Dugan, the hawking-slave, had brought this wild bird along to accustom it to the riding.

Towards evening, Fuaz sent some horsemen to the 224
tribal encampment (the Ruala were in migration), to ascertain where his tent was pitched, and after supper, under the shining moon, we all set out for it.

That moonlight ride through the tranquil night was a wonderful experience. Widely spread out, in smaller or larger groups, we rode along at a walk. Mnahi, chief [533]
of the Amir's bodyguard, beat time to the Bedouin songs, which from a distance sounded like a faint, "Yo-ho-loo-oo, Yo-ho-loo-oo."

Riding up a rise, I could fancy that the earth ended beyond it; I always expected to find a dark abyss with an illuminated ocean, opal light and stars rising from its depths.

Lights did in fact appear as we topped one ridge—red campfires. They covered the plain below far and wide. It was a great Ruala encampment that lay before us in the shimmering moonlight—a magic picture, a fairy-tale of the desert. Distant murmurs fell on our ears, bringing a touch of reality to the unreal.

We rode down, a wave of singing horsemen, that melted away into the shadows of the black tents. Here we dismounted, tied our horses to the tent ropes, and

● 533, 539, 773

[For texts of native poems, songs, tales and myths in the original and in translation, see category 116 as follows:

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Ditties sung when camels are watered	pp.	340-347
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as long as it is in grain, *al-ḥamḥ alli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ*." The wheat is beaten in a wooden mortar, *mihbâš*, with a pestle, *'amûd*, or it is ground in a small mill, *rḥa'*. These mills are made by the Rwala women, who hew two pieces of basalt or lava into shape, hollow out an aperture, provide them with an iron axle, *ḥalb*, and make a wooden handle, *hâdi*, the mill now being completed. If they wish to use it for grinding, they spread a piece of leather or closely woven stuff, *tfâl*, on the ground, put the mill on it, pick up the grains in the left hand, shake them into the aperture in the upper stone, *al-fowḳa*, and the flour falls into the lower one, *at-taḥta*, and upon the outspread rug, *jiḳa' 'ala-ṭ-tfâl*. While grinding they sing simple songs such as:

FIG. 23—A leather bucket, *delw* (see p. 72).

"As the mill handle turns (and yet does not leave the lower stone, would that this were so among people!) may each woman possess her beloved; *'ûd ar-raḥa mâ dirah killen tâḥod 'aḏirah*." Or:

"Today I am grieved, but the servant of the Bountiful is (appointed by him as) our guardian; *al-jowm ana waǧ-'ḏna 'abd al-karim muwaṣṣâna*."

They never grind for the purpose of storing up supplies; at the most they grind enough to leave something over for bread to be offered to guests for breakfast on the morrow.

If they wish to bake bread, they shake the flour on a *ṣaḥn*-pan (or *'elbe*), salt it, add water, and knead it into a dough in a *muḥmar*. This they mix into a large loaf, take it out of the *muḥmar*, place it on a piece of leather or on a cloak, turn the *muḥmar* or *ṣaḥn* over, pull off a piece of the dough, and from it knead a large thin cake, *teṭaḥḥen*, on the *ṣaḥn*. When it has covered the whole of the *ṣaḥn*, a woman seizes it in both hands and, throwing it up in the air, draws it out more and more, till sometimes it is as thin as paper, *terasseṭ tanṭf*. The ready-made cake she places on a *minsâf*. Before this she takes a deep bulging sheet of iron, *ṣâǧ*, about

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beans with an iron spoon fastened to the handle by means of a long copper chain, *id al-mihmâse*. As soon as the coffee begins to turn brown, *aškarrat*, he lifts the plate from time to time, shakes it until the beans jump about, blows on and continues roasting them. When all the beans have acquired a dark-brown color, he shakes them out upon a wooden dish, *mibrâda*, which is also provided with a long handle, in order that they may cool off, *jebarredha*. Meanwhile he takes the second smaller pot, pours boiling water into it from the first one, and sets it by the fire. He wipes a wooden mortar, *mihbâš* (or *niğr*), decorated with carvings, shakes, *jekubb*, into it the cold beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle, *jad* (or *mehwân*), and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes. After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it. The noise made by the mortar and pestle, *hess al-mihbâš*, is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not. The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done.

The coffee when ground to a fine powder is shaken out, *jelaẓẓemha*, by a slave into his right hand or straight into the second pot, in which the fresh coffee is boiled. This pot is called *maṣfa'* (or *ṣalâje*). The slave takes the rag with which he has wiped the vessel, places it on the handle of the pot, and holds it above the fire, continually moving it farther away or nearer in order that the coffee may not boil over. When the coffee is thoroughly boiled, *ṭbaḫat*, he places the pot at some little distance from the fire in order that the coffee may settle. He then puts into the mortar a few grains of the fragrant spice known as cardamom and a pinch of saffron, beats them up, shakes them out into the third pot, which has been cleaned and warmed, and pours into it the boiled coffee from the second pot. The third pot, in which the coffee is boiled with the ground spices, is called *mabhâra*. From a circular box of wood, *ḫuwṭi*, or copper, *kafaṣ*, the slave takes out small cups of solid stoneware, *fanâğil*, pours a little water into each one, rubs them with his thumb on a piece of rag, and puts them on a copper platter called *ṣinijje*. When the spice-flavored coffee has boiled he empties a part of it into the fourth

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533 Ḥafâği — and named the boy Ḥafâği. Another woman was delivered during a heavy rain and she called her little son Maṭar, Rain. Kurdi's wife bore two girls although she greatly wished to have a boy. So she prayed to Allâh, and he granted her wish some time afterwards; she gave the baby boy the name of Raġa', meaning "The Granting of Favor." The wife of 'Awde al-Kwêčbi had a very painful delivery, *te'assarat*, and therefore said: "Thou shalt be called 'Asîr, Born in Pain." Another woman, filled with wrath because her husband had just taken a second wife, named her son Muṛiẓ, Enraging. The wife of the slave Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd received a beating from her husband shortly before a son was born to her, and, still being angry with him, she called the boy in remembrance of his mother's ill-treatment, Za'al, Anger. When delivered of a girl a little later, she said: "Thy father's name is Donkey, Ḥmâr, so thou shalt be called Cow, Baḳara." There is no beast nor plant after which a child cannot be named.

561 551 Up to its seventh year the child is spoken of as *waṛad* (pl., *wuṛdân*), *wara'* (pl., *wur'ân*), or *'aǧi* (pl., *'aǧjân*). After his seventh year a boy is called *'ejâl*. The name for a dead baby is *faraṭ* (pl., *afrâṭ*). For these a sacrifice, *temîma*, must 765 be brought at the next memorial festival in honor of the dead, *ẓaḥijje*.

CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES

852 The Rwala circumcise their sons between their third and seventh years, usually in the season of *aṣ-ṣeif* (thus in late April or May) on either Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday immediately before the fifteenth day of the lunar month or just after that day. Two days before the circumcision the girls from the whole camp come to the tent of the man whose son is to be circumcised, decorate the main tent pole with ostrich feathers, red kerchiefs, and ribbons, *razzow al-mṣanna'*, and proclaim with joyful cries, *zarrût*, that a circumcision, *mṣanna'*, is being prepared for. After sunset the whole youth of both sexes of the camp assemble there, the young men forming a semicircle open towards the tent, where a mighty fire is burning. An adult girl with her face covered so that only her eyes are visible then posts herself between the fire and the youths. The *ḥâdi*, as this girl is called, holds in her right hand a sharp saber. The youths begin to stamp, clap

524 857 *šẓâẓ*, on the highest stone near by, taps it with his large peg enough to make it fly up a little, and when in the air gives it a good blow so as to make it fly to the other players who wait at a distance of about thirty or forty paces. Every one of them tries to hit the flying sharp peg with his own peg in order to send it back. As long as no one succeeds, the peg is returned to the first boy, who continues to bat it until one of his comrades finally strikes it and takes his place. When striking at the *šẓâẓ* peg the head or shoulders of a player often come in contact with it, with consequences easy to imagine.

Many a kerchief is torn to ribbons in the game called *dehdwa*. One boy rolls a large stone down a slightly inclined plane, while the others try to stop it, *'akašha*, with their kerchiefs. The one succeeding in this is entitled to roll it, *jedaḥdîha*.

'Aḳê 'aḳab is a game in which all the boys run for the goal, about a hundred paces away. He who reaches it first shouts: "*'aḳê 'aḳab*," a command for the others to turn and run back to the starting point. The first boy to reach it now calls out the same words, "*'aḳê 'aḳab*," and flies with the others to the goal again. This is repeated until all are exhausted. Finally the one to reach the goal first exclaims: "A pile of wood, *ḥorkob ḥašab*," and sinks to the ground; the others follow his example, lie still for a while, but then begin to kick and strike out all around regardless of whom they hit.

DITTIES SUNG BY GIRLS

539x 857 The girls have no such games. Occasionally at night they form two choirs and alternately sing, *jesemrun*, various ditties called *summejr*:

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Tafawwelû bel-faṣa	For a good sign take a great plain,
jâ-lli ṭalab fâlî	O all ye who ask me for a good sign!
fâli râîden w-ar-rašed	Fortunate is my sign, for luck
ṭajjeb al-fâli.	Is the best of all signs ye may want.

539x 857 777 726 When the women and girls are about to start their *summejr*, the men and youths gather not far off. Before a raid or any act of importance every man observes the first word uttered by the woman or girl dear to him. That word they

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mǧowdalât, keeping in the path trodden by camels for centuries past; it is very seldom, and then only in a level plain where the grass is fresh, that they move side by side, *muṯfarišât*. Once on the pasture grounds, the she-camels graze together, *merta'ât ḥawâlêhen*. The herdsman sits down in some higher place the better to overlook his herd, sings, carves something, or seeks edible plants and bulbs. About noon when the heat is at its highest, *ḥakmat* (or *sanḳarat* or *ḳajjalat*) *al-ẓâ'ile*, the she-camels leave off grazing, kneel down, *jebarreken* or *mubarreḳât*, and chew their cuds till two or three o'clock. Then they rise again and graze till supper time, *je'aššen*, when the herdsman turns them in the direction of the camp and drives them back, reaching the tent at sunset. At that time all the youths and slaves ride out from the camp, on horseback and in small groups, *zerfât*, to protect the returning herds from a possible attack. 233

When satiated the she-camels move very slowly, stopping every little while. The herdsman mounts the leading animal, *ḳa'ada*, and rides at the head of his herd, urging it to greater speed with a short drawling song, *ješšâje'*. The ditty sung by the herdsman to keep the returning herd together is called *mešjê'*. Every herdsman has a song of his own, which differs from those used by others in the words as well as in the cadences of the tone and the length of the syllables. Were it not for this singing, the camels of the same herd would never keep together, but would get lost among the thousands of animals returning home after sunset. On arriving at his tent the herdsman remains sitting on his she-camel, which he halts; he keeps on singing the *mešjê'* while he waits for the whole herd to come in. Then, dismounting, he takes the cords handed to him by the host, makes each animal kneel down in the place allotted to it, *jemarreḳhen bel-mrâḥ*, fetters its left leg above the knee, *je'aššelhen*, eats his supper, and lies down among the herd, so as to watch it at night also. Next morning before sunrise he unties the cords again, *jeṭallelhen*, and, having counted them, gives them back to the host. The milking of the she-camels is done by the owner himself or by a slave or servant. After the milking the host, or anyone bidden by him, drives them a short distance from the tent, where they graze till the dew has evaporated. [533]

The best camel pasture consists of plants called *ḥamṛ*, among which the Rwala count the following perennials: *arṭa*, 233 137

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Very often a sorcerer is summoned to the bedside of a person who is seriously ill. He comes either with all or a few of his disciples and settles down in the tent as a regular guest. During the day, but especially in the evening, he orders his disciples to play, while he squats by the fire with his head wrapped up and his face in his hands, listening to the music. After a while he begins to contort the upper part of his body, jumps up, seizes a small drum, beats it wildly, circles around the fire, and, dancing around the patient, raps him with the drum on the head and legs; then, throwing the drum aside, he lies above the patient, supporting himself by the feet and hands, breathes into his mouth and nostrils, kneels down, rubs the patient on the breast, stomach, and back, jumps up, dances around, and, then, lying on him again, mumbles unintelligible words. Sometimes he cures the sick person by this process; sometimes the patient dies.

Ṣulhân's little son, Feǧer, six years old, fell ill. Greatly troubled, the father entreated a sorcerer to cure his child. The seer soon appeared with his wife, and the first thing they did was to lay the boy's head south and his feet north. The woman began to play, while the sorcerer bent down to the fire, waiting for the *islâm* to take hold of him. Then he jumped up, danced, lay on the boy, covering him with his body, breathed on his cheeks, and made curious grimaces, *la'ab 'alejh*, the woman beating a little drum all this time and dancing around them. The boy recovered.

A certain woman was paralyzed for many years and unable to stand on her feet. Finally Mnâhi eben Dabbâr was brought to her and played over her, *la'ab*, for three evenings. On the third evening the sick woman suddenly jumped up and began to dance with him, and was well ever after.

Feǧer eben Ṭajjeb of the Mwâhîb clan suffered from gout and was unable to walk, *mḥarwal*. On being sent for, the sorcerer stayed with him seven days, played over him every evening, daubed him with his spittle, spat on him — and Feǧer became well.

The sorcerers are accustomed to sing:

Hala b'ali az-zêni Welcome, 'Ali, thou benefactor,
jâ ḥejḫ al-ǧeddêni Chief of my ancestors both;
w-'ali jâ-bu ḥsêni. 'Ali, thou father of Ḥsên.

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Jâ bâz jâ ǧeddi	O Falcon! O ancestor mine!
hala' b'ezzaddîn	Welcome to us, O 'Ezzaddîn!
jâ šejḫ al-jemîn.	Thou chief powerful.
Hala' bzên an-nijje	Welcome to us, thou who well meanest
jâ ra' aṭ-ṭawijje	And knowest what is hidden.

It is even said of the sorceresses that they can disappear from the tent unobserved.

SOOTHSAYERS

791 787

There are people living among the Bedouins, both men and women, who in some inexplicable way are able to tell of hidden things, whether of the past, present, or future. One of their ways is to prophesy from the position of twenty-three objects cast about promiscuously. These objects are: seven round white pebbles, *marwât*; one small piece of ambergris; one fragment of broken glass, *ṛazâra*; one small piece of a burned brick, *ḫuẓrime*; one fragment of a broken glass armlet, *ḳuṣmat ma'ẓad*; five small white sea shells, *ḫams wad'ât*; one small piece of sea shell, *miṣarra*; four date stones, *ṯṣumât*; one small piece of a glass ring such as is worn by mares on their necks, *ḳuṣmat ḫaršat faras*; and one smooth silver ring, *ḫalḳat ḫâtem fuẓẓa*. The soothsayer, who keeps all these twenty-three objects in a leather pouch, shakes them out on the palm of his hand, throws them down on the carpet, and then begins to prophesy from their relative positions.

Blejhân related to me: "My little brother, Ǧî'ân, went on a raid and did not return for a long time. My heart was sick with longing for him, *w-ḳalbi waǧ'ân 'alejh*. So I went to a Ḥâzmijje (woman of the Ḥawâzem tribe) soothsayer, *naḥart al-ḫaṭṭâṭa alli 'endana min al-ḥawâzem*, and gave her a little tobacco, *'aṭajṭah šwajje titen*. She said:

'What brings thee here, O youth? *wêš ǧâjebk jâ walaḍ*. Dost thou need something? *!ak ṛaraẓ*.'

'I seek a lost camel and want thee to give me the sign, *ana meḏheb w-abîč teẓrobi li bel-fâl*.' Taking out from a bag, *mezwede*, the pouch with those twenty-three things, she shook them out on her right palm, which she first lifted and then lowered again, threw them, *ṭaššatha*, broadcast on the carpet, glanced over them, and then exclaimed:

saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy. 576 609

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teszûn al-'aṭšân.*" 484 576 271

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ 'endana ma'*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant. 484

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *taṭwîḥ*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *rana' b'âli ḥesseh*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer. 484 533

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the march travelers unknown to them and later discover they were their friends. 727

To spend the night in the camp of a friendly clan which maintains amicable relations with the plundered clan is not allowed.

The Rwala bury their dead friends; their wounded they carry off on their camels, having first bandaged their wounds as best they can. To the dead enemy no attention is paid. At the same time whoever has swept an enemy from the saddle and sees him writhing on the ground is obliged, as a man of honor, to help him. Should he kill an enemy in that condition, *ṭarîḥ*, he would commit a dishonorable deed, *'ajb*, in the same manner as he who kills a man he has pardoned, or one sleeping, or a woman, or child. Likewise it is considered shameful to attack a related tribe, even if hostile, after the appearance of the morning star, *bejât*, or to cripple or kill captured animals when to escape with them proves impossible, *feda' bel-ḥalâl*. 727 577

The successful bringing of captured herds from a distant territory to the home camp is the highest proof of a leader's sagacity, especially if he undertakes raids against tribes encamped as far as 600-800 kilometers away. A prudent leader will at once separate the camel calves from the grown animals and have them driven back; he will occupy the more important mountain passes and try to retreat through a country where the camels will find sufficient pasture. If he returns with the booty without any considerable losses, everybody talks of booty and success, *ċasab w-salâme*, but if the booty is taken away from him by some ambushing party on the way, the raiders come back, one after another, very much depressed, for besides having gained nothing they have lost many comrades, *ḫasâra*. If the defiles have been occupied they can march and rest at their leisure, for, as they say, "our little brothers follow in our tracks, *ḫwijjâna ḳzabaw aṯârna*." The troop following the returning raiders and protecting them against the pursuers, *ṭalab*, is called *ḳazb*. 727

Returning Raiders' Songs

As soon as the returning warriors feel safe, they intone ditties, *ḥda'*, appropriate to such occasions; *elja ḳfejna naḥada'* (sic). 727 533

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539x

Run as the hunted beast runs from the face of the heroic youth,
From the faces of those whose beards and moustaches are covered with fat.

701
883

Haǧǧ means a panic, helter-skelter flight. *Rulma'* or *ṣabwa'* are youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, who are ever making raids, from which they always return with rich booty and then feast on the fat camels they have captured until their budding chin beards, *lḥa*, and mustaches, *šawâreb*, shine with fat, *dasmin*. They are well fed, of great endurance, and never abandon the pursuit of the enemy's fleeing mares or camels until they have captured them.

Songs of Booty

539x
727
533

The returning victors are not met by the women or girls of the camp. When near they break into songs of booty.

539x

1. *Jowmen wald al-hejs jabḥa mažza'eh*
   wa' mâ ḳaṭa'na lejleten ḥarmesijje
   wa' hâj jâ lallâh wa' hâj jâ lallâh.
2. *Jâ nâšeden 'anna min ajje žebîle*
   'ejâl ar-rwejli min aḫjâr al-ḥamâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
3. *Ḥowfân aẓ-ẓulma' maṛâwîr aẓ-ẓaḥa'*
   nowda' 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi debâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
4. *Elja-ddejt maǧhûdi w-maǧhûd fâṭeri*
   mâ-ni 'ala-d-dinja čeṭîr al-ḥasâjef
   wa' hâj . . .

1. While the idler shook up his bed,
   Hey! through how many dark nights have we ridden!
   Hey! glory be and by Allâh himself!
2. O thou who askest about us of what tribe we were,
   (Know that) we are descendants of the Rwala, counted among the best of tribes.
   Hey! glory!
3. Like thieves in a dark night, like attackers after the passing of the dew
   We are wont to plant ulcers in the enemy's stomach.
   Hey! glory!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

herself, as the capture of the 'Aṭfa by the enemy would mean the greatest disgrace for both the reigning kin and the whole tribe. Thereupon the girl on the 'Aṭfa drives her animal to her father's tent, makes it kneel here, and either jumps off, unbuckles the litter, and pulls it inside the tent, or flees with it from the camp.

When the tribe is attacked while migrating and the women driving the camels laden with all their household goods fear that the enemy may rob them — the men, meanwhile, being engaged in repelling the attackers — they beg every passing rider to defend them, and the girls, especially, at the top of their voices, call out the names of their sweethearts:

"Bring me So-and-So, ye men! Call So-and-So hither, ye who like to amuse yourselves with girls! I want So-and-So, him of whom all talk!"

If a man passes by whom the woman expects to help her, she cries: "Thou wert praised to me so highly, and yet I have not seen thee do anything today."

When a lover reaches the woman of his heart, she breaks into an inspiring shout, uttering in a high-pitched tremulous voice the syllables of the word *zaṛārit*. The lover greets her: "Oh, how I rejoice before thine eyes! *jâ mâ 'ajnêč wa-fraḥi*," or: "To thy joy, O So-and-So! *farḥateč jâ fiâne*."

Ditties Sung by Defenders of Their Camps

While speeding through the camp or the moving throng in order to repel a hostile attack the men sing short ditties.

Jâ rabb naṣlobak al-huda'
w-as-sitr w-al-'elm al-maliḥ
rab'i medâbis al-'uda'
w-en ḥarrafaw 'enda-ṭ-ṭariḥ.

O Lord! we beg thee for a lucky guidance,
For protection and good news!
My comrades, cudgels for the enemy,
Will not turn their maces save when a rider is thrown from his saddle.

They pray to Allâh for lucky leadership and favorable news about the position of the main force of the enemy, that they may attack at once and thus avoid being taken on the

2: Musil 3-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

herds Šâha and used this phrase as his battle cry. *'Aǧǧe* or *'aǧâǧ* is dust and sand caught up by a whirlwind which runs like a pillar through the desert. Such columns of dust and sand often envelop the cavalry, whose horses raise up the dust with their hoofs. During a war, when troops cross the desert every day, the *'aǧǧe* also appears more frequently. *Surba* means here a hostile troop. The warriors galloping to repulse the enemy sing the ditties called *ḥda'*. Aḫu Šâha never waits for his comrades, but, intoning a *ḥda'*, attacks the enemy as soon as he sights him.

Li dîreten ǧennat an'âm	I have a land, a paradise for herds,
met'eb w-sîb jurîdeha	Met'eb and Sîb long for it,
aš-šejḫ miṯlak lâ jenâm	A chief like thee must not sleep,
jet'ab 'ala tabrîdeha.	But strive to hold his property.

Al-'Âṣi, the son of Farḥân, inherited from his father as his private property extensive pastures irrigated by a live creek, where he kept large herds of cattle and sheep. Some time afterwards Ǧârallâh attempted to take the pastures away from him by force, in which he was supported by the Šammar war leader named Met'eb âl Hadab and by his own son Tîḫ, who likewise were seeking an ally against al-'Âṣi. This chief was not a little vexed with his son al-Hâdi, who seemed to care for nothing. His reproaches having no effect, the disappointed father composed this ditty, which was sung by his followers to insult the young man. *An'âm* means cattle, especially cows and sheep. *Tabrîd*: to defend what belongs to one lawfully. Roused by the poem, al-Hâdi answered with another:

Dâri beha ḳablen teḳûl
binten taǧadded 'êdaha
mifrâṣ bâlûd alli jeṛûl
beḥnûk min jurîdaha.

I knew [our land] before thou didst warn me,
It is like a maiden, always changing its holiday garb,
While I am like steel pincers which crush
In their jaws him who longs for it.

Dâri beha: I know of it. *Mâni dâri*: I do not know. (*"Mâdri-n-čân aḥad behal-ḳaṣr*; I do not know if there is anybody in this castle," remarked Ḥmâr on one occasion. *"Beh*, there is" was Prince an-Nûri's answer.) *'Êdaha*: her holiday dress. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *dîb*, wolf, is most fond of frequenting caves and crevices in rocks. Only when it is about to give birth to young does it crawl into a deserted hyena den. In color it adapts itself to its surroundings. In the volcanic territory it is dark brown, *aṣḥam*; in the sandy desert of the Nefûd it is a light brown with a greenish tinge, *azraḳ*; and in the plains of al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudijân it is gray with a tinge of blue, *ašhab*. Wolf skins are used in making rebecs, or one-stringed viols, *rebâba*, which then have a particularly high note. The wolf's eye fetches a very high price, because it affords protection in the greatest danger. The wolf thoroughly understands human speech. He himself was once a human being and his name was Serḥân. At that time all the sheep and goats belonged to him. Because of some great sin he was changed into a wolf, and his flocks were taken by man. But the wolf even now regards goats and sheep as his own and has a grudge against shepherds and their dogs because they prevent him from enjoying his property. Once a wolf said to a sheep dog: "Tonight I will take some of my property for supper, *al-lejle ʿašâje râs mâl*." The dog replied: "We shall see. If I get supper from my masters, I shall protect their property, so that thou wilt not get a taste of it; *ʿelja ʿaššûni-hali affekaha lâ tḏûḳaha*." If the dog does not receive an adequate supper, his hunger causes him to seek food throughout the neighborhood, and the wolf can plunder to his heart's content.

There was a certain Bedouin who went out on his camel for booty. He met a wolf who likewise was going in search of spoil. They agreed that they would help each other like brothers, *taḥâwow hu w-aḏ-ḏîb*. The wolf sat on the camel behind the rider. While the rider slept, the wolf watched over the grazing camel. When they reached a high hill, from the top of which there was a good view, *merḳâb*, the wolf crawled out on to the hill and inspected the region on all sides. Finally he caught sight of grazing camels which belonged to a hostile tribe. They rode cautiously in their direction. The rider kept his camel in a hidden gully and crept with the wolf towards the camels. The wolf ran up to the shepherds, who immediately seized their weapons and pursued him with shouts. Scarcely had they disappeared when the Bedouin seized the finest camel and rode with it into the gully. The wolf led the shepherds far away from their herd; then he returned to it, caught by the throat a tiny young camel, which was covered with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

sounds of anger and irritation, *zebiḥ*. A *dammâm* is a large drum, to the notes of which the inhabitants of villages by the Euphrates make merry all night. 3. The Dahâmše belong to the ʿAmârât tribe. Originally they are said to have dwelt in the neighborhood of Ḥajbar. From there they were led forth by their chief, Ǧḏêʿ eben Haḏḏâl, together with the Ṣḳûr and Selḳa, and by swift marches advanced to the borders of the lower Euphrates. The kindred of Ṛannâm, *rabʿ ṛannâm*, who set out with them at the same time, returned before long to Ḥajbar, not being able to keep pace with them. The Ṛannâm were engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep, while the others bred camels. The flocks of goats and sheep cannot endure the long and swift marches which are performed by the herds of camels. The poet alludes to the feat of the Dahâmše and at the same time recalls that none of the numerous tribes encamping by the Euphrates and engaged almost exclusively in the breeding of goats and sheep could outstrip the former. All the tribes are compelled to send them gifts annually, if they do not wish to be the victims of their raids. 5. A *belḳaʾ* is a pliant sword or saber of Persian workmanship, covered with gray and dark strips and patches. ʿAzzâm was the name of the Ǧḏêʿ's sword. 6. Dâûd was a craftsman of Jewish origin, who made the best wire corselets and chain armor.

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831* 539* [534] [437]

Šenne is the piece of an old, thoroughly dried hide which is stretched over the round hole of the violin-like rebec. It forms the sounding space and vibrates whenever the bow is drawn across the strings. *Rîḥa* means, properly, a vile and *benna* a pleasant odor. *Ǧallâb* is a merchant who does not sell for money but furnishes the women with perfumes and ornaments, taking from them camel's hair, traveling bags, *mezâwed*, fancy saddle bands, *sefâjef*, etc., in exchange.

Jâ hêh jâ râ'eb al-'aṭli
sallem w-rudd as-salâmâti
sallem 'ala-lli nwa žatli
ḳul lâ lâ ḥajjen w-lâ mâti.

Hail to thee, who ridest a bony camel,
Salute and the salutes return!
Greet him who has resolved to destroy me,
And say I neither live nor am dead.

[576] *'Aṭli* (or *'aṭel*) is a bony camel. *Rudd as-salâmâti*, return the salutes—the visitor first salutes all present and is in turn saluted by each of them separately; he again answers every salute. To the ditty just cited the Rwala add the following:

w-ṭnejwâteh teḳel šatli
w-nhejdeh bêẓ al-ḥamâmâti.

Her teeth are like grains of rice
And her breasts round as the eggs of a pigeon.

Judged by its content this verse does not belong to the ditty; it may be a fragment of another with a similar rhyme.

Šatli is the same as *ḥabb ar-ruzz* or *ḥabb at-tummen*, grains of rice or of *tummen*.

Al-waǧd waǧdi 'ala dbajje
waǧd al-abkâr al-ma'âṭiši
dâǧen w-lâǧen 'ala-ṭ-ṭajje
w-al-ma' ba'iden w-lâ nîši
jâ ḳrûnaha jâten al-mijje
miṭl as-sefâjef 'ala-l-ǧîši
jâ nhûdaha bêẓ kudrijje
taẓfi 'alejh al-'ačâriši.

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ing, weapons, colts, young camels, etc. These gifts, *nehile*, belong to the boy exclusively. When the mock battle ends the men amuse themselves with shooting at a target. This is the head of the slaughtered she-camel set up at a considerable distance from the host's tent, from which they shoot. He who hits it may take and cook it for himself.

Ditties Sung at Circumcision Ceremonies

In the evening the girls form two lines in the space before the tent, and a couple of them step inside the lane thus made. One without her kerchief and with her hair loosened dances, inclining both head and body to right and left, forwards and backwards, but she must not leave her ground. To prevent this, the second girl holds her hands during the performance. The other girls accompany her contortions with a quiet clapping of hands, meanwhile singing ditties called *hafle*, this also being the name of the dance.

'Aširken jâ-hl ranâdîr
mâ beh rağa' low rağejnâh
w-alli jetarâleh al-maḥâṣîr
dowr al-ḥawâṭer bellejâh.

From your husband, O you well dressed ones!
We can expect nothing despite our hopes,
And to him who thinks the cost too high
Why should our favors be granted for nothing?

A woman fond of dress and of being carried around in a litter needs a husband who does not object to the expense entailed. If one will not grant all her wishes, she seeks another one, more generous.

Jâ râčeb al-malḥa
kezz al-mečâtîbi
w-en dannaḳat tar'a
'oṭṭha-l-meša'ibi.

O thou rider on the black camel!
Fold again and preserve the letters;
And if thy camel lowers her head to graze,
Tap her with thy stick.

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CHAPTER X

POETRY

POETS AND POETICAL COMPOSITION

The Rwala love to hear, recite, and compose poems, which they call *ḳaṣâjed* (sing., *ḳaṣîde*). A verse is called *ḳâf*. It usually consists of two halves, the first being *nuṣṣ al-ḳâf* and the second, which is always rhymed, *âḫer al-ḳâf*, being *ḳâf at-tâli*. The poet says of himself: "I composed a poem, *ḳaṣatt* or *ḳilt al-ḳaṣîde*." Sometimes a poet will not say that he composed (a poem), *ḳaṣad*, but merely that he uttered (a poem), *ḳâl*. The audience say to the poet: "Reveal us thy poem, *ebdaha 'alejna*." If a begging poet comes to a chief in whose honor he has composed a poem, he begins by saying: "There are a few words, O chief! which I should like to disclose to thee, O long-living one! *endi člêmât jâ šejḫ abṛi ebdiha 'alejk jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*." "Out with it! *hâtah*." And the poet in a nasal voice begins to recite his poem. The first words he blurts out, the next he half swallows, and the last he utters in a falsetto. If the chief likes the poem, its author gets a reward. The begging poets are not held in much esteem, being reproached for their insatiability, for their disregard of honesty in praising even scamps for a reward, and also because they lie and steal. They steal the ideas, sentences, and even whole verses of others. It often happens that the hearers assail such a poet with the words: "Thou liest. Thou stolest it from So-and-So!" The poet defends himself, calling on others to be his witnesses, but the confidence of his hearers is gone, and they say: "A poet is a liar, *ḳaṣṣâd kaḍḍâb*." When the poet learns that his composition or some of his verses are claimed by somebody else, he complains to the chiefs or even in the courts, but they all refuse to listen on the ground that a poet cannot be trusted.

On hearing a new poem the Bedouins inquire its author's name, *limin hâḍi*. An anonymous poem is called *maǧhûla*.

A poem is but rarely written down. As a rule the poet's friends learn it by heart, and others learn from them. Every Bedouin knows several poems but hardly ever the whole of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

538 any. He usually recites from six to ten verses and then says that perhaps someone else knows the rest. Hence, since every long poem must be collected piecemeal from a number of men, the order of the individual verses can seldom be accurately established. If two Bedouins know the same verses of the same poem, they never recite them in exactly the same way but change the original words and often whole verses. Sometimes these changes are due to later improvements by the poet himself, but in most cases his unconscientious or careless friends are to blame. The Bedouins often quarrel as to the original wording of the verses and frequently ask the poet himself about this, but even he is not always absolutely sure. Often the poet insists that a verse was at first worded in such and such a way, but his friends contradict him. This makes him exclaim that all the versions are good and original, and he ends by appealing to the omniscience of Allâh. After hearing this answer from a number of poets, I gave up the search for the original wording, as the task is not only most difficult but quite useless. At other times I found that the poet himself knew barely the first few verses of his own poem. The rest he had forgotten and was glad that his friends remembered more than he. Only poems dealing with subjects of common interest become widely known and are preserved, whereas poems describing particular events are recited only by the persons concerned and fall into oblivion when these persons are dead.

[181] It cannot be denied that the Bedouins are poetically gifted. The composing of all kinds of ditties and songs is mere play to them, and they do not hesitate even at longer poems. They also hold that the words used in a poem must be out of the ordinary, not those heard in common everyday life. The more unusual words the Bedouin can put into his composition, the better he thinks it. The poet therefore revises every verse most painstakingly, repeats it many times, substitutes some words for others, and asks the opinion of his friends before producing his poem.

The Rwejli always explains the reason or occasion of the origin of every poem, believing that the poet had some motive for its composition. Often he forms his own opinion as to the origin of some old poem simply from its contents and is firmly convinced that he is not mistaken, and yet no one but the poet himself could say what induced him to compose it.

2: Musil 5-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x 577x

18. The eye is a spring, but to a friend it will not give drink,
Though he be the best of friends to thee.
19. Share thy booty with the captive who comes to thee,
For, behold, what he will say of thee will benefit thee.
20. All creatures are doomed in the end to die,
For thus it is written with the keeper of the records of [fate.
21. The slayer of the enemies will not run from them
And will never relent as long as his hand holds a weapon.
22. Some men thou shouldst compel to abstain from evil!
Behold, an aggressor often inherits peace.
23. Guide the desire — hold not back the youth,
For, behold, a youth whose desires slacken will be de- [stroyed.
24. Thou didst not lament before drowning;
Survey the ford and learn to swim.
25. The desire hidden in thy breast
Will come out on a night's march and hold a lamp to thee.
26. Ah, how I grieve for him who has forgotten
To avenge a wrong and, in affluence resting, remains calm!
28. When thou hast pacified a man, beware of doing so second time,
For a saber pointed downwards is a key to violence.

● 538

This poem is anonymous. Ǧwâd al-ʿÂni's statement that it was written by aš-Šerîf Barakât was opposed by ʿAwde al-Kwêčbi and Ḥmâr. Prince an-Nûri, however, thought its author was a Bedouin of one of the tribes encamped on both banks of the Euphrates, as the ford mentioned is called *maḫâḍa*, a common word for ford in southern Mesopotamia. An-Nûri's opinion seems to be correct, because the consonant *ḍ*, which a sherif from either al-Medîna or Mecca would never have omitted, is lacking in the poem, and also because the whole moral tone is nearer the views of the free Bedouins than the exaggerated sanctity of the sherifs. I took it down according to the recitation of an-Nûri, Ḥmâr, ʿAwde, and Ǧwâd, each of whom knew a few verses of the poem but none the whole of it. None of them could remember the verse beginning with the consonant *ĵâ* (27). — The whole poem has 28 verses rhyming on *âḥi*, and each verse begins with a consonant in the order of the Arabic alphabet, excepting the sixth, ninth, eighteenth, and twenty-eighth verses, in which the second or third syllable begins with the appropriate consonant. The first two verses excepted, each of the others conveys some moral precept for life.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXVII

Anaga—the Falcon

223
●539

THE FALCONER'S SONG

Arise, my brother!
Let us away to hunt with the hungry *silek*;[1]
Set the daring falcon upon my gauntleted fist,
Bring the leashed hounds,
And saddle my finely built *dhalul*.
Tie my speediest horse to her girth—
The mare of noble birth.
Let us ride once more
With the daughters of our blood,
With the wandering herds and our tribe
And the leader of our people.
Beloved friends!
To-day we ride with jubilant song,
Into the welcoming wilderness,
The hounds accompanying us in joyous voice,
And the mare with whinnying calls;
Never shall I tire of watching
The wonderful flight of the proud falcon
As he breasts the wind,
And how his golden eyes hold
The prey which his strong talons shall seize.

[221]
223

The advance guard of the migrating Ruala had already reached the neighbourhood of the rain pools of Khabra Mirfiah, whence every day messengers brought word of new thunderstorms. In that region we could

[1] Singular. *Sluki*. Greyhound.

2: Musil MD4 Rwala MD4
231, 232, 233, 492, 539

[General information about horses and camels will be found in category 231. Specific information about breeding, diseases and veterinary science will be found in category 232, about herding and pasturing in 233. Specific information pertaining to the use of camels and horses in transportation, associated practices and descriptions of gear will be found in category 492. For native texts applying to camels see category 116, pp. 340-346, 358-368; to horses, pp. 383-388.]

●

[For texts of native poems, songs, tales and myths in the original and in translation, see category 116 as follows:

Rainmaking	pp.	10-12
Animals		21-25, 29-31
Falconry		34-35
Birds		37-38, 41
Reptiles		41-42
Insects		43
Traditions concerning Rwala chiefs		51-58
Camping Grounds		78-85
Coffee		102-114
Smoking		128-131
Love		140-228
Circumcision		246-255
Ditties sung by girls		258-266
The stranger and the merchant in camp		270-275
Typical Bedouin poems		285-328

533, 539, 773

Ditties sung when camels are watered	pp.	340-347
Camels		358-368
Mares		383-388
Travelers		458-459
Guests and Hospitality		466-470
Qualities and deeds of men		473-488
Song of a culprit		500-503
Raiders' Marching Songs		512-522
Returning Raiders' Songs		531-537
Songs of Booty		537-540
Defenders of their Camps		541-570
Narratives of Rwala wars and raids		574-632
Poems of wars and raids		632-637
Anecdotes of wars and raids		637-640
Stories of wars and raids told by Blejhan Eben Zeri		641-661]

2: Mus:/ S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

and calls together the idlers from all sides to utter their greetings and to reply to greetings, only in order that as soon as possible they may gain the favor of those present. 4. Nine grains of cardamom are ground together with a pinch of

FIG. 29

FIG. 30

FIGS. 29, 30—Pack camels, *al-maṣhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

saffron and mixed with the boiled coffee. The *hejl*, cardamom, gives the coffee a peculiar bitter taste, and the saffron makes it yellow in color. The coffee, when it has been allowed to stand and has been strained off, *mrawwaḳa*, is poured into beautiful cups, *as-snâfi*. *Har-raǧǧâl snâfi* means "this man is handsome, perfect." 5. *Ṣinijje* is the name of the shallow decorated metal dish upon which the cups are placed; such dishes were originally brought from China and hence were known as *ṣini*. *'Oddah* for *'odah* (or *'odha*). He who protects the fugitives is to receive an additional drink of coffee. *Aḳfow* means "made their escape, retreated." 6. *Ṭrâd* is the term for actual warfare. In the midst of the most dangerous and fierce fighting the girls encourage the warriors with words and gestures. With loosened hair and bared breasts they dash on she-camels where the danger is greatest, shout to their lovers and friends, remind the former of favors received, and threaten to desert to the enemy should they be disappointed

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHARACTER OF BEDOUIN WOMEN

The Bedouin women are renowned for their acuteness. They comprehend quickly but use much caution in expressing themselves, as the following story will illustrate:

A young Bedouin was riding on his mare to a neighboring camp. Being thirsty, he halted in a small camp through which he was passing, before a tent where he saw only two women. One was old, the mother, as he thought; the other much younger, her daughter, perhaps. The younger one stepped out from the tent, and the rider addressed her thus:

"If we knew the name, we should salute; *low 'arefna al-isem sallemna.*" Her answer was:

"If we knew the name, we should return the salute. When dost thou grasp thy saber? *ḳazabt sejfak.*"

The rider understood the meaning of her words and, because he expected to grasp his saber in a revolt or bloody quarrel known as *fetna*, he addressed her by this name and indicated his own by pointing to the beauty of her face, *ḥasan.*

"Be strong, Fetna! What manner of face hast thou? *ḳaw fetna naẓar waǧheč.*"

Without a moment's hesitation the girl replied: "I welcome thee, Ḥasan!"

The rider asked for water. She filled a small wooden trough, *žedaḥ*, and held it to him so that he could drink more easily. As he was sitting in the saddle, she had to raise her hands, the wide sleeves of her shirt slipped down to the arm pits and her arms were bare, revealing to the rider the hair under them. With a sigh he said:

"What a pity! If only the nether hair were as long as the upper! *jâ ḥejf en čân wâṭih miṭl 'âlih.*"

To indicate that she understood, the girl replied: "It is still without a master, *min žillet wâlih.*"

Glad of conversing with a virgin and liking the looks of her, the rider asked:

"Will you receive a guest gladly? *'endakom laẓ-ẓejf ekrâm.*"

"Certainly, if he is destined to eat of our food; *elja čân leh naṣib baṭ-ṭa'âm.*"

He then jumped off his mare; as the girl was leading it aside she stooped down in order to tether the animal to some object. Noticing near the tent a heavy spare peg of the kind used for securing the tent ropes and also a few smaller

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

153 pegs for fastening the back tent wall, she took the heavy
539 peg in her right hand, one of the smaller ones in the left, and tried to drive it into the ground in order to tether the mare. But the ground, being scorched and hard, the peg could not be driven in. She therefore complained to her mother, but in a careful way so as not to offend against decency. Hence she preferred to say wood, *ḫašab*, instead of peg, *wadd*:

"Mama, I hammer wood with wood, but the ground will not let in the wood. Hand me a big stone to hammer the wood with. *Jâ jumma-duḳḳ al-ḫašab bel-ḫašab w-al-ḳâʿ mâ taḳbal al-ḫašab jâ jumma hâti li rẓuma aduḳḳ al-ḫašab.*"

The youth marveled at the girl's good sense as at the orderliness which he found in the tent. He called again when her brother returned from a raid, and made the girl his wife.

A Bedouin once had three wives. The first, whom he had married in his youth, bore him several children; the second he had taken to wife two years before; and the third, a blooming girl, had been in his tent scarcely two months. Once he went to an itinerant merchant for a short rug, *ḳaṭîfe*, and brought it home. The women began to quarrel as to which of them the rug was bought for. "It belongs to me," said the first one, "to me the mother of his sons." "I devote myself to him day and night. The *ḳaṭîfe* was meant for me," said the second. "He has already tired of both of you," exclaimed the third, "you ought to know that what is old cannot be made new again and an enemy will never become an intimate friend, *al-ʿatîž mâ jirǧaʿ ǧedîd wa-l-ʿadw mâ jirǧaʿ ṣiddîž*. I am young, still new to him; therefore I taste the best to him. He bought the *ḳaṭîfe* for me." The man listened but held his tongue, while the wives went before a judge to decide between them. The judge decided that the *ḳaṭîfe* belonged to the third woman.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

Jâ-bu ṯemânen ḏubbalen wa-rhâf
ʿeḏâb liṯarrâd al-hawa
jâ žiḏleten riš an-naʿâm erdâf
jelʿab beha ṣafž al-hawa.

O thou with eight teeth fine and small,
Which so torment him who is given to flirting!
O braids above the forehead, as thick as the ostrich's feathers,
With which nothing but a strong breeze can play.

Ṯemân are the four lower and the four upper incisors. The finer and smaller, the prettier they are. When they are shown by a smiling beauty, the passion of amorous men is inflamed to a high degree. *Ṭarrâd* is a warrior who, circling on his mare, attacks the enemy with the one aim of defeating them. No sooner has he vanquished one, than he throws himself on another. *Ṭrâd* is a hand-to-hand fight, also a mock battle in which the struggles of a real battle are imitated. It is often performed in honor of an esteemed guest. *Ṭrâd al-ḫejl* has the same meaning as *leʿeb al-ḫejl*, mock battle, cavalry play. *ʿArâṣa* has nothing in common with *ṭrâd*. In *ʿarâṣa* the warriors defile, one by one, before the standing chief, assure him of their fidelity, and by uttering their war cry raise one another's war spirit. He that devotes much of his time to love affairs also resembles a *ṭarrâd*, because, having gained the victory over one beauty, he leaves her in order to win the favor of another. The feathers on the hips of an ostrich are the thickest. A beauty's *žiḏle* should, likewise, be so thick and heavy that nothing except a strong breeze could move it. *Safž* or *ṣalf* is a strong, sudden gust of wind.

[826 832] [541] [703]

Jâ šowḳ jâ daḳḳâḳ al-ḫejl
jâ merteči fowḳ al-ḫani
eḳhar ḳaʿûdak ʿenda rkûž al-ḫejl
abi-ẓmanak w-atroḳ hali.

O sweetheart mine who givest forth a fragrance as if pounding cardamom!
O thou who supportest thyself by the bent litter pole!
Stop thy camel at the cavalry assault,
For I will desert my kin to guarantee thy safety.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

good annuals, the more milk is given. The fertile camel gives milk for twelve months, the barren camel for even longer. After a year the she-camel is conducted to the male. If she conceives, she loses the milk and bites and kicks her calf when it tries to suck. 234

The calf generally ceases to suck after a year, but many wish to continue even after that. Such calves are known as *'abeṭ*. In order that a calf of this sort may not steal milk, a sharpened peg, *ḫelâl*, is inserted under its nostrils, and if it attempts to suck the peg pricks the female camel, so that she at once drives the calf away.

FIG. 21—A water trough, *ḥawẓ* (see p. 71).

The milk is either drunk warm immediately after it has been obtained, *maḥaẓ*, or is heated, *saḫîn*. The freshly obtained milk is called *ḥalîb*. If it is poured, *jeḥaḳnûneh*, into a leather bag, *semîl*, it is called *leben*, even though it may still be sweet. In the bag it becomes sour very quickly, *jeṭa'-'am* (or *mṭa"am*). The Rwala do not churn camel's milk. If they have too much, they boil it and from the curds make small cheeses which they eat either dry or stewed with bread. 262 234 272

A milking camel is called *ḥallâba*. It is not sold at any price, as it nourishes the whole family. Every Rwejli is fond of milk, either fresh or sour. Those who cannot get accustomed to it are given the nickname of *felḥ*. The Rwala woman reminds her daughter of the white *leben* as soon as she wakes her in the morning, exclaiming: "O my daughter, white as milk! why art thou idle like the gazelle, taking thy ease until the dew has departed? *jâ bumajje jâ leben wâẓḥa' w-alṛzejjel bel-menâm aẓḥa'*." The freshly obtained milk has a salt taste, because the camels are fond of grazing on salt herbs. In consequence of this it has an aperient effect, especially on the foreigner; but after a short time he gets accustomed to it, likes it very much, and suffers no ill effects. If the camel has been feeding for a long time on fragrant or strong-smelling herbs, the odor can be noticed in the milk. 551

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

was indemnified, *jeddûn 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they

FIG. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḫûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḫûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḫûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Jeŝûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣla'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *aḳra'*.

A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

12. She is clear white, pink, and bordered with red,
And her glory exceeds the beauty of Joseph.
13. No untruth I speak, nor is it a fable,
For, after all, I am no maker of stories.
14. He who will revile me must have less wisdom than a bull or she-ass,
For easier it is to persuade a bull which when bidden turns.
15. By Allâh! I shall not find her even among the houris.
Therefore, to describe what has passed away is of no help.
16. By Allâh himself! with her death my life is destroyed;
Hence wise is moderation for the sake of Allâh, who knows all secrets.

This poem, composed by the poet Nimr eben ʿAdwân, was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm, who learned it from his mother, who hailed from the Sirḥân tribe.

Verse 1. *Ḳalam* is a pen cut from stout reed. *Zejzaf* or *nâʿem* means "smooth, soft." 2. *Ṯilb* is a she-camel, old, toothless, and therefore very emaciated. *Ṯâwi* denotes such a beast which can kneel but on account of its weakness cannot rise again. Sometimes a feeble she-camel of this kind is left behind on the camping ground; the poor beast tries to get up, but every time sinks down again uttering bitter moans. Her deep sighs are heard far around. She longs for her companions whom she is not to see again, and is afraid of the wolves. 4. *ʿAḏâra* is the name for all young women, whether virgins or not. A virgin is called *bikr*; a female who has lost her virginity, *mâḥûḏa*. Sinǧâr is a mountain ridge southwest of Mosul. 5. The daughters of the Ṣlejb excel by their perfect shapes. *Šihâra* is the name given by the Ṣlejb to their pure-blooded asses, which they often cross with the wild asses. The Ṣlejb women are often elaborately tattooed on their cheeks. 6. *Hawâdeǧ*, quiverings, shakings, the poetical term for *žetab*, means "large richly colored litters which rock freely." *Ḫawwâr* signifies a camel of the inner desert, inured to thirst, whereas a *ǧûdi* is a camel from districts with plenty of water. A *ǧûdi* is stronger, but a *ḫawwâr* will endure more fatigue. 9. *Ṭobb* denotes "come near," "step into the center." 12. The cheeks are clear white and pink and red at the edges. According to the story, Joseph, the son of the patriarch Jacob, was very handsome. 13. *Ḳamâra* is a story pleasant to hear but fictitious. A *beiṭâr* is a blacksmith, who beside swinging the ham-

533 Ḫafâği — and named the boy Ḫafâği. Another woman was delivered during a heavy rain and she called her little son Maṭar, Rain. Kurdi's wife bore two girls although she greatly wished to have a boy. So she prayed to Allâh, and he granted her wish some time afterwards; she gave the baby boy the name of Raǧa', meaning "The Granting of Favor." The wife of 'Awde al-Kwêčbi had a very painful delivery, *te'assarat*, and therefore said: "Thou shalt be called 'Asîr, Born in Pain." Another woman, filled with wrath because her husband had just taken a second wife, named her son Muṛîẓ, Enraging. The wife of the slave Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd received a beating from her husband shortly before a son was born to her, and, still being angry with him, she called the boy in remembrance of his mother's ill-treatment, Za'al, Anger. When delivered of a girl a little later, she said: "Thy father's name is Donkey, Ḥmâr, so thou shalt be called Cow, Baḳara." There is no beast nor plant after which a child cannot be named.

561 551 Up to its seventh year the child is spoken of as *waṛad* (pl., *wuṛdân*), *wara'* (pl., *wuṛ'ân*), or *'aǧi* (pl., *'aǧjân*). After his seventh year a boy is called *'ejâl*. The name for a dead baby is *faraṭ* (pl., *afrâṭ*). For these a sacrifice, *temîma*, must 765 be brought at the next memorial festival in honor of the dead, *ẓaḥijje*.

CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES

852 The Rwala circumcise their sons between their third and seventh years, usually in the season of *aṣ-ṣejf* (thus in late April or May) on either Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday immediately before the fifteenth day of the lunar month or just after that day. Two days before the circumcision the girls from the whole camp come to the tent of the man whose son is to be circumcised, decorate the main tent pole with ostrich feathers, red kerchiefs, and ribbons, *ṛazzow al-mṣanna'*, and proclaim with joyful cries, *zaṛrût*, that a circumcision, *mṣanna'*, is being prepared for. After sunset the whole youth of both sexes of the camp assemble there, the young men forming a semicircle open towards the tent, where a mighty fire is burning. An adult girl with her face covered so that only her eyes are visible then posts herself between the fire and the youths. The *ḥâši*, as this girl is called, holds in her right hand a sharp saber. The youths begin to stamp, clap

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). 231
If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥağla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra ẓraba'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damûn*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra ḍrama'*.

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabsa'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet al-ḳhawa*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ša'la* (pl., *ši'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ṛurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *meğehmât*; for larger numbers, *meğâhîm* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to [552]
her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuğîhah*. For example: Ṭâfḥa, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', Ağla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awğa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêẓa, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḥejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabša, Ṭamša, 'Ejda, Ğerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc.

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of [422]
the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*.

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. 825
Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous 231
trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuẓuḥ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâtîr*. A herd of white 422
she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the 471
control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâtîr* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâtîr* 231
are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd 556
has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years. Then it is called *al-'eli*, it is talked of in the whole desert, and the bravery of the clan that owns it is praised by all,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Zerd: ulcers under the chin; cured by burning the nape of the neck. 232

Ḳâreṣ: a swelling of the belly; cured by smearing the shaved belly with a mixture of grape syrup, alum, and pepper.

Saḳwa: glanders; cured by inhaling the smoke of *šîḥ*.

Šûhâr, mšowhar: festering wounds on the back; cured by burning the root of the tail.

Ğerab: mange; cured by burning the diseased spot and rubbing in oil.

Lwêṛef: ulcers in the vagina; cured by smearing with sulphur and butter.

Ḥamrā': inflammation of the ankle. This arises generally when the exhausted mare has fed heavily and been watered immediately afterwards; it is cured by burning around the breast and by piercing the skin on the shaved ankle.

Ẓufr: cataract of the eye; cured by dropping a mixture of rust, soot, and milk into the eye as well as by burning around the eye.

Every mare is given a name expressing her real or imagined qualities or those which her master would like her to possess. A favorite mare of Prince an-Nûri was called Dîba, She Wolf; of his son Nawwâf, Sadḥa, Lioness; other mares of the prince were named: Farḥa, Joy; Frejḥa, Little Joy; Sa'da, Good Luck; Nowma, Sleepy; Falḥa, Bringing Good Luck; Ṛarra, White Fronted; Smejḥa, The Little Gentle; Šîḥa, Cautious; 'Awna, Helper; Mṛîẓa, Provoking; and 'Ejda, Snappy. It happens often that a youth names the young mare which he has received from his father after the girl he loves, to remind himself of his sweetheart every time he calls his mare. 552●

SONGS RELATING TO MARES

The Bedouin also thinks of his mare in his songs and poems 539*

Jâ ḫowḳ jâ bajjeẓ al-ṛarra
w-al-jowm wên ente jâ mâli
nahağt w-ažef ma' al-ğarra
w-lâ min ṣiddîžen w-lâ wâli.

O sweetheart! O thou with a white spot on thy forehead!
And today, where art thou, treasure of mine?
I followed thy footprints, every little while halting,
And yet I found neither the mistress true nor my dear mare.

539K

O thou little mare of mine! prance but slowly
And let not galloping enter thy mind;
For as long as Ḳuṭne's brother is warring
No stud horse shall cover thee.

Ḫobbî ḥabîb is an easy gait combined with playful prancing, as is the wont of young, spirited mares. If a mare walks in that manner, the rider can look all around and see danger much sooner than when she is at full gallop. *Ḫobbî ḥabîb* denotes the same as *emši ʿala kejfeč*, or *ʿala dûbeč*. (In this latter phrase *dûb* means "slowly," "carefully," "with difficulty." "*Farask radijje dârha dûbak maʿaha*" means: "Thy mare was brought up poorly, be careful with her." "*Al-ʿarab baʿîdîn dûbak tâṣalhom hal-lejle*, the Arabs camp far from here, thou wilt hardly reach them tonight." "Didst thou understand what they were saying to each other?" "By God! no; only the sound of men talking was heard; *lâ w-allâh dûb ar-reğâl jatharrağûn.*") *Harf* means a gallop. Ḳuṭne's brother is Turki, chief of the Fedʿân, who use the war cry: "I am the brother of Ḳuṭne! *ana-ḫu ḳuṭne*," because they call by the name Ḳuṭne all their camels, especially white ones, just as the Rwala call their camels ʿAlja. Turki was constantly making raids on the Rwala, who for their part were always ready to retaliate. Therefore the rider will not let his mare be covered by a stallion, because a mare big with young is good neither for a vigorous defense nor for a furious attack.

[552]

Al-asmar alli ḳâḍâha
w-al-bîʿ mâ jaṭri ʿalejh
jâ mâ ḥala ğowz ar-redâni
wa-mğarrez jazhi ʿalejh.

Dark skinned is he who led her,
And to sell her will not occur to him.
Oh, how sweet to carry two pistols
And a spear, too, rising above the rider.

From a raid undertaken in summer the participants are now returning after a long absence. One of them, burned dark by the sun, leads a captured mare, which he refuses to sell. A youth observing him comforts himself with the idea that he too will succeed in capturing something in the next raid. The words *ğowz ar-redâni*, a pair of pistols, prove this song

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VIII

CHILDREN

BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN

A woman who has had sexual intercourse with a man is called a *waḥama* during the thirty days while it is as yet unknown whether she has conceived or not. If she has conceived she is called *nâzel* or *ḥâmel*. For her delivery a Rwala woman never sends for a midwife. Kurdi's wife, for example, bore a child while sitting in a *žetab* litter on the march and never ceased to guide her camel. She cut the navel cord herself, wrapped the child in her dress, dismounted in the new camping ground, and carried the baby boy, *'ajjel*, to her tent.

A woman who has miscarried, *ramat*, and the fruit of whose womb has perished, *rma'*, is an object of fear.

A woman after confinement, *nefesa*, lives just as before the delivery, with no change in her diet.

When a son is born, the father is congratulated by his nearest relatives but expresses no particular joy; neither does he send out invitations to a meat supper. No animal is sacrificed or slaughtered at the birth of a boy or girl.

For seven days after its birth the child is bathed in camel's urine and rubbed with salt. On either the tenth, twentieth, or fortieth day wheat is gathered by the female relatives of the confined woman, shredded, and then a dinner prepared from it in her tent, to which all the women from the camp are invited. This festivity is known as the examination of the child, *ṭlâ'at al-'ajjel*. The mother goes with the child on a visit to all her relatives, a custom called *taṭli'a*. Everybody presents the baby with something, often either a young camel or a colt, the gifts remaining its property.

Its name the child receives from its mother alone, this being one of her privileges. Sometimes she selects a name without thinking long about it; at other times, again, she may be directed by various influences. Thus, for instance, Prince an-Nûri's wife gave birth to a boy when camping near the castle of Âl Aḥejṛer — or, as it is called by the Rwala, al-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731[x] 221[x] were rolling up the tenting and covering the remains of the fire with sand. Milk-white camels were brought up for the women and girls of the *Sheykh's* household and made to kneel, so that they could mount to the travelling-litters on their backs.

854 492 In litters and saddlebags were carried the young of all species. From the lofty "riding-tent" of a *sheykh* looked out a smiling woman with a child at her breast. A camel calf, too unsteady as yet to travel on its feet, hung in a hamper suspended from its mother's hump; on her other side the wistful faces of two little girls peeped from the saddlebag. A troop of baby camels a few days old crowded up curiously and their mothers came and nuzzled them and tried to push them away.

Carried on camels in special saddle-frames, or hanging limply in the arms of their riders, were young foals, exhausted and starved, because the mother mares had been dry for days. Only the dogs were fat. They could glut themselves on the droves of fallen animals.

781[x] 221[x] The multitude of the assembled tribe, with its chattels and herds, had swelled to gigantic proportions. Nothing like it had happened for generations. The whole nation was in movement. This was not one of the ordinary migrations that take place in the spring or autumn; rather was it one of the historic tribal exoduses that occur once in a generation—or century.

In their hundreds of thousands, grunting camels swarmed over the face of the wilderness. Their long necks rose and fell rhythmically. They undulated and flowed on as if they were carried forward by some invisible movement of the ground. Like locusts, they

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 of the hunting trophies; and several injured greyhounds into the bargain.

825 554 Noticing on Amir Fuaz's *abs* droppings of his falcon, I attempted to brush it off, but the young Prince stopped me and said proudly: "No—no, Aziz! The excrement of the noble falcons stamps us with the hallmark of noble birth."

224 181 His words explained better than any conception of mine the true inwardness of these hunts; they are considered noble and honourable. The nobility of the desert (its "large-eyedness" as the Bedouins call it) must be experienced and tested; but noble and large-eyed as the Bedouins are, so are also their horses, camels, greyhounds, and falcons, and no less the Bedouin's prey—gazelles, antelopes, and ostriches.

But the ignoble man or beast the wandering Arab despises. He holds them beyond the pale, beyond the law of the desert . . .

". . . die that they might have new life;
For only what is weakling dies,
That what is strong may live."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, he calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *ehefrû lan-nâr.*" With the more important chiefs the fireplace is always dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of the coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular hole about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form of which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certainty to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implement called *fâz*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and at the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long wooden helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and at the other a pick, is called *kaddûm* or *tubal*. The ordinary Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front edge of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to the carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is about the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is dug out is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the fireplace, *hufrat an-nâr*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it are shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this heap, known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the tent, for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in the men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests may warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of fuel, consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *hatab*, and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry wood of the *rata'* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, throws out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for several hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry *ših* which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if gunpowder had been scattered on it, but it does not form embers and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by the female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficient supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, or the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and vessels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets on which to sleep are placed in the corner against the dividing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, salt, sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummen* (a kind of rice), are stored up against the back wall.

291 554 Some say: "The clothes are the wings of the descendants of Adam, *al-hdûm ğenâḥ beni âdam*," as people always consider a well-dressed man something better than he really is. Others again claim that the clothes do not add to a man's good qualities. "A good man will be good even if on rising from bed (he has nothing on but his shirt), while a scamp will be a scamp even if he scrubs himself with soap; *az-zên zên low ḳa'ad min manâmeh aš-šên šên low taṛassal beṣ-ṣâbûn.*"

291 832 A maiden suing for a youth's favor is careful of her appearance and dresses to the best of her ability, but as soon as she knows herself to be loved she cares no more for dressing finely and thinks only of her lover's qualities. A popular ditty says:

W-allâh jâ ğerd larmîk w-albes ğedîd
ajj al-ğedîd w-ajj al-ğerdi
ilja šuft az-zên 'aḳli jerdi
eḳrûn aš-šowḳ rumḥ as-serdi.

By Allâh, I shall cast thee aside, old dress, and put on a new one.
But which is the new and which the old?
If I see a noble youth, my judgment is gone,
For has not my beloved plaits as long as a spear carried by the Serdijje?

291 At home in his tent the man can leave off his cloak, *'aba'*, or his sheepskin coat, *farwa*, or he can go, as the saying is, in a dress below his belt, *behdûm al-maḥzam*; outside, however, he must not appear in that condition, for that would be an offence against common decency. If a traveler arrives without his mantle or sheepskin coat, he makes it known either that he has been robbed or has lost those articles. In dangerous districts a Rwejli will only loosen his belt in the evening and will go to bed fully dressed. Elsewhere he sleeps either in his shirt or even naked, merely wrapped in his mantle. If suddenly awakened by noise at night, he jumps out of his bed, snatches up his arms, and pressing the cloak to the body with his left hand, rushes out to see what has happened.

854 The hips of a baby are plastered with dry camel's manure, *dimne*; the baby is then wrapped in a long shawl tied with a thin string and fastened by two ropes of camel's hair to the two main tent stakes, and the cradle, *mhâd*, is ready.

2:Musil S-4 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ẓâfi ar-rdân ṣallejt.*"

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor her daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭijje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭijje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḳuṣara*, or protected neighbors.

619 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem, 554 al-Fhejğât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called 582 Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization, 565 they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins, and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes, they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫwân*, they pay *ḫwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors, *ḳuṣara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje*, free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith, 326 *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣunnâ'*, that they are no *aṣîlîn* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves. 582 326

Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *ahl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin. 582 567

Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the 'Aneze group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks: 619 554 582 565

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-'Amm

The children of parents descended from the respectable old 'Aneze families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-'amm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-'amm* occasionally claims the girl, *jeḥağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *'okdha w-ḥallha bjad eben 'ammiha* (sic!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha ḥafseh*, is the *eben al-'amm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-'amm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation. 582

If the *eben al-'amm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-'amm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥağğir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee 582 584

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852 o Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their
539 bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ğebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
ʿalejh min aḏ-ḏahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṭowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ğemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâʿ
ğaʿal min tabṛoẓeh tenlâʿ
jamût wlêdaha-r-rẓâʿ.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šabaʿ al-maṭlâʿ means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâʿ* means a woman who grows extremely [842 thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to 554] the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's [586 happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to 754] the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mohra židat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḳawwâdha ḥâled She was led by Ḥâled,
lâ jâ baʿad ʿêni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mohra means in this case the young wife of Ḥâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḥorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf

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territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-ʿezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin owning them. *Ǧâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enǧâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
ʿaṭni faẓa bâli
fowḳ awẓaḥen ʿâli
maʿ waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ǧowzen ʿala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faẓa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben humejlaʿ
râʿîḥ mâ jûmi ʿaṣâḥ
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereh jâ min laḳâḥ
erʿeh maʿ ḏwejden ʿazîb
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-felaʿ
waʾ lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḏ-ḏîb ǧellâni ʿawâḥ.

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The poet, Ṣaḳḳâr, a native of the settlement of al-Kubejsa, was a peddler among the branch of the Šammar tribe camping between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris. The chief Fâres of the reigning family Âl Ǧarba' was his protector. The name of the chief's father was Ṣfûḳ, his mother's name 'Amša. Both father and son hated the Turkish strangers intensely on account of the wrongs they had to suffer from the governor at Mosul. In the poem cited above Ṣaḳḳâr praises himself and extols Fâres. The narrators were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 3. *Howza,* instead of *hezz,* shake or nod. The hoofs of some she-camels are covered with too fine a skin. When such an animal walks for any length of time on rocky roads, especially in volcanic regions strewn with sharp pieces of lava, the hoof skin becomes covered with callous spots or scars so that blood flows at every step. In speaking of a camel in this condition the Rwala use the verb *ḥafat,* meaning "she has become calloused or scarred, she walks barefoot." To save his animal from loss of blood, the rider cuts out from a tough camel hide pieces of the size of the hoof, and stitches them, *jirḳa'*, under the scarred hoof. The she-camel tries to rid herself of the uncomfortable sole by rubbing it against rocks and often cuts the stitches, which must be repaired at once, causing the rider much fatigue and delay (see my *The Northern Ḥeǧâz,* New York, 1926, pp. 194-196). 4. Al-Heri and aṣ-Ṣwâb are valleys heading in the northeastern part of the desert of al-Ḥamâd. 5. *'Ûd al-leǧâwi* is a stick made from an almond shoot. 7. Ṣalfîẓ is a son of Fâres. *'Awḳ ar-rudûm* is a poetical term. *Rudûm* here signifies she-camels so fat that they can hardly move. 9. Fâres lived in perpetual discord with the Turkish Government, refusing to recognize its claims, crushing them as would a millwheel. 11. Ḏijâb eben Ṛânem was famous for his bravery, *farse,* generosity, *karam,* and judgment, *'aḳel.* These three qualities gained for him the title *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa,* meaning "famous for his great sagacity," or, possibly, "gentleman." 12. A rider in the desert at night cannot guide himself by stars which change their place. The pole star, being almost stationary, is the traveler's safest guide. 14. *Ṣwâže'* are meteors which crush everything upon which they fall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x The poet was a negro accompanying a trade caravan from Irak to Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd; the reciter, ʿAbdallâh al-Maṭrûd.

Verse 1. *Mezhebe* or *mezwede* are bags in which food needed on the journey is carried by the camels. 2. *Šejb al-ṛawâreb* are camels with gray or white hair. From continuous sweating the hair covered by the cushion on which the rider rests his feet becomes white. *Ḥaḳab* is the breast girth, a rope of camel's hair which secures the saddle. When a long fatiguing journey causes the camel to lose its hump, the saddle shifts to and fro and the breast girth with it. 3. In the settlements the host sits on a rug and leans against a cushion. 4. *ʿArḳûb* is a slope, or a steep, rocky hillside. On roads leading across such slopes the merchants keep a sharp lookout for robbers who frequent such places. The camels often stumble, the loads on their backs lose their balance, and while the guides are picking up the fallen parcels, putting them back, and pushing the animals into the road again, robbers often take advantage of the disorder to make a successful attack on the caravan. Muḥammad eben Rašîd cleared the slopes from this pest, thus continuing the work begun by his father, ʿAbdallâh, founder of the power wielded by the Eben Rašîd house. 5. The kin of Eben Rašîd hails from the Ẓijârme clan. 7. Gathering fuel on the plains and in the mountains for the camp or town of Eben Rašîd is a task left to the serfs, members of the despised clans. 8. *Ješabbeb*, he examines thoroughly, is used of a gazelle standing on some high point and keeping guard over the grazing flock. On sighting a suspicious object it looks at it with the same attention as the women look at Eben Rašîd and the members of his family. [554 582] *Mištebeh* is a man who claims to be highborn and who is considered as such by many people, while in reality there is a blot of some kind on his descent. No honest Bedouin, even the poorest, would give him his daughter for a wife. He seeks a grandee of doubtful origin like himself and marries his daughter. 9. To the daughters of the house of Eben Rašîd nothing is too costly. They can pick out at the merchant's the best and most expensive dress goods. They never suffer from hunger or thirst, and to obtain a drink of milk need not wait longingly till the herdsmen drive in the camels for watering from a distant pasture. *ʿAzîb* is a pasture from which the camels are not driven home every evening. This

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

since it is universally known that the enemy always tries first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'arf w-nowmâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *maṛâṭîr* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *hešle* (pl., *hšel*); a larger one, *ra'ijje* (pl., *ra'âja*) or *ḳaṭî'a* (pl., *ḳaṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zowd*. A little herd owned by a small family is called *ḏwejd*.

Each herd has its own herdsman, *râ'i al-bel*, who is hired for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meǧîdijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely six *meǧîdijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either a *maḥlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥeżż*. It is also his duty to help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeẓaḥḥîhen*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *maḏrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ada*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeǧḏeb lehen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'ada*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jefalli*) *bel-ba'rîn jamm al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṭ-ṭarš as-sâreḥ*, usually form a single line,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

rousing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are to be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but slowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No wonder, then, that the waterers pray Allâh to help them do their task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, *'edâd*, with water.

Jâ rzajjelen bumm iḍen Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iḍen!
jetli maṭabb al-mîzen. She goes there where rain fell from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge their direction and where their sluices may open. They even send a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a favorable report (i.e. that the rain has been abundant) they move to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle, a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iḍen, had come there after having followed the rain cloud which had filled the pool.

Jâ mizen ar-ra'âdi O thou cloud rumbling with thunder!
emṭer 'ala-l-ḥamâdi. On al-Ḥamâd let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamâd is the western half of north Arabian desert between Palmyra and the Nefûd.

Al-bîr tabṛi ḥâder Into the well should descend
eben ḥalâ!en žâder. A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalâl* is a man against whose father there is no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain. The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring; therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and origin are clean and pure.

Welli 'aǧûzen šiba Run from the gray-haired woman!
allâh jiḳṭa' naṣîbah May Allâh cut her fate, for
ted'i 'ala naṣibah. She curses her son-in-law.

Allâh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death. *Ted'i 'ala*, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good and bad sense. *Naṣîb* is the name that a mother gives not only to the man who has married her daughter but also to a man who as yet only calls on the daughter.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

574 Should the traveler still hesitate, someone will say: *"Ğîra* on thee! Thou art a *mağğûr*. Thou must come to me. Thou shalt not violate my *ğîra*, thou shalt not make a perjurer of me, *lâ teḳṭa' ğîrati."* To adjure anybody by the word *ğîra* is a proof of the greatest earnestness and determination. A *mağğûr* is one so adjured. To persist in refusal after this word has been used would be a direct insult to the person giving the invitation.

A traveler well supplied with food and wishing a night's rest usually declares that he does not desire to be a guest, but merely a neighbor and encamps by the side of one of the last tents. The owner of that tent then becomes both neighbor and protector of the traveler, helping him to unload, bringing him fuel and curdled milk, supping and sleeping with him, and in the morning helping him to load again.

However, when the stranger desires hospitality, he will turn to the side of the tent he has chosen and stop at the men's compartment. Nobody will leave the tent, for everybody inside is watching the arrival through the gaps between the tent walls. Common decency requires that the stranger should have time to put his dress in order and to exchange a few words with his companions and guide. He also keeps his arms with him. At last a slave or servant comes out of the tent, seizes the newcomer's baggage, fetters his camel's left foreleg, and loosens her girth. It is not considered correct for the guest to enter the tent at once; he should stay a while with his animal, so that the slaves or servants can make room for him. The women pick out the best rugs, quilted bedcovers, and pillows and hand them to the slaves, who in the meantime have swept out the men's compartment and arranged a seat for the guest.

● [554] A prominent guest will be met before the tent by the host accompanied by all his sons and by all present at that particular time. The host and the guest will then lay their hands on each other's shoulders and kiss each other on both cheeks, *jetaḥâbebûn*. Nobody remains seated, *jeḳûmûn bwağheh*. If it is said of a man that everybody will rise when he comes, *kill al-ğelîse teḳûm bwağheh*, it means that he is a man universally esteemed. The guest greets all those present with the words: *"As-salâm 'alejkom,"* to which they return: *"W-'alejkom as-salâm."*

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says: 574 576 [554]

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ aḳwa' 'alejhom enhaǧ ila' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ǧami'.*"

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḥejl tehmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓa'îf jelûḍ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓa'îf w-ben-nâs ḳawi.*" [577]

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So." [682] [628]

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwejli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this. 574

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

132 the while. The *saḥâba* is always followed by rain. 8. *Nisrijje*
516 is a dry, icy wind of high velocity, a gale. When caught in it, the rider places his right hand in his left and his left hand in his right sleeve, pressing them to his breast to keep his cloak from being opened by the wind and urging his animal on with heels only. 9. He sits in the same posture when a heavy rain, accompanied by a piercing wind, beats against his face. *Nisnâs* is a light, moist wind which cuts the face and penetrates the clothes to the bones. 10. *Mutîn al-ʿalâbi* is one who, disliking to bend his neck or to salute, is full of conceit. *Aṭ-ṭine* or *bejt aṭ-ṭine* is a hut built of large unbaked bricks. 11. *Šahâlîl* are the single date-covered twigs of the date bunch, called *ǧenw*. The settlement of Ǧubba lies
231 north-northwest of Ḳnaʾ in the Nefûd. 12. The host paints on
● 554 both sides of the necks of the she-camels belonging to his guests a thick line with the blood of the animal which he has killed for them. Men seeing these marks ask the host's name, and thus his praise extends to all parts. The head of
262 an animal is never set before the guests but given to the poor.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

is surest of capturing a camel when he crosses his legs on its neck and guides it by a slight kick of his foot. But if the enemy succeeded even in that, the Rwala would throw themselves on them like a flooded creek or torrent, and would overcome and capture them. *Naff* is a torrent which carries away everything in its way. *'Aḍa'* means both dry or live bushes, grass, excrements, dirt, coarse sand, etc., all of which, lying generally between the banks or in reach of the torrent, are carried away by it. *Meğneb* is the slope shutting in the valley through which a creek runs. 539x

La'ujûn šikḥen rawwaḥat
tasma' baha dann al-ğaras
en mâ rumejt (sic) *'abd al-kerîm*
jaḥram 'alej rkûb al-faras.

For the eyes of the white [camels] of reddish hue who
have just reached the place of their night's rest
And from whom thou hearest a slight tinkling of bells,
If I do not throw down 'Abdalkerîm,
May I not be allowed to ride a mare.

'Abdalkerîm âl Ğarba', the war leader of the Šammar camping in Mesopotamia, frequently attacked the herds of the Rwala when they were encamped with the 'Amârât on the middle Euphrates. A bell is hung on the neck of only a valuable she-camel which is inclined to wander afar.

Jâ lâbeti ḥoṭṭû ṛalab
w-ar-rîš mardûmen 'alejh
jâ ḥejf jâ ḥaṭw al-walad
jinir w-mašrûhen 'alejh.

O comrades mine, [on your spears] tie ash-gray ostrich
But cover them with the black feathers. [feathers,
Oh, shame! Many a youth
Flees and yet all relied on him.

Rîš means the black, *ṛalab* the ash-gray feathers of a female ostrich. When a youth has distinguished himself in repelling an attack, the chief orders his comrades to fasten to the spear where the blade is set into the shaft ash-gray feathers of a female ostrich and to post it before his tent. When people ask in whose honor the spear is placed there, 703 554

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

703 554 they are informed of the youth's heroism. If during an attack an otherwise worthy youth does not stand his ground, the gray feathers are covered by black ones as a sign that for the first time he has not behaved in a manner befitting his honor. *Ḥaṭw* means "many a one." *ʿAlejh šarha*: he was depended on; *kunt mašrûhen ʿalejh*: I depended on him. 539x

Aṭʿan laʿajni ṣâḥebi
w-aṭni laʿajni ʿandeli
ḳalbi ṛada beh ṣâḥebi
minni ʿaṭijjat ǧandali.

To aid my sweetheart I wish to stab,
And I will stab also to help my thoroughbred mare;
Of my heart my beloved took possession.
She received it from me like a Ǧandal's gift which is never returned.

ʿAndelijje is a thoroughbred white mare; in poetical language this expression is used instead of *aṣile*. *Ṛada beh* and *aḫaḏeh*, he took him, have the same meaning. Anything a father has given may be demanded back by the son. However, if any member of the Eben Ǧandal kin makes a gift, nobody, as will be explained below, may ask for its return. Therefore, he who wishes to make his gift secure, gives it first to a member of the Eben Ǧandal kin, who then hands it to the person for whom it was intended. [431]

Aṭʿan laʿajni bint eben ḳublân
oḫt alladi zabn aṭ-ṭarîḥ
al-ʿajn ʿajn mušaddar al-ṛuzlân
ʿašižaha mâ jesterîḥ.

I will stab to help Eben Ḳublân's daughter,
The sister of the defender of one from his saddle thrown.
Her eye keeps a sharp lookout like a frightened gazelle;
Her lover will, faith! not have much rest.

Eben Ḳublân is the name of a kin of the al-Ḥsene division, Weld ʿAli tribe. One who assists a comrade thrown from the saddle acts honorably, as by doing so he abandons any booty he might capture and also exposes himself to the danger of being attacked while lifting the fallen man from the ground and placing him on his own horse. The gazelles live [577]

the *munâbi* is to appear. They come to the seer on Thursday night, accompany him on his visits to the sick and on raids, and join him whenever he commands them. One part of their duty is to carry little drums and other musical instruments, *dfûf w-šiš* or *dirbâš*. If the sorcerer wants to call the spokesman-angel to him, he beckons to the disciples to play, while he himself squats with his head bent down. After a while he begins to move, stands up, stretches out his hands, jumps about, contorts his body, and puts his hands, feet, and even his head close to the fire, clapping his hands. The Bedouins say of this that he is just playing, *jel'ab*, but his disciples call it yielding to the influence of the *islâm*, ecstasy. When his enthusiasm reaches its climax, either Allâh's spokesman or some of the seer's ancestors appear on the scene. After the climax has subsided, the seer, greatly exhausted, complains that he can do nothing. The Bedouins, however, who cannot be made to believe that this ecstasy is a mere preparation for the angel's appearance, deride the sorcerer, imitate his gestures, and call him one possessed and a juggler. Especially those of the new sorcerers whose ancestors were not known as seers are the target of their ridicule when trying to establish themselves. In this the Rwala are assisted by the acknowledged seers themselves, even by the new seer's temporary master. The new sorcerer is called *marḍi*, a fool; *masdûf*, bereft of reason; *ḫabel*, feeble-minded; *wâše'eh kejfarân*, full of unbelief; *maṣfûḫ*, drunk; *ma'rûẓ*, one possessed, etc. Should he declare something as the will of Allâh, all will laugh at him, for he could not learn anything from his ancestors who were not seers themselves, and the speaking angel does not know him. Yet even if, after all, he achieves something extraordinary, they say he was helped by some spirit, *ǧânn*, and with such the sorcerers never associate. However, by perseverance, patience, and courage a sorcerer-to-be in a few years will gain recognition not only from the Bedouins but from the hereditary sorcerers as well. The advance of such a sorcerer's son in his father's calling is, as a matter of course, much easier and speedier.

In defense of their honor the seers sometimes resort to curses. They are unable by their own strength to ruin the scoffers, but their ancestors and the spokesman-angel with whom they communicate will ask Allâh to punish those who dare to persecute them. These will die prematurely, their sons

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi neḥanšel* or *ne'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *aimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl aẓ-ẓulma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanšel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd ṛazzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *ẖḏû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥaǧla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra ẓraba'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damûn*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra ḍrama'*.

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabsa'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet al-ḳhawa*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ša'la* (pl., *ši'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ẓurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *meǧehmât*; for larger numbers, *meǧâhim* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuǧihah*. For example: Ṭâfha, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', 'Aǧla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awǧa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêẓa, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḥejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabša, Ṭamša, 'Ejda, Ǧerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc.

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*.

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuṛuḥ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâṭir*. A herd of white she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâṭir* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâṭir* are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years. Then it is called *al-'eli*, it is talked of in the whole desert, and the bravery of the clan that owns it is praised by all,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

since it is universally known that the enemy always tries first to capture the pure white animals. The reputation and glory, *'arf w-nowmâs*, of a clan depends chiefly on its white herd, for which reason the *marâtir* herdsmen are selected from the most prudent and brave youths, and at a time of particular danger this herd is usually driven to a safe hiding place. Furthermore, a pure white animal is killed only when too old or wounded. Its hair is carefully gathered by the women and girls for weaving the finest bags carried on the camel saddles.

PASTURING OF CAMELS

The camels pasture in either small or large herds. A herd up to ten heads is called *hešle* (pl., *hšel*); a larger one, *ra'ijje* (pl., *ra'âja*) or *ḳaṭī'a* (pl., *ḳaṭ'ân*); if a herd numbers seventy to eighty animals it is known as *zowd*. A little herd owned by a small familly is called *ḏwejd*.

Each herd has its own herdsman, *râ'i al-bel*, who is hired for ten months and, according to the size of the herd, is paid either two *meǧidijjât*, a suit of clothing, and shoes, or merely six *meǧidijjât*, besides receiving one young male camel, either a *maḫlûl*, a *mafrûd*, or even a *ḥežž*. It is also his duty to help with the loading and unloading and to bring all the water needed. The herdsman addresses his employer as his host, *mu'azzeb*. Many herdsmen enjoy great esteem, and the hosts undertake nothing without asking their advice.

In the morning the herdsman gets a warm breakfast — usually warmed-over remains from the supper. While he is eating, the herd grazing near by is watched by the host himself, or by his son or daughter, *jeṣaḥḥihen*. Having breakfasted, the herdsman sticks a piece of bread or a handful of boiled wheat into his clothing, throws a pouch filled with water over his shoulder, takes a heavy staff, *maḏrûb*, mounts the leading she-camel, *ḳa'ada*, and begins to praise the pasture in short sentences, which he intones in a drawling manner, *jeḏḏeb lehen*. On hearing his voice, the animals cease grazing and follow his lead. His she-camel, the *ḳa'eda*, keeps always in the rear. Having thus all the animals of his herd before him, the herdsman drives them to the pasture, *jesraḥ* (or *jefalli*) *bel-ba'rin jamm al-mafla'*. The animals of a herd going to the pasture, *aṯ-ṯarî ca-sâreḥ*, usually form a single line,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XII

HORSES

The Bedouins assert that no horses were created by Allâh in Arabia. According to their tradition they brought their first horses from the land of the settlers whom they raided. In the inner desert the horses have no place and would perish, did not the Bedouins look after them better than they look after their own children. A runaway horse cannot live long in the desert, while a camel will persist even without a man. Horses are of no economic value but serve merely as weapons for the getting of booty and influence. For this reason they are called *al-murnijât*, the enriching. It is said that the mares' bellies contain treasures and their backs help to win power, *al-ḫejl buṭûnahen kanz wa-ẓhûrahen 'azz*; for they give their owner colts which can be turned into money at any time, and it is much easier to make or repel an attack on horseback than when mounted on camels. The more horses a tribe has, the more feared it is by its neighbors and the greater its power. But successes gained on horseback are not lasting. The defeated neighbors unite for revenge, and soon both the riders and horses are annihilated. Hence the saying: "The horse reins are snakes, and death dwells on their backs; *al-ḫejl ersânahen ḥajêja wa-ẓhûrahen manâja*."

HORSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

The Rwala classify horses[10] as common ones, *kdiš* (pl., *kudš*), and thoroughbreds, *aṣîl* (pl., *aṣâjel*). The common horses are not kept in the desert. Of the thoroughbreds they raise for the

[10] The different parts of the horse (Fig. 40) are called:

1. *'urudna*	12. *ḫaḍrat al-'aja*	24. *sebîb*
2. *minjar*	13. *ijen*	25. *faḫaḍ*
3. *ḫarṭom*	14. *garṣûr al-ijen*	26. *jafur*
4. *'alma*	15. *fâ'ha*	27. *'arjûb*
5. *mdekkam*	16. *mu'ôraf*	28. *krâ'*
6. *ḥamal*	17. *rujuba*	29. *dejâl, mbiker; ḫâṭir, tents*
7. *warîde*	18. *ḥdirat*	30. *surra, sirr*
8. *ḍahba*: in the middle, *al'ad*	19. *ebkhar*	31. *ḥajra*
9. *ḫuppa*	20. *gahr*	32. *ḍamb*
10. *mukâwar' al-'aja*	21. *mgaṣṣamaj*	33. *kâkula*
11. *'aja*	22. *ḍajja'*	34. *kâ'*
	23. *'ôrat aṣ-ṣâk*	35. *mubîjen*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
593 speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move, the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture, and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors, *salaf*, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
574 says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not at home, *tarâkom jâ ẓujûf râʿi-l-bejt mâ hw ḥâẓer*." Then she brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready, if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests, she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent it, *en ṭalležha ʿala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon afterwards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
586 557 622 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents.

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them: *ar-râ'j w-al-mara la tenâkerhom elja tabri tenâkerhom dasserhom.*" When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *korṭeri tarâč ṭâlež w-ar-raǧǧâl 'âlež.*" Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥazra' mazji 'alejč ǧalâleč.*" This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin, *elja wasalti bejt halec ṭalâžeč jeǧič jâxelč ila bejt halce.*" for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin.

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež bet-ṭalâṭ al-ḥawârem.*" The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥağğer taḥğir*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *rejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh.*" Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja rejr*) *flân.*" When a man

[Poems Relating To Guests and Hospitality]

539x
574

1. *Tara-l-ḥawi w-aẓ-ẓejf w-aṭ-ṭâleṭ al-ğâr*
   miṯl aṣ-ṣala' mâ bên farẓen w-sunna
2. *'ajben 'alejna ẓejfena talḥaḳeh an-nâr*
   wa-jmânana lesjûfen janhaẓenna
3. *elja 'aṭejna-ẓ-ẓejf mâ ẓall beha kâr*
   naḳ'od 'an zên al-mebâni b'enna.

1. Behold, a companion on the road, a guest, and thirdly a neighbor
   Like a prayer are protected by Allâh's law and tradition.
2. Ours the shame if a shot should hit our guest
   As long as our right arms can lift our swords.
3. If we yield our guest, no work is left in our land for us,
   We shall then sit behind a heap of branches instead of in a fine tent.

The poet is unknown. Judging from the first verse, where theological rules and traditions are mentioned, he was either a settler or semi-*fellâḥ*. The reciters were Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

● [558] Verse 3. He who yields his guest to the enemy loses his honor and must as an outcast leave both his tent and his kin. No tribe will adopt him. If he will not leave the desert for the settled territory he must wander about as a hunter or robber. Lacking a tent he must shelter himself in bad weather behind tree branches heaped up in a semicircle. There he lights a fire by which he sleeps. A camp made in this manner is called *'enna*.

1. *Low ẓâḳ ṣadri ḳilt ḥoṭṭû ğeḏâmîr*
   w-awžed nâri miṯl nâr al-ḥarâbe
2. *ṯumm aḥtaref w-ağîb 'owğ al-menâžîr*
   w-aḥoṭṭhen 'ala ğamren 'aḳâb eltihâbeh
3. *edlâl tarka 'ala ḥâmi al-ćir*
   tiḏlež ćema silk al-ḥarîr en ṣabâ beh
4. *elja ğann ma' al-ḥall aš-šemâli da'âṭîr*
   malzûm bel-jimna nḥanni ar-reḳâbe
5. *w-en ṣâna'at naḥoṭṭ čabšen ma' al-mîr*
   w-en 'âzabat jesidd ḳowlen halâ beh.

1. When in my breast I feel a burden I say: "Throw on logs
   And light a fire big as a war beacon." [of wood
2. Then I go out to fetch pots
   And place them on red-hot coals.

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ves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. 501
thing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared 628
the women in another tent, where they also live. Among
e 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put
, one for men, the other for women. *Bmdâḥel* is pronounced
ndâhel. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḥ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ'
en Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aš-*
îd, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn
rough others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior [721]
ataḫi, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his com-
des to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man
ḫa', when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, [577
lling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered 558] ●
an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or
e lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his
latives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa [609]
the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet asso-
ates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow
besmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as
uld his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben
eğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10.
ḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri
en Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*,
stead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle,
contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13.
aš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin
aḫla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ğaḫla eben bakr*, I am
e brother of Ğaḫla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common
are, *kdîše*. 14. *Flân meḏhaḇeh* (pl., *meḏâheb) ẓajjeẓ*, or *ṣid-* [828]
ḥ ẓajjeẓ, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended,
ho remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the
ger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two 605
nerations from their common ancestor, their great-grand- 614]
ther, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to
ford one another mutual protection.

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aid him in obtaining his rights, *jimašši-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehîra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi ṛâje sowdaʾ flân eben flân daḫalt ʿalejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizḳi bwağheh mâ ʿaššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *rabʿi jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭaʿ wağhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *jeʾarzûn ʿendeh w-jentaḥûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

533 Ḥafâği — and named the boy Ḥafâği. Another woman was delivered during a heavy rain and she called her little son Maṭar, Rain. Kurdi's wife bore two girls although she greatly wished to have a boy. So she prayed to Allâh, and he granted her wish some time afterwards; she gave the baby boy the name of Raǧa', meaning "The Granting of Favor." The wife of 'Awde al-Kwêčbi had a very painful delivery, *te'assarat*, and therefore said: "Thou shalt be called 'Asîr, Born in Pain." Another woman, filled with wrath because her husband had just taken a second wife, named her son Muṛîẓ, Enraging. The wife of the slave Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd received a beating from her husband shortly before a son was born to her, and, still being angry with him, she called the boy in remembrance of his mother's ill-treatment, Za'al, Anger. When delivered of a girl a little later, she said: "Thy father's name is Donkey, Ḥmâr, so thou shalt be called Cow, Baḳara." There is no beast nor plant after which a child cannot be named.

561 551 Up to its seventh year the child is spoken of as *waṛad* (pl., *wuṛdân*), *wara'* (pl., *wur'ân*), or *'aǧi* (pl., *'aǧjân*). After his seventh year a boy is called *'ejâl*. The name for a dead baby is *faraṭ* (pl., *afrâṭ*). For these a sacrifice, *temîma*, must 765 be brought at the next memorial festival in honor of the dead, *ẓaḥijje*.

CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES

852 The Rwala circumcise their sons between their third and seventh years, usually in the season of *aṣ-ṣejf* (thus in late April or May) on either Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday immediately before the fifteenth day of the lunar month or just after that day. Two days before the circumcision the girls from the whole camp come to the tent of the man whose son is to be circumcised, decorate the main tent pole with ostrich feathers, red kerchiefs, and ribbons, *ṛazzow al-mṣanna'*, and proclaim with joyful cries, *zaṛrût*, that a circumcision, *mṣanna'*, is being prepared for. After sunset the whole youth of both sexes of the camp assemble there, the young men forming a semicircle open towards the tent, where a mighty fire is burning. An adult girl with her face covered so that only her eyes are visible then posts herself between the fire and the youths. The *ḥâši*, as this girl is called, holds in her right hand a sharp saber. The youths begin to stamp, clap

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has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk eršed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-l-ḥejz*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt al-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehušš lal-faras*, etc.

562 462

The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *raṣa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

562 462 593

562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move,
593 the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near
his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with
the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture,
and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the
rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to
the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors,
salaf, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On
arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for
his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against
the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch
the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all
this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make
his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with
the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not
574 at home, *tarâkom jâ ẓujûf râ'i-l-bejt mâ hw ḥâẓer*." Then she
brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel
and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee
beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the
women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready,
if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she
calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be
the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to
carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests,
she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and
amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent
it, *en ṭalležha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can
do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him
on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason
himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce
her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
622

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become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Mišref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭla' min šowr abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḥâlef šowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥeğra*, and would not allow Mišref to come near her. After becoming Mišref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Mišref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *za'lâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *(fûti-la-l-beji)*." The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

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586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she has stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâğe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *leha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meğîdijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân ḥawjânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *bejje*. If his wife's lover

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"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *ḥenna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛûn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsane*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [677]

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zarârit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rkaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

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SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

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The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmiha berḳubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-šarrha laḥalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿid ʿan al-ḥejr žerib ʿan al-meẓarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

683 843 628

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 628 562

The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she 682
becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death 628
sikṯha wa-ṯarajṯha ẖra. However, her kinsfolk investigate the 562
reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think
the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible 682
to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise 593
against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The
same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills 682
a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp
at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, 672
gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏir* 628
or *haddám*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zelema žabl al-waḥama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with 836
impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the 684
virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The
honor of the virgin demands it, *maŭja-l-'arṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends 684
to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, 628
kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend
to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the
husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had
illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber,
and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to
seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him,
while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their
kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, ∞∞

768 428 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called *nežîle* (pl., *nežâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥakk baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥakk ḏajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥakk maṭnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥakk rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *nežâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *sijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 ●[562] The right of inheritance, *ḥakk al-warṯa*, is vested in sons alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mḥawwa w-ḥaziza*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâder*, going for water and returning with it, or *halûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḥâšerow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥîšer*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥîšer*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

[429]

421 562 428 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings. All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

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of her husband or her *ahl*. After her death her son inherits all that came from her kin. the rest goes to her husband. 421/ 56 428

A father can leave his property to his daughters if he has no son, but he must appoint a guardian for them, who is also called father. This is done with the words: "Behold, I exclude the flesh and blood from which I descend. Thee I appoint to be the father of my daughter (or daughters). My whole estate I present to my daughter. My relatives of the flesh and blood from which I descend must take nothing from her. Thou wilt see to it. But on the commemoration day of all faithful departed, *ẓahijje*, my daughter should not forget me." In case this daughter marries, her property is inherited by her son, or, if there is no son, by her *ahl*; her husband can claim nothing. 429 428

The right of inheritance belongs to all relatives up to the ninth degree, *rā' tis'a ǧdūd jaret*. In the absence of lawful heirs, that is if the kin has entirely died out. *temši 'alejhom ad-dinja' mā jeṣall kūd al-ḥurme*. the woman most nearly related to it receives whatever estate is left and is bound to a sacrifice on the *ẓahijje* day.

Jā waxxeti wannet jetīm
'okb al-ẓala' 'ammeh walāh
jaṣiḥ w-jowmi beš-šelīl
w-jaḳūl walli min ḥaja'

This is the lament of an orphan
Who, having lost his father, receives orders from an uncle.
He gives the alarm cry, waves the hem of his cloak,
And says to himself: 'Vanish from life.'

Al-ẓala' is a father who appointed a brother of his to be the guardian of his son. The orphan, dissatisfied with his guardian, sights the enemy. Giving the alarm cry, he waves his mantle in the direction of the approaching danger and encourages himself, *nesmeh* or *nafseh*, to resist the enemy even at the risk of losing his life. In the latter event, at least, his mourning for the loss of a dear father would cease. 429

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

VIII

Panther and Ostrich

SEVERAL DAYS WERE spent by us among the volcanic table-mountains of the Jabal Tubayk. Precipitous cliffs, riven and pinnacled rocks rise some six hundred feet from flower-sprinkled level pastures and valleys strewn with black lava boulders. It is a country of savage beauty, in which gazelles and game birds are numerous.

There Faris and I, out after game, chanced to come on three tents tucked away in a hollow. They belonged to members of that curious folk, the Sulkan (singular: Sleyb)—nomadic hunters and handicraftsmen. In the popular sense they resemble the gypsies. Like them they doctor man and beast, love music, are fortune-tellers, and have a weakness for things occult and superstitious.

As hunters, trackers and scouts the Sulkan surpass the other Bedouins, and they know the desert better than any other nomads. Many a secluded water-hole is known only to them. Their origin is a mystery. They are few in number, but are held together by some sort of tribal organization, under a chief; and they pay tribute—"protection money"—to the Ruala and other Bedouin tribes. In return, each of these appoints from among its own tribesmen a "Brother" to the Sulkan, charged with looking after their interests.

The Chief of the Sulkan was then one Ralib welde Tulihan, and it was to this young man that the little camp we had discovered belonged. Ralib, accompanied

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

622 563 by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

281 342 563 [291] One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

000 Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe; Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

224 We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

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5. *ekfaw čema' ṭejren ḳalab râseh al-ḥûm*
bfeğğen 'amîḳ w-lâ jindara' wên ḥâmi
6. *adna' manâzelhom šeṭâṭa w-lamlûm*
w-aḳṣa' manâzelhom medâḥ an-na'âmi
7. *elja lefejt 'ad-dîre aṣḥâb min ḳowm*
ehreğ tara' ḥamz ar-rağâl al-'elûmi.

1. I lament for my kinsmen, O people! I am not among those who are abused,
For I think that one who laments for his kinsmen deserves not abuse.
2. I reached the spot where the herds used to rest and where my heart was light,
Where stood the tents of beloved friends and uncles.
3. This is the fireplace with the small pit half covered in,
And the spot where so often rested the coffeepots from Damascus.
4. Here always were tied up their horses
With the white circle round their eyeballs and their heads almost four-cornered.
5. They departed like a falcon whose head has been turned by yearning for flight, circling
Above a broad ravine, so that no man can tell where it flies.
6. Their nearest camping places are between Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm,
Their farthest where the ostriches are hatched.
7. If you reach their territory, bring tidings unto my friends who are amid enemies.
Behold! tidings are for men what *ḥamz* pastures are for camels.

The poet was a negro encamping with the 'Amârât, who fell in love with a Bedouin woman and was driven away by her relatives. They threatened him with death if he returned to their encampment. The poem was recited by Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. It may be interpreted thus: the poet longs for his friends. He visits the place where he was last encamped with them, remembers and laments, not knowing when and where he will meet with them.

Verse 2. *Ḥullân* here means the negro's faithful friends and also his beloved. *'Amâmi* are the Bedouins with whom he encamped and whom he served, for every negro has among

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the Bedouins a family whom he serves and whom he calls his uncles. 3. In the men's compartment a small pit varying in shape and size is dug for the fire, so that years afterwards it shows who had encamped there previously. 4. Some clans have a preference for horses whose eyeballs vanish in a white circle; they call them *ḥowka'*. 6. Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm are settlements in Irak. Ostriches are hatched in the Nefûd southeast of Šeṭâṭa. 7. The plants upon which the camels thrive best are called by a single word, *ḥamṣ*.

1. *'Ajni ǧezat 'an nowmiha bân al-aṣbâḥ*
   w-'ajni ǧezat 'an nowmiha w-asharatni
2. *ǧît al-manâzel rab'ana w-ǧît al-emrâḥ*
   w-laḳejt marka' delâlahom ḏakkaratni
3. *jâ dâr lâ tebčîn amren maẓa' w-râḥ*
   dowr as-sene jâ dâr erǧîhom etni
4. *fâraḳatni já dâr čal-bedr w-enlâḥ*
   jowm erḥalat jâ dâr mâ šâwaratni.

1. My eyes have had enough of sleep, morning has appeared;
   My eyes have had enough of sleep and have awakened me.
2. I went into the encampment of our comrades and to
   the spot where the herds had passed the night,
   And I found where their coffeepots had rested, and
   these brought back much to my mind.
3. O camping place! mourn not for the thing which has
   passed away and vanished;
   After a year, O camping place! hope and wait.
4. She left me, O camping place! like the full moon when
   its luster wanes.
   And when she departed, O camping place! she asked
   not for my counsel.

The poet was a member of the Fed'ân tribe, who went on a warlike expedition against the Šammar. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and when he had fully recovered he returned after about six months. His wife, of whom he was very fond, had fallen ill and died. Having learnt of his grievous loss, the Fed'âni hastened to the camping place where he had last been with his wife and described his memories in a long poem, of which Blejhân communicated this fragment to me.

In verse 4 *jowm erḥala:* has the same meaning as *jowm mâtat* (or *râḥat*), she died, passed away.

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pots. *Ḥufra* is the pit in which fire is made in the men's compartment of the tent.

Slîmân law taḳ'od wa-tšûf
al-'arfa waš ğara laha
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala
ḫalğen tadûr 'ejâlaha.

Slîmân, if thou wouldst only sit down and look [thou wouldst see]
By the 'Arfa herds what has happened to them,
How between as-Swejda and al-'Ala
The she-camels now seek their young.

Slîmân eben Meršed, the chief of the Ḳmuṣa, who call all camel herds "al-'Arfa," made a raid against the Rwala but was defeated and pursued as far as the inner desert. Then, before he could return home, Eben Ša'lân attacked his camp between as-Swejda and al-'Ala and captured many of his herds. The riding camels of Eben Meršed's troop after returning to camp sought for their weaned calves in vain, for the Rwala had driven them away.

Al-mešrefe tarṭan raṭîn
tağâwabat hi w-al-'ala
eben ša'lân aḫâl surûğ
zowden 'ala ḥomṣ w-ḥama'

Al-Mešrefe all the time is jabbering,
Talking with al-'Ala
How Eben Ša'lân loaded corn at Surûğ
More than he would find in Ḥomṣ and Ḥama'.

Surûğ is a settlement between as-Swejda and al-'Ala, inhabited by *fellâḥîn* who cultivate the fields of Eben Meršed's house. Al-Mešrefe is peopled by Circassians, who also own some settlements in al-'Ala. Their language is not understood by the Rwala, hence the phrase: "She [al-Mešrefe] is jabbering, *tarṭan raṭîn.*" After defeating the Ḳmuṣa and plundering Eben Meršed's camp, the victorious Rwala took all the corn stored at Surûğ.

Jâ lâbeti tawen ẓirebt al-kejf
w-al-ẓabd ğalejna ṣadîh
min 'ağğeten ṣârat 'alejhom
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala'.

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camels into his own herd and waits till some ʿAḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the ʿAḳejl even during their absence, *ʿajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith. *ṣâneʿ* (pl., *ṣunnâʿ*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâʿ* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-ʿamm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâʿ*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâʿ* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâʿ*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâneʿ* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *heẓẓe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

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326 sells for his own profit. When the Bedouins procure supplies of grain in the tilled territory for their stay in the inner desert, the blacksmith demands one *meǧîdijje* ($0.90) on each horse in order to buy his provisions. Whoever slaughters a camel must give the blacksmith all its entrails and the shins of its hind legs.

326 582 564 No Bedouin, not even a member of despised tribes like the Šarârât, Ṣlejb, Ḥawâzem, etc., would marry the daughter of a blacksmith nor let his daughter marry him. For the *ṣâne'*, although white, is not independent, is not *ḥorr*.

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584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ẓâfi ar-rdân ṣallejt.*"

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor her daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭijje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭijje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḳuṣara*, or protected neighbors.

619 554 582 565 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem, al-Fhejḡât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization, they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins, and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes, they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫwân*, they pay *ḫwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors, *ḳuṣara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje*, free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 326 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith, *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣunnâ'*, that they are no *aṣîlin* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns,

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settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves. 582 326

Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *ahl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin. 582 567

Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the ʿAneze group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks: 619 554 582 565

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-ʿAmm

The children of parents descended from the respectable old ʿAneze families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-ʿamm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-ʿamm* occasionally claims the girl, *jeḥağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *ʿoḳdha w-ḥallha bjad eben ʿammiha* (sic!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha lnafseh*, is the *eben al-ʿamm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-ʿamm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation. 582

If the *eben al-ʿamm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-ʿamm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥaǧǧir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee 582 584

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SLAVES

567 Slaves are owned not only by the chiefs but by ordinary Bedouins as well. Adult slaves cannot be bought any longer; small negro children, however, are still brought from Neǧd and offered for sale. In most cases they are the children of black prostitutes from the large settlements of central Arabia and from al-Medîna and Mecca, but they are also frequently orphans. No negro is a chattel, *mamlûk*, of his master, for he may not be sold or killed and is free to choose another master. As a rule, however, the slaves remain with the same family all the time, (*min ǧdûdhom.*) Every married slave has his own tent, camels, and weapons, all this being given to him by his master, to whom he must return everything, should he wish to leave him. Even the slave's clothing is furnished by the master. The slaves in the household of a prince or great chief live entirely care-free. If the supplies are not well guarded by their master's mother or wife, they help themselves at their pleasure, cooking, roasting, and frying in their tents without a thought as to whether anything is left for the prince or chief. Then when the supplies are gone, they merely say: "We are hungry," and the master must replenish his larder anew.

If the chief entertains visitors, the slaves eat up all that is left over, so that the chief has to go to bed hungry,

Work is shunned by the slaves whenever possible. If the master himself does not see that it is done, they remain leaning peacefully against their camel saddles, smoking their master's tobacco and drinking his coffee. Their chief work is watering the camels. If the chief owns a large herd of white camels, *warâdîr*, and a herd of pack camels, *zeml*, with two or three herds of she-camels besides, they often draw water for the animals for two nights and a day or two days and a night, especially if the chief is present. The slaves load and unload supplies and lead the laden camels. They also help the women with the unloading, loading, transporting, and pitching of the tent, but only when afraid of the master. However, if they know him to be on bad terms with his women, they at once take his side and will not move a finger to do anything for the women. They work voluntarily only when they expect to gain something by doing so. When important guests arrive, the complaisance and affability of the slaves is boundless. But

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should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share.

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave.

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire.

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*semm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command.

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and

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567 murder they avenge not only among themselves, but on the
627 free Bedouins as well. The master who kills his slave exposes himself to the vengeance of the latter's kin and must pay the blood price. Should he refuse, the avengers place themselves under the protection of a more powerful slave, generally the head slave of a chief, who soon compels the Bedouins to assist him in humbling the guilty person. A slave can pursue or protect, *leh wagh je'addi jesaddi*, in the same manner as his master. Whoever hurts his protégé gains the enmity not only of the slave but of his whole kin, and of the slave's master as well, who must support the slave in order to have peace in the tent and his usual comforts.

567 Yet, no matter how powerful, a slave can never marry the
582 daughter of even the poorest Bedouin; and, on the other hand, the least of the herdsmen would not think of marrying a slave's daughter. For even the poorest Bedouin is independent, *ḥorr*, while the slave remains subject, *'abd*, for ever. Not even the members of the most despised tribes, like the Ṣlejb, Šarārāt, Htejm, etc., would marry a slave. In a certain manner they all are *ḥorr*, despite the low esteem in which they are held, and a slave remains *'abd*, no matter what power he wields.
326 Only the sons and daughters of white blacksmiths, *ṣunnā'*,
567 enter into blood relations with slaves. If a black slave marries a white girl, the daughter of a *ṣāne'*, and their son also marries a daughter of a *ṣāne'* again, the third and fourth generations are quite white, and yet they do not become free, *ḥorr*, but always remain slaves, *'abid*. In the settlements — especially in the cultivated regions — the origin of such whites is sometimes forgotten, but never among the Bedouins of the desert.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND THEIR AGENTS, THE 'AKEJL

442 As the Rwala are occupied almost exclusively in camel breeding, it is only in exchange for camels that they can get grain, clothing, arms, saddles, and other necessities of life. The camels they sell either in the inner desert or in the settled territory, nearly always to the same wholesale merchants who live in the larger towns on the borders of Arabia as well as in Egypt and India. The most prominent among these is the Eben Bassām family, from the settlement of Bassām in al-Kaṣīm. Its members own large business houses at al-Baṣra, Bombay, aṭ-Ṭājef, Cairo, and Damascus. They export camels

783 Allah will write to me, therefore, behold, I put my children and
429 my estate like the ring of a turtle dove's neck from my neck on thy neck. In the high station /before Allah/ I shall inquire of thee about them. "Ja flan ana ma-dri was allah jaktob 'alejji mar tara 'ejali w-halali tow'k hamamaten min rukubti birikubtak ansedk 'anhom bel-makez al-'azim."

The answer will be: "I shall take thy place. May Allah have mercy on thee. Ana lak bel-makan allah jarhamk."

In the absence of him whom he would like to appoint as guardian the sick man will declare before one or two men: "O ye, X and Y, I ask you to witness that I put my children on the neck of So-and-So."

●/567/ In the majority of cases the sick man prefers to appoint a faithful slave to the guardianship. Sometimes he also names the camels which are to go to one or other of his children and what she-camel he wishes to be sacrificed for him. However, any of his stipulations may be annulled by his first-born son. Neither the father nor the mother give their children any last advice.

DEATH

784 Water is dropped into a dying person's mouth without my words. They do not close the eyes of the dead, nor stop his nostrils, dead bodies
/787/ being carefully avoided by the Rwala. If they camp near a settlement, or some fellahin happen to be with them at the time, they hire them to bury the dead. Rubbing the body over with a wet cloth, they wrap it in its shirt, or when that is torn they lay it on a piece of white linen, cover it with the same material, then sew both pieces in three places, load the body thus enshrouded on a mule and carry it to the grave. This must be deeper for a woman than for a man. Its depth for a woman must be such that even the breast could not be seen if the body were placed upright; for the man its depth is only to his knees when in a standing posture. A stone is put under the head and the body is laid invariably with its right side downwards and facing south. Covering it then with a few stones they shovel in the excavated earth. For a man two stones, nasajeb, are raised above the grave, one for a woman. One and a half megidijje ($ 1.35) is paid to the grave-digger for this work. In the inner desert a grave about twenty-five centimeters deep is dug

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

683 How my heart went out to the wild little creature!
609 He had such an air of aloofness and arrogance. Yet it would have been impossible to be angry with him. Was not his whole way of thinking different from a European's? Quite unintentionally he had the blood of his father's guest on his conscience, and he only thought of the satisfaction due to me, before the news of this accident could travel any further. How much blood was shed—in this case only a few drops—did not matter; the only thing that mattered was the unwritten Bedouin law that secures to the stranger absolute safety and inviolability, even in the tent of the humblest nomad. The blood-price of a guest is reckoned twice as high as that of a man killed in fight—fifty camels and four mares.

683 I had to smile when I thought of the value set on a
572 few drops of my blood. But outwardly I composed my face to due solemnity and, calling the other boys and some men, who had gathered round out of curiosity, as witnesses, I said to Amir Fuaz: "This has happened according to the will of Allah. I know no other price than thy friendship."

For a moment blank amazement! He stared at me wide-eyed. Probably Amir Fuaz could not yet believe it possible that I, a stranger, should invoke the ancient custom of his forefathers. Suddenly he flung away the fateful sling and advanced to me with outstretched arms, and with childish affection he clasped them round my neck as I bent down to him. In a wave of joyous love, I pressed the youngster to my breast and kissed him on both cheeks. With his little finger he lightly

: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

dabbed the scratch on my forehead and rubbed four drops of blood on his own forehead between his black eyebrows—the old Bedouin "*Nur-ed-Dam*", the "Light of Blood."

In this unusual, dramatic fashion I became, by the will of Allah, the blood-brother of Amir Fuaz.

Our friendship was soon to receive baptism by fire. A band of Ruala, two hundred and sixty-eight warriors, led by Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, set out on a *ghazu* (raid) into the Hamad and the Wudian region, against the Shammar Bedouins, and I accompanied them. We rode twelve hours the first day. In camp that night we were overhauling our riding-gear, water-skins, and so forth, when to our amazement we discovered, curled up in one of the goat-hair camel saddlebags—huge receptacles made of goat skins—little Amir Fuaz, sound asleep.

Not by the slightest sound or sign had he betrayed to us during the long and hard day's ride that we were carrying a stowaway. Our leader, Rasheyd (of the Muraf Ruala), wanted the boy taken home on the morrow by a camel-rider, but Fuaz pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the old freebooter was softened. He merely sent a mounted messenger to Misha'il's camp to let her know that her son was with us.

We were gone on this great *ghazu* almost two months. When we returned, worn out, having suffered serious losses, yet victorious, Amir Fuaz took four of the booty-camels, splendid fawn-coloured beasts, into the camp, and made them kneel before the tent of his blind mother. Misha'il, still a young woman, enquired pleasantly who was the stranger seeking her hospitality. Custom for-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

574 609 At length, however, Fuaz gave me the longed-for opening; he turned to me suddenly and said: "Whencesoever thou comest, O stranger, be thou welcome here!"

572 "O Amir Fuaz," I replied, "stranger I can hardly be called among thy people. For once upon a time, in this very tent, I knew a boy, then little taller than the sword under thy slave's hand. And it came to pass one afternoon, when that boy and his playmates were shooting with the sling, that I, by the will of God, chanced to walk near; and a pebble flung by that child's hand struck me squarely between the eyes. Now, one might have said that Allah had marked my forehead with the *Nur-ed-Dam* (Seal of Blood). Therefore demanded I a great price for my blood."

Fuaz, who had listened with head inclined and lowered eyes, as if pondering, now raised them impetuously. For a moment he stared at me as in a trance. Then his face lit up; with a shout of joy he leapt to his feet, seized me by the shoulders, and strained me to his breast. "Aziz," he cried, using the Arab name bestowed on me by his tribe in the days of his childhood, "Aziz, thou art returned! *El-hamdu l'illah!*"

Again and again he kissed me on the cheeks and embraced me. "Now," he said, "do I understand the words I learned from my *mu'allim* (teacher): thou who followest with thy eye the flight of a bird or the course of the pebble flung from thy hand, what knowest thou of God's purposes?"

000 Yes, I had returned!

Once more I was with my Bedouins, to migrate again with their herds, to lie under their humped tent-roofs,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

572

He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER IX

STRANGERS IN THE CAMP

NEIGHBORS OR ḴUṢARA'

In every Rwala camp there lives a member of another tribe who has left his kin for some reason and who, for a time at least, desires to make his home in a different territory. Such a stranger generally comes to an agreement with some Rwejli that they will be neighbors, *ḳuṣaru* (sing., *ḳaṣir*), and as such will protect each other. A Rwejli cannot be a *ḳaṣir* to another Rwejli, but may have for a neighbor a member of some other 'Anese tribe, whether friendly or hostile.

The Rwejli protects his *ḳaṣir* against the Rwala and the *ḳaṣir* does the same for the Rwejli against his own people. A *ḳaṣir*, a guest, *ẓejf*, and a traveling companion, *ḥawi*, all of whom enjoy special privileges, are not subject to the ordinary regulations of the tribe. *lâ jemšûn al-ḥakk*. Their stick has as much force as another Bedouin's saber, *'aṣâhom sejf*. The *ḳaṣir* is treated as a man possessed of power, *'aziz*, and justice is always done to him, *ḥakkeh ḥâṣel*. Even in cases where a Rwejli comes in conflict with a neighbor from elsewhere, the latter's Rwejli neighbor obtains, by force if necessary, a fair decision for him, or, as the saying is: "With a drawn saber and a swaying [balance of] justice, *bes-sejf aṭ-ṭâjel w-al-ḥakk al-mâjel*."

When a Rwejli has a claim against a *ḳaṣir*, he may not make his demand himself but must put it in the hands of the stranger's Rwejli *ḳaṣir*. If the claim dates back to the time before the stranger became the latter's neighbor, the usual answer is: "And why didst thou not seek thy rights before he was my neighbor? If thou couldst wait till today, wait now till he is my neighbor no more." A Rwejli may not sue a *ḳaṣir*. Yet should he do so and the judge, ignorant that the defendant is a *ḳaṣir*, decide against him, the judgment never becomes valid. The Rwejli neighbor will say to the plaintiff: "What art thou doing? I am thy opponent, *ana ḫeṣmak laṣ-ṣaḥjeb*, not my *ḳaṣir*. Sue me, but my neighbor thou hadst better leave in peace!"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

609 If anything is stolen from a stranger *ḳaṣîr* by a Rwejli, he reports it at once to his native *ḳaṣîr*, who goes to the guilty person and speaks thus: "Doest thou not see that A is my *ḳaṣîr* and as dear to me as my own kin and all my tribesmen in this camp? *ḳaṣîri bên al-ʿanâja w-aṭ-ṭenâja.* Why didst thou take it from him?" And, seizing the stolen object, by force if necessary, he returns it to his *ḳaṣîr*.

Should a Rwejli assault the woman of a stranger *ḳaṣîr* in her tent, she shouts for the native *ḳaṣîr* to come to her assistance, which he is bound to do. If he kills the assaulter in his *ḳaṣîr's* tent he not only is not exposed to the blood vengeance, but the murdered man's kin, or, if he was not killed, the culprit himself, must pay the blood price for having insulted the tent of a neighbor.

But if the stranger *ḳaṣîr* kills a Rwejli he hastens to his native *ḳaṣîr's* tent with the entreaty: "Help me escape! *hazzemni.*" The latter instantly summons his kin, *ahl*: "I want to help my neighbor to escape," and they all must support him in this. Should the stranger *ḳaṣîr* express his willingness to pay the blood price, his native *ḳaṣîr* protects him until all is settled.

When a Rwala camp is attacked by the enemy and among other things the stranger *ḳaṣîr's* camels or mare are captured, it is the duty of his native *ḳaṣîr* to return to his stranger neighbor all that was stolen from him out of the booty taken by the Rwala in their next successful raid. The reward given to the raider is a she-camel for a mare and two *meǧidijjât* ($1.80) for a she-camel.

In the same way the native neighbor is protected by the stranger *ḳaṣîr* against the latter's own tribe. Only when both tribes declare war on each other, in the course of which the stranger's property is captured, is the native *ḳaṣîr* absolved from helping him, unless he has made a prior agreement to do so. In this case he declares in the chief's tent:

"O you Rwala all! be my witnesses; thou too, Eben Šaʿlân! I and my neighbor here have bound ourselves by an agreement to protect each other in any event. His tribesmen will not eat from my property and I shall not eat from theirs. *Já rwala eihodû w-eihad já-ben šaʿlân tardni maʿâǧifen ḳaṣîri flân al-flâni enni hom má jâkolûn ḥalâli w-ana má âkol ḥalâlhom.*" The same declaration is made by the stranger *ḳaṣîr* either in person or by a message in writing in the tent of the chief

2:Musil S-4,5 (no dat 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of his tribe. If then his tribesmen steal anything from his native *ḳaṣir* they must return it, and vice versa. 609 572

When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli to herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is attacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to keep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two for milking, *ḳa'ada w-menâjeḥeḥ* or *rukûba w-ḥalûba*. 672

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant called a Kubejsi (pl. Kubejsât), although he does not always hail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hît on the right bank of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two camels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with a Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round white tent, *ḥejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's shirts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other articles of clothing, *bzâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *ḥejl* (cardamom), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where he boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets nothing at all. 443

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, paying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, presses his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes him. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to lose anything, for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled to do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant dunning unbearable. It is said: 426 452

Mâ ḥamm illa ḥamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeẓ*, on borrowed money must be paid at once in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧidijjât* ($9.00), 2½ *meǧidijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the borrower has to declare that he has borrowed 12½ *meǧidijjât*, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is 7½ *meǧidijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

camels into his own herd and waits till some 'Aḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the 'Aḳejl even during their absence, *'ajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâ'* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-'amm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâ'*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâ'* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâ'*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâne'* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *ḥeffe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

CHAPTER XVII

PROTECTION OF THE OPPRESSED

COUNTENANCE OR *WAĞH*

572 486 Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies to a person regardless whether present or not is called a countenance, *waǧh*. Before the countenance of some Rwejli it is possible to travel through the whole Rwala territory without fear of an attack or of violence. Before the countenance of Prince an-Nûri one may cross not only the Rwala territory but also that of all other tribes which acknowledge his sovereignty. It is said of the prince that he resembles a long branch to which smaller twigs are attached.

486 622 576 Whoever wishes to travel through the territory of a powerful chief goes first to him with the following request: "I desire to ride through the pastures of thy tribe, so grant me the protection of thy countenance." If the chief answers:

"Undertake thy journey in peace! Behold, I give thee my countenance, *midd ma' as-salâme tarâni e'fik waǧhi*," he may start as tranquilly as if accompanied by the chief himself.

If a man wishes to visit the territory of a strange tribe and has no comrade, *ǧawi*, of that tribe to go with him, he declares in the presence of some respected men of the neighboring tribe: "Behold, I go on a lengthy journey before the countenance, under the protection, of Chief So-and-So whose territory I shall soon enter." Then he continues his journey. When he meets the first members of the tribe in question, he shouts at them from afar:

"Behold! I travel under the protection of your chief." Should they disbelieve and rob him, he still tries to reach their chief, to whom he complains:

"I undertook this journey before thy face! *maddejt bwaǧhak*."

The chief, disliking complications, replies: "That is a lie, *ôâjeb*." But the plundered man continues:

"I undertook this journey before thy face, as So-and-So from the Such-and-Such tribe, whose word is believed, *raǧâlen ma'ǧûǧen âalâmahom*, will testify."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him. 486 622 576

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-wağh nazíf má jaršáh ad-danas*. 577

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abbar had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neğd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry: 572 593

"Já fhejd jê ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-ḥu msáfet šahr zamánen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom- 572 486 635

572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḫâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
685 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *takṭî' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
628] is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
619 traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The
more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his
protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to
protect against all the 'Anese but only against the division
of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have
an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats
a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet*
ṣu'ra. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler
to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim
is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request,
min rejr nab' jefekkeh. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger
cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana
Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Biir and also to all the
'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Anese. As a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the ʿAneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧh wâḥe*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the ʿAbde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jekûl ʿalejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the far-
• 572 thest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to
696 the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *'atab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lēh ta'teb 'ala daḫili ent 'ajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem 'endana 'âdaten sânijjaten mâ ḥad jaḳṭa'ha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫil w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫilana* [695] *jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâ' al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥelli* camel for every step as compensation for disgrac-
[628] ing the tent. If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal 'alejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ ḥi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *murawwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *ḥalab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Ẓeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ṛaṣameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *aṭlah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Ẓeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *sajahna 'alejhom*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛuṛubna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ġenîṛe. Some time later the wounded man, *alli mostijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *as-eḍji*, who, as it was the time of

It Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

In accordance with the immemorial customs of the

The Lone Shepherdess

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desert, she set before us a bowl of fresh ewe's milk and, turning to me first, said: "Swear to thy sister that no harm will come to her." She gazed at me with large trustful eyes. Her white teeth flashed, and small dimples danced in her cheeks. Taking a dried twig from the brushwood pile by the fire, she held it out to me and said: "Take this in thy hand and swear by the life of the Lord, the giver of all life."

I quickly did her bidding and solemnly pledged the sanctity of her hospitality in the oath no child of the desert would break—an ancient Ishmaelite formula:

"In the name of God: as He took the life from this piece of dead wood, thus may the Lord take life from me if I do not honour and protect thy soul and thy body, O my sister!"

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After Faris, too, had taken this oath, she was encouraged to offer us the freedom of her "house" and spread before us all her store of food—bread, fresh milk, a little butter, and dried dates. While Faris and I were supping, she dragged up to the tent a lamb, bleating pitifully and struggling to get free. When I leaned down to hold the animal fast, the girl drew my dagger from my belt and cried: "Kill me this victim, so that I may cook it for thee."

I took the curved blade from her hand and set the frightened lamb free to skip back to the flock. But the maiden looked at me reproachfully.

"All that is needful for sustaining life," I said to her, "thou hast already given to the strangers. Allah is witness, we could not consume a whole lamb. Nor, indeed, can I see any vessel in which its meat could be cooked."

[A Bedouin Shepherdess — Analyst]

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"But here," she said, "is a spit; on it I could roast the kidneys and loin pieces."

Fortunately the girl stood in such horror of killing the animal herself that Faris and I found it easy to convince her that the sacrifice was needless. All she feared was the reproach of her father for not according us Bedouin hospitality in full measure.

Without more words she sat down before the tent and made herself a small fire, that lit up her figure as she bent over it. The flickering light played over her comely face glistening with raindrops. She made a lovely picture of wild, unspoiled beauty and health.

When it became clear to us that the young shepherdess meant to pass the night unsheltered in the open and the rain, I urged her repeatedly not to be afraid and to share the tent with us. I even threatened that if she would not, Faris and I would ride on. But she did not take my threat seriously: she laughed and replied lightly that she could go to her father's tent and come back in the morning.

"Who is thy father?" Faris broke in.

"I am Tuēma, daughter of Sha'il ibn Surhan: and we pitch our tent with the *aṣbira* (clan) of the Freyje."

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"Tuēma," said Faris coaxingly, "it is far to thy father's place and it is night. Do thou trust us and repose thyself here at our feet."

"Truly, I am not afraid," the girl said at last; "stay with me and do not ride on." She rose as she spoke, flung a handful of faggots on the fire, and waited for the flames to leap up. Then she straightened her magnificent young body to its full height and, slipping the cloak

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

●574 609 On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent. From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamîn we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings. [201] With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.

[352] The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

I Meet My Blood Brother Again

All eyes were on the coffee-cook, who raked together 574 ●
the smouldering embers on the hearth and added new 609
dried camel dung. On the silence soon fell the sound of [272]
boiling water bubbling in the capacious long-spouted
pot.

The Amir's body-servant, Mnahi—the same who had spread the rug of greeting—took a stick of incense from a fold of his head-cloth, broke off a piece and placed it on a glowing dung-ember. Through the black roof-cloth filtered faintly the sunshine and wove a pattern of lights and shadows on the ground. Courtiers, warriors, and slaves formed a solemn, silent semicircle. Facing these squatting figures, Mnahi alone was on his feet; he had taken his post on his master's left and stood there, erect and motionless, one sinewy black fist on the silver hilt of his sword.

I stole surreptitious glances at my host. His *kaffiyah* framed an effeminate type of face, oval, with regular features and a high-bred, slightly aquiline nose. The dark eyes, brilliant and very large, were set beneath wide thick brows and a rather narrow forehead. When he smiled, dazzling white teeth showed under the small black moustache. The more I looked at this romantic young man, the more I recognized in him that spirited little blood-brother of mine in the long ago. It required an effort of will to restrain my impatience and not to declare myself forthwith; but I had to await the fitting moment. So far, no one had uttered a word. All seemed to be interested exclusively in the cook, still puttering about his hearth. In desert etiquette it is a gross breach [576]
of courtesy to ply a guest with questions about himself.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

574 609 At length, however, Fuaz gave me the longed-for opening; he turned to me suddenly and said: "Whencesoever thou comest, O stranger, be thou welcome here!"

572 "O Amir Fuaz," I replied, "stranger I can hardly be called among thy people. For once upon a time, in this very tent, I knew a boy, then little taller than the sword under thy slave's hand. And it came to pass one afternoon, when that boy and his playmates were shooting with the sling, that I, by the will of God, chanced to walk near; and a pebble flung by that child's hand struck me squarely between the eyes. Now, one might have said that Allah had marked my forehead with the *Nur-ed-Dem* (Seal of Blood). Therefore demanded I a great price for my blood."

Fuaz, who had listened with head inclined and lowered eyes, as if pondering, now raised them impetuously. For a moment he stared at me as in a trance. Then his face lit up; with a shout of joy he leapt to his feet, seized me by the shoulders, and strained me to his breast. "Aziz," he cried, using the Arab name bestowed on me by his tribe in the days of his childhood, "Aziz, thou art returned! *El-hemdu l'illah!*"

Again and again he kissed me on the cheeks and embraced me. "Now," he said, "do I understand the words I learned from my *mu'allim* (teacher): thou who followest with thy eye the flight of a bird or the course of the pebble flung from thy hand, what knowest thou of God's purposes?"

000 Yes, I had returned!

Once more I was with my Bedouins, to migrate again with their herds, to lie under their humped tent-roofs,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

tant Euphrates. It was as if a tremendous fire were sweeping up from the heart of Arabia, and man and beast were in headlong flight to escape from its consuming breath.

The eternal law of Nature was being fulfilled: death to the weak, the maimed, and the forsaken. The strong trampled over the weak, gaining from their victims fresh strength and endurance to push on. Though famine ravaged the land, the slaves in the camp of the nomad chieftain saw to it that the guests of their master lacked nothing. Every day for breakfast I was served a dish very like our scrambled eggs, made of several tiny eggs of the sand grouse. It had a particular gamy tang, and so has a similar dish made of the much larger bustard eggs. Fresh truffles were roasted in the embers of weeds and camel dung, their rinds splitting in the heat. Every morning I found beside my bowl of milk a basin of wild honey, with thick dabs of sheep's-milk butter floating in it. As I was eating, I watched the slave baking bread. He poured a porridge-like mixture of wheat flour, crushed seeds and herbs on to a hot, convex iron plate, resting on three stones over the fire. The batter first spread out on this grid, and then wrinkled up under the heat and formed large griddle cakes, brown and thick, which, one by one, the Negro peeled off and threw into our laps. We tore off strips from these wafer-like, charcoal flakes, crisp at the edges, rolled them around our fingers, and with these morsels fished the butter out of the honey. We strangers and guests certainly did not suffer want. Most of the Rualas, on the contrary, and even the chieftains, actually went hungry.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Famine and War

It was touching to see a tribesman, himself half-starved, bring to his *sheykh's* tent a hare or a gazelle, or other game, as an offering for the sustenance of his chieftain's guests. Even children and women came by every day, and from a clothes-bundle laid down a handful of truffles or a wild pigeon. Once a boy brought me a large, fat lizard which he had killed with a stone, and later a rock-badger and a yellow-headed vulture. The boy asked if, in such time of famine, he might presume to offer me such animals for food.

". . . and so it was when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites and the children of the East, even they came up against them, and they encamped against them and destroyed the increase of the earth . . . *for they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without numbers. . . .*" (Judges vi, 3–5.)

With gnawing stomachs and with drooping spirits, the Ruala followed their dying herds. Ever farther northwards they pressed on, close to the enemies' territory. Every day hundreds of camels and also many people fell by the wayside, while the survivors strained all the more desperately to reach the hills of Abu Rijmeyn. The weaker remained where they fell. The moment a camel, at the end of its strength, commenced to stagger and threatened to fall, riders in the neighbourhood leapt from their mounts and, dashing up to the poor creature, put it out of its misery. Meanwhile the others marched

354 When the tent owner has sat down with his guests, calls to his sons or slaves: "Dig out the fireplace, *aḥefrú l*
[554 *nár*." With the more important chiefs the fireplace is alw
463] dug by a slave, who is entrusted with the preparation of coffee. The fireplace consists of a rectangular or circular h about twenty centimeters deep, from the size and form which it is possible years afterwards to judge with certai
412 to which chief the tent belonged. It is dug with an implem
332 called *fár*, which at one end terminates in a mattock and the other end in a hatchet and is fastened on a long woo
354 helve; the double hoe, having at one end a mattock and the other a pick, is called *ḳaddúm* or *tubal*. The ordin
354 Rwejli digs a smaller fireplace, which is nearer the front e of the tent. In the cold season the fireplace is close to carpets for the guests, while in the hot season it is ab the middle of the men's compartment. The clay which is cut is thrown into a heap near the hole forming the firepla *ḥufrat an-nár*, and just below the edge of the tent. On it
●[574] shaken the ashes from the fireplace. The larger this he known as *nefile*, the more hospitable is the owner of the t for coffee is prepared for the guests on the fireplace in men's compartment only and beside the fire the guests w
372 warm themselves. Beside the fireplace is placed a pile of f consisting of dry roots and stalks of various plants, *ḥaṭ* and dry camels' excrements. The best fuel is the dry w of the *rimṯ* shrubs. It gives off scarcely any smoke, thro out a great heat, and holds the glowing embers for seve hours before subsiding. The worst fuel consists of the dry which blazes up with a bright red flame, crackles as if g powder had been scattered on it, but it does not form emb
[462] and does not maintain the heat. The fuel is collected by female slaves and women. If the chief has not a sufficie supply of fuel, he sends to the surrounding tents for it, the men themselves bring it to him.

FURNISHINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COMPARTMENT

353 The women and the slaves carry all the utensils and v sels into the women's compartment. Carpets and coverlets which to sleep are placed in the corner against the div
[251] ing wall. Sacks containing wheat, barley, dates, butter, s sugar, coffee, rice, or *tummen* (a kind of rice), are stored against the back wall.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *aṭlaṭ*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳafa'-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ksūr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb šala'* (or *inḳala'*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebūneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *žabbelū al-bejt ǧāna-l-hawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *rwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *rwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *rwâḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *rwâḳ*! *šawre'ū al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *rwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *îdên w-riǧlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *mā huma anǧas min al-čalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *'ejš*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *ṣāǧ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampment during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 [825]

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families
272 live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mnexžiemin 'ejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

Fig. 22.—A water trough, *ḥaur*, on a camel (see p. 71).

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

609 The Bedouins are convinced
829 that the *felláḥîn* are obliged
261 to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *felláḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedu 'ejâthom 'ala-l-felláḥ.*" If the *felláḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *felláḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-felláḥ má láḥ.*"

251 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert,
● 574 *jeẖarreẖûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for
261 sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣu'ûf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *'aššini jâ ḫajje 'aššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *'ejš*,
824 bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-ḥamḥ alli ba'ad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Saḫr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and roasted on the fire. 252

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into suet it is known as *maḥlû'* or *widač*. In the kettle in which the fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḫall'*, something like swards, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into a leather bag, *ṣurf* (or *naḥw*), and kept for as long as three years. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because it is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very stingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppurating wounds. [752]

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*, between four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-camel, especially a lean one, *ḥedime*, cannot be properly boiled. It always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young camels less than three months old, *ḥuwâr*, has a bad effect on the stomach. 262 825

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they throw away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He has a bird's heart, *ḫalbeh ḫalb aṭ-ṭejr*," means: "He is easily frightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals in the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into the men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with them together with his eldest son. 264 574

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour water for the men so that they can wash! *rasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A slave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *žedaḥ*, wooden vessel, with water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon the contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is waiting with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his daughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *ḫalleṭ lena-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him, saying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest is present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accompanies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it either in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of the fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take supper first, *tafwîl*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

264 574 the dish, kneels on his left knee, sits on the left heel, extends his right sleeve, *jefasser 'an aḏ-ḏrâ'*, and waits for the host's invitation: "Call on (God's name)! May Allâh preserve your life! *sammâ allâh jeḥajjîkom*." With the words "In the name

[492]

FIG. 25

FIG. 26

FIGS. 25, 26—Pack camels, *el-maḥâr*, on the march, carrying rolled-up tents and poles (see p. 76).

of Allâh" each one catches hold of the dish, rolls small pellets of *'ejš* or bread, throws one after another into his mouth, and swallows them without chewing. If there is a pile of meat in the middle of the dish, each one tries as quickly as possible to make a trench in the *'ejš* or bread till he reaches it. Nobody may clutch directly at the meat, as this is bad form. When the diner has worked his way underneath the heap, he may take whatever crumbles into his trench. A man who is esteemed must not gnaw the meat from the bone. He has to tear away the meat with the fingers of his right hand, without raising his hand from the dish. What he does not tear away he leaves on the bone, which he presses against the side of the hollow. Nobody is allowed to rise until all the men have finished eating supper from the same dish. Such a group of men having supper together is called *ḳalṭa*. When they have finished eating, they say: "May Allâh requite the hosts for this! *ḫalaf allâh 'ala-l-ma'âzîb*." The host replies: "Health and good digestion! *ṣaḥḥa w-'âfije*." Each one licks the fingers of his right hand, *jilḥas îdeh* (or *jedeh*), and goes to the side wall of the tent, against which he rubs one finger after the other, *jimḥaš jedeh*, and cleans his teeth, *jinḳaš*

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

264 *ṣuâneh*. The host then arranges a second group, *ḳalṭat al-*
wasṭa, and, when this one has eaten, he adds more food; i
●574 by now the meat is gone, he mixes the *'ejîn* with *mraḳa* gravy
and calls on a third group, known as *al-ḳalṭat al-mḥelijje*
What is left over, *rarîme*, is received by the poor children
who stand round the tent.

To an unsatisfied eater they say: "Thou hast gnawed the
head of a camel, the head of a wether, and a hare together
with its head; thou hast eaten a canful of paste made o
dates and flour, and still thou sayest that thou hast no
supped; *rûs w-rwejs w-arnab râseh beh w-ẖedaḥ beẖîle w-tḳû*
mâ ta'aššejt."

COFFEE AND ITS PREPARATION

252 All food is prepared in the camp by the women in thei
compartment. In the men's compartment coffee only is made
372 At the command: "Blow up the fire and prepare coffee, *šibb an*
nâr w-sawwi-l-ḳahwa," a slave, the son, the wife, the daughter
or sometimes even the tent owner himself, strikes the spark
lays the smoldering tinder into a piece of dry *šiḥ*, whirls i
round above his head until it bursts into flame, lays it under
the fuel on the fireplace, and blows upon it until this also
catches fire. Then the coffee maker lays beside the fireplace
272 long coal tongs, *milḳâṭ*, and takes the coffeepots (Fig. 32
415 from a circular basket woven of straw or palm leaves.

The coffeepots are generally four in number. The largest
one is called *maṭbâẖa* or *kumkum*. Into it the grounds from
which coffee has been decocted are emptied for several days.
A slave pours water on them and places the pot by the fire.
The other three pots he rinses out, *jeẖarreb*, pours the con
tents into the largest one, polishes them with a duster made
of camel's hair, and sets them on the right-hand side of the
fireplace, where there already stands a copper water jug, *berî*
as well as a *ẖedaḥ*, or cylindrical wooden vessel measuring about
20 centimeters in diameter and 6 centimeters in height and with
a narrow edge. From the *ẖedaḥ* water is offered for drinking.

From a leather pouch, *ṣifen*, or from a small leather
canister, *ḳarf* (pl., *ḳarâf*), the mistress of the tent takes a
handful of coffee, *benn*, a slave puts it on a shallow iron
pan with a long handle, upon which the coffee is roasted
mḥamâse, and holds it above the fire, continually stirring the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Má jeſmed* means "that which adheres (sticks) and colors." The Bedouins prefer coffee which leaves dark-yellow stains on the white cups. The wild geese are called *maḥáddib* from their fat bulging backs. 2. The roasting is finished when the fine drops resembling sweat disappear from the coffee beans. 3. Through prolonged use the inside of the mortar becomes very shiny, as does the spot outside pressed by the knees of the person working the pestle. *Jeʿʿi*, the mortar bows because the beater inclines it from side to side when shaking off the coffee that sticks to its sides. *Dubb ad-dahr* means "as is the custom, life long." 4. *Čaffat aṣ-ṣín* is the inside of a porcelain cup, *wars* (or *kurkub*) the plant from which the yellow dye is made. *Śfáf* was explained to me as lips, but it can also mean the stuff for a dress. 5. The first cup should go to the *ʿáʿid*, or leader of the troop. *Mafras* signifies the spot where the enemy's horses were repulsed when trying to free the captured herds. 6. *Ẓabṭáb* is the term applied to the warriors mounted on horses. If the enemy attack a migrating tribe they are opposed by the *salaf*, a troop of horsemen who attempt to drive them from the camels which carry the tents, household goods, supplies, and women and children. If the enemy is numerically stronger, the troop opposing them may soon be scattered, in which case only the bravest will persist in defending the camels of the different families. 7. The owner of the tent, who sets meat before the hungry fighters on their return from a raid, is entitled to the most coffee. 8. *Wafel* is the twice-boiled coffee, which not only leaves no dark-yellow stains on the white porcelain but is almost wholly gray, *ášb*. It is good enough for such visitors, *mela*, as press, *rassáṣ*, into the men's compartment. Although they see that they are depriving the more esteemed guests and the tired fighters of their places, and that the host looks at them with an unfriendly eye, yet they do not leave the tent. At last the short stick, *miʿʿáb*, such as is used for urging on and driving away the donkeys, must be applied to them. 9. If the alarm cry is sounded, a true Bedouin instantly arms himself with his best weapon and runs to help, *jifzaʿ*, his attacked countrymen, but a scamp of the sort just described will only snatch up a thick stake used for poking the fire, *miṣláb*, thinking he can scare the enemy with that. *Sáheṣīn* (or *tárečīn*) *al-mwáǧlīb* are those who are unmindful of their duties towards their clan and tribe and are conceited braggarts, *kbárīn al-anfas*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831*
539*

O Mhejmed, what torment has come upon me!
O sweetheart, what must I do?
She opened her hooked dress revealing to me
A *ḥudrî*'s egg below the slit at her breast.
She has plaits on her temples like cords of gold,
A thirsty one may wish to let down the bucket with them.
Her eyes are like the waves of a pure pool,
Where those fare well who drink from it;
Her breast, a coffee cup like one used in the chamber of the lord,
A Persian jeweler could not make such a one.

The lover complains both to his comrade, Mhejmed, and to his sweetheart, to whom, captivated by her charms, he has promised to perform a dangerous deed.

[291] *Ṯowb maḳrûn* is the woman's garb when closed below the neck. *Náhaz al-maḳrûn* means to lift and open this part of the woman's garment on the breast. *Ĝejb* is the slit from below the neck down to the stomach. Farther down the garment is sewn together in the same way as our shirt. The slit of the woman's garb has only one buckle, immediately under the neck. When the garment is lifted, the slit widens, and the woman can nurse her child. *Ṣadîr* is a pool of water in a valley channel. *Díwán* is a drawing-room of the rich, where coffee is presented in cups often artistically made and expensive.

[574]

Já ṯemánen 'ala ṣáḥebi low jabî'
miṯl ḥal-barad bilejâli-š-šabî'.

Oh, if the eight teeth could be sold to the lover!
They are like the dew crystals of the frosty spring nights.

Barad signifies crystals of frozen dew.

Já ṛazâl ad-daḥal
já ḫaṣîb al-ejdejn
ja'lam alláh
ja'azzi 'an al-wálidejn.

O thou gazelle from the Nefûd!
O thou with the dyed hands!
Allâh knows that a glance from thee
Will comfort me in the loss of my parents.

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3. Cut for her a *miḫǧán* stick from the best almond tree
And tickle her with the longer prong under the tail.
4. A tent thou wilt reach, whose men's compartment resembles an escarpment,
And before the tent of my beloved put off the saddle.
5. A cup of coffee thou wilt get to loosen thy spittle,
And for eight days the platter will be moist with fat.
6. How does thy leg fare, O shield of all animals that raise their tails?
When from the group of raiders he emerged all were afraid.
7. Would that the evil thou hast met had been destined for cowards!
O Lord! take pity on my darling's leg.

A girl of the Durmân clan had a lover whose leg was shattered by a bullet during a raid. They brought him to the tent of Eben Haḍḍâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, where he was attended to. His sweetheart composed and sent him this poem. The reciter was Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm.

Verse 1. *Buǧ lena kal-bilâd* means "examine, scout this country for us." *Âl* is the quivering of the air on a hot day. The nearer the ground, the stronger the vibration. Grasses and bushes seem to be in motion and assume large dimensions. It is impossible to distinguish a rider from a busn at a distance of two kilometers. 2. A good female riding camel is at her best speed before and after sunset. The rider should not hold her back. *Rabḫ* are the small stones scattered by the hoofs of a galloping camel. 3. To make the she-camel go at the utmost speed the rider thrusts the two-pronged head of his stick under its tail, *jistadwiha*. Some riders even dig the prong in deeper than necessary, making the poor beast run madly. 4. The tent is pitched for male visitors only, whether strangers or natives. *Gâl* is a long steep scarp by which a high plateau falls off to lower level country. 5. *Fakk ar-riž* is the breakfast; the real meal is the supper. With Eben Haḍḍâl a guest may stay not three but even eight days if he wishes, and during all this time he gets meat from fat, sterile she-camels. The *ṣaḥn* — a large flat pan — is always moist with the fat. 6. *Mišwâl* is a fast mare or she-camel which raises her tail high when galloping.

A daffa is a heavy winter cloak. Mori

831 539 [291] [574] fond of dress buy mantles embellished between the shoulder blades with a broad ornament of glittering silver, or at least copper, threads. The hem made from these threads reaches as far down as the abdomen. Such an ornament glistens when the night is bright. *Bâdi* (for *sâjer*) is one paying an evening call; *bâdi 'alejna* (or *musajjer 'alejna*), he is coming to spend the evening with us.

Jâ-bu ḫalâḫel w-zmejjem
w-al-ḫadd barrâken jelûḥ
jâ mâ ḥala' ḳaṣb al-brajjem
w-al-'omr ṣajjûreḥ jerûḥ.

Oh, she with rings above her ankles and a little ring in her nostril,
Whose cheeks glisten like lightning,
Oh, how sweet to take hold of a little body belt of leather
For, as for life, its end is sure.

[291] *Brajjem* (dimin. of *barîm*) is a thin belt of leather strips worn by the women on their bare bodies.

Râ'i-l-ḳa'ûd al-meẖaddar
ma' wâdi-s-sidr jinḥa'
ḳum ḥebbini lâ te'aḏḏar
w-al-'aḏr mâ-mi bṭerijjah.

The rider on an unruly camel
Has turned into a valley overgrown with *sidr*.
Rise, kiss me, and excuse not thyself,
For an excuse I will not brook.

[837] A lover during the march asks a kiss from his beloved, whose husband has just ridden out of sight, for his camel nibbles at every patch of good grass or woody plant. He turns into a valley overgrown with *sidr* trees and full of thorns. If he had to watch his unruly camel before, he must now among the *sidr* be even more careful and is thus prevented from watching his wife riding in the rear.

1. *Jâ bark jâ-lli tâli al-lejl lawwâ'*
   šuftak w-ana bheǰ'at an-nâs wâ'i
2. *min rûs 'âlen šummaḫen čeḏḏ bihen fâ'*
   biljâl ṛurren biẓ'aǰelen še'â'i

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2. Or like pigeons longing to roost in the castle,
Who hasten thither after the noon heat has passed.
3. O messenger! O thou who speedest to the hosts,
Thou canst not help seeing a fire like a big lamp.
4. It is a tent that calls thee, where sit and talk the visitors,
And to whose owner no one comes to collect a tax.
5. The name [of my beloved is] 'Woven from metal rings,'
O father of the 'Son for whom thou yearnst';
She it is who has stolen the fat of my heart and entrails,
6. She has stolen my fat and the soft cover from my saddle,
Making my eyes shed full basins of salt water.
7. She is dressed in clothes of costly stuff,
Which cling to her ivory calf.
8. She, who has built a manor and a castle in my heart,
Built with mortar like al-Ḥafāǧī's castle.
9. Shame on her brother? As if his troop were lame!
Why, he still resists when the eyes of the babblers look around in flight.
10. Oh, may he who reviles him be parted from all that he longs for and
On festive days may no one accept gifts from him.

The poet was Muhammad eben Mhelhel.

Verse 1. *Zowl* is the indistinct outline of a man's figure observed from afar. *Azwâl rebden* are the clouds of whirling dust enveloping fleeing ostriches. 2. Pigeons prefer to nest in old ruins, especially if they lie far from settled countries. After sunrise they fly to the cultivated regions for their food and drink; after noon, when the heat is most oppressive, they hide somewhere in the shade, later feed and drink again, then return about two hours before sunset at the utmost speed to their ruins, often more than thirty kilometers distant. The fast gait of a she-camel reminds the poet of a fast disappearing dust cloud whirled up by ostriches, or of flocks of pigeons hurrying to roost, *murawweh*. 3. A brightly blazing fire in an open tent indicates a generous host. A miser will build his tent in valleys and gullies, so that it may not occur to any one to appeal to his hospitality. 5. The girl sung of by the poet is called Der', which means a short shirt of metal rings. Instead of naming her plainly he uses a periphrasis for her name, which is dear to him, *semi*, the words *marṣûf al-ḥadaw*, meaning a coat of mail. *Abu marǧi* is the father of several

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562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
593 speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move, the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture, and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors, *salaf*, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
574 says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not at home. *tarákom já ẓujúf rá'i-l-bejt má kw hážer*." Then she brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready, if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests, she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent it, *en ṭalleṯha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
622

539a 9. They pleaded: "But she is so small yet,"
O my dear! O twig to whom for its youth respite must be given!

10. Her breast is a *zbejdi* growing in an overflowed vale,
The drops of sweat of the black clouds, pouring forth a rain shower.

The poet was al-Herbîd eben Swejd of the Singâra tribe belonging to the Šammar in Neǧd; the reciters, 'Ebči, a Šammari serving as a herdsman with the Rwala, Mḥammad al-Ḳaṣîb, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. The poet had several times visited the settlements lying on the lower Euphrates, to buy grain. Being greatly pleased with his stay there, he longed to live in the settled country permanently, and to this wish he gives expression in our poem. He would have liked to own a large palm grove and an extensive orchard, which he would irrigate from a spacious well by a big leather bag with the help of fat she-camels. On the palms he desired many yellow twigs to sprout, growing into bunches of dates. There was to be a common house for entertaining guests, with a coffee set. Then he would marry a very young girl, for whom he would have to wait some time yet.

Verse 1. *Dire* is the name given by the Bedouins to the tilled territory where they go for their supplies and the inhabitants of which pay them tribute. 2. *Ẓammateh mustadire* signifies a round hard footpath trodden by the animal raising water. *Ar-reǧǧa' al-kunnas al-ḥil* are she-camels accustomed to turning a flush wheel and not used for breeding purposes; they graze in the garden. 3. On a large flush wheel there often hang twenty buckets made of either burnt clay or leather, *dlije*, which are emptied into a trough opening into either a reservoir or an irrigation ditch. *Muǧaddefât al-ḥaḥâlîl* are such large buckets from which the water pours in a flood. 4. *Mkarkamât al-ḥemdîl* are the yellow twigs growing luxuriantly in the top of the palm tree from which, later on, bunches of dates will hang. 5. In the settlements a certain room is usually set aside for the common guests, where they live during their sojourn and where they also receive food sent them from the different houses in succession. This guest room should bear a sign on the outside, so that it may be found easily by the traveler. 7. *Weḏḏar al-ḳalb tawǧîr* implies that he would marry, for love, a girl who would cut

[592 ●574]

576 "May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh ye'ôfik.*"
609 "How is thy health? *čeyf ḥâlak.*"
484 "May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh yesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čeyf 'eyâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh ye'ôfik w-yesallem ṭâlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥayyît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaka.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[205] It takes some-time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *má ǧakart lena al-ma'âzib.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terwewshûnkom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the
●[574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

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My she-camel I shall not yield
Even if they offer my sweetheart for it.
We are resolved to die from exhaustion,
Should our heroes not do as was agreed.

The singer will not yield his she-camel to the enemy even if offered in exchange his sweetheart, who has been refused to him by her kinsfolk. Without booty he will not return. Should he and his fellow travelers not be met at the appointed place by their companions bringing food and water, they will not ask these of their enemies but will try to return home with the captured camels across the desert.

Ḥasabt al-ḥoṛṛat [sic] *teṭawwal w-ḥejti ṭanib lebejtah*
lejteni čefijjet leḥowḳi kill má-ltaṭam ḥabbejtah.

I thought the friendship would last longer and my tent
be pitched beside hers.
O that I were my beloved's kerchief, for whenever she
covered her chin with it I should kiss her.

RECEPTION OF THE TRAVELER

When the traveler wants to enter a tent as a guest, as a rule he approaches from the rear, stopping his camel by the side of the men's quarters. The inhabitants of the tents he is passing examine him at leisure, well knowing that he is not coming to them, as then he would not ride along the fronts of their tents. At the same time the people in the tents whose backs are turned to the rider take stock of him through every gap, women as well as men. They all are interested to learn who he is and where he will dismount. But when he is near the end of the camp, men come out running from many tents, seize his animal by the rein, and try to lead it to their tents, quarreling among themselves.

One shouts: "May I lose my right hand if thou wilt not dismount at my tent! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min jimnâi.*"

A second: "May I lose my head! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min râsi.*"

A third: "May I lose the faculty of begetting! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min maḥzemi.*"

Another: "May I lose my wife!" or "May I lose my gentility! *'alejje ṭalâḳ min al-mruwwa.*"

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574 Should the traveler still hesitate, someone will say: "*Ğira* on thee! Thou art a *maǧǧûr*. Thou must come to me. Thou shalt not violate my *ğira*, thou shalt not make a perjurer of me, *lâ tekṭa' ğiratî*." To adjure anybody by the word *ğira* is a proof of the greatest earnestness and determination. A *maǧǧûr* is one so adjured. To persist in refusal after this word has been used would be a direct insult to the person giving the invitation.

A traveler well supplied with food and wishing a night's rest usually declares that he does not desire to be a guest, but merely a neighbor and encamps by the side of one of the last tents. The owner of that tent then becomes both neighbor and protector of the traveler, helping him to unload, bringing him fuel and curdled milk, supping and sleeping with him, and in the morning helping him to load again.

However, when the stranger desires hospitality, he will turn to the side of the tent he has chosen and stop at the men's compartment. Nobody will leave the tent, for everybody inside is watching the arrival through the gaps between the tent walls. Common decency requires that the stranger should have time to put his dress in order and to exchange a few words with his companions and guide. He also keeps his arms with him. At last a slave or servant comes out of the tent, seizes the newcomer's baggage, fetters his camel's left foreleg, and loosens her girth. It is not considered correct for the guest to enter the tent at once; he should stay a while with his animal, so that the slaves or servants can make room for him. The women pick out the best rugs, quilted bedcovers, and pillows and hand them to the slaves, who in the meantime have swept out the men's compartment and arranged a seat for the guest.

[554] A prominent guest will be met before the tent by the host accompanied by all his sons and by all present at that particular time. The host and the guest will then lay their hands on each other's shoulders and kiss each other on both cheeks, *jetaḥâbebûn*. Nobody remains seated, *jeḳûmûn bwaǧheh*. If it is said of a man that everybody will rise when he comes, *kill el-ǧelise teḳûm bwaǧheh*, it means that he is a man universally esteemed. The guest greets all those present with the words: "*As-salâm 'alejkom*," to which they return: "*W-'alejkom as-salâm*."

574 sive or that he contradicts himself, he declares: "By Allâh! we do not trust thee. Say who knows thee! *W-allâh mâ ḥenna meṣaddežinak hât alli 'ârefk.*"

[609] If nobody is found in the camp to vouch for the newcomer, he must leave at once, either on foot or on his animal. The host fears that he may be a robber who will steal from him or his guests at night and then disappear. This caution [672] is due to the fact that the host is responsible for any deed his guest may commit while on his grounds.

A common guest addresses the chief with the title: "O thou long living! O thou who art protected from evil! *jâ ṭwîl al-'omr jâ mḥafûẓ.*"

Sometimes a guest arrives just when there is no flour, wheat, or *tummen* (a kind of rice) in the tent. The owner with his whole family may have been living for weeks on milk alone, but the guest must receive something better. In such a case the wife goes from tent to tent, begging: "We have received a guest and we are out of food. O friends, we have nothing to set before him; lend us something so that we can do our duty. *Ḥenna mežâfir w-enzefna jâ rab' w-ḥenna-kfarna min aṭ-ṭa'âm ekrezouna šien* [sic] *nesteter beh.*" The neighbors help her to the best of their ability — one lending a little flour, another some *tummen* or some butter, and there are also tents where she is told: "Come to us today and thou wilt get the supper thou needest for thy guest."

574 264 If the guest arrives in the forenoon, he gets both dinner and supper, *ġada w-'aša*. The meals are brought either by the host himself or his son or are served by a slave, with the host urging: "Hasten to thy luck, O guest of the Most Gracious! Eat! May Allâh preserve thee!" A prominent guest either eats alone or invites the host or some chief who is present to eat with him.

A common guest eats with the others, the host, however, deciding the order of those who are to sit together. When the dish is already surrounded by six or eight persons and the host notices one more he wishes to invite, he asks: "If you can find a gap between you, invite also So-and-So! *en ḳân 'endakom ṭenijje 'azzemow flân.*"

"The place is large! Come hither, O So-and-So! *al-maṭraḥ wasi' ḳum ğâj jâ flân.*"

Coughing or sneezing during the meal is to be avoided. He who has finished eating licks his fingers clean, drops his

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The newcomer must salute first, *as-salâm 'ala-l-ǧâj*. Then he removes his shoes and takes the seat reserved for him by the host. While he sits supporting himself with his left hand on the pillow or camel saddle and holding his guiding stick in the right, all present, with the host at their head, salute him. If he happens to know somebody there, he salutes him as follows: 574

"Be strong, O So-and-So! *ḳawwi flân*," the answer of the man thus honored being:

"Welcome to us! *jâ hala*."

If he does not know anybody or wishes to shorten the ceremony, the guest himself exclaims:

"I wish strength to all present, whatsoever be their names; *ḳawwi killen bismeh*."

A common Bedouin will fetter his camel and loosen the saddle himself, then take his saddlebag, enter the tent, salute, and sit down where he pleases or where there is room. If of modest disposition he pushes his way to the back. The host, on the other hand, either when the guest is known to him or when he wishes to talk with him, calls out:

"Come nearer! *fut ǧâj*," to which the guest replies:

"[My place] is pleasant, I like it, *zên ǧâjezen lije*."

If an acquaintance approaches the tent, its owner shouts to him from afar: "May Allâh preserve this man! *ḥajj allâh har-raǧǧâl*."

The guest, still in the saddle, answers: "May Allâh preserve thy family and thyself, too, for wishing me a long life! *allâh yaḥajji nabâk w-al-muḥajji*."

When in the tent the host inquires of his guest: "How fare those that are behind thee [thy family]? *ḫejf min warâk*."

The guest repays this civility with: "There is success with them, O thou with whom success is a possession! *beḫejr jâ mâl al-ḫejr*." Or else he says merely: "I wish thee success."

Then the host repeats his wish: "May Allâh give them health! *'asâhom ṭajjibên*," the guest replying: "They ask for nothing but thy health, *mâ jeṣîdûn illa 'an ṭibak*."

If the newcomer is known to no one present the host inquires: "O guest of Allâh the Most Gracious, whence dost thou hail? Of what Arabs? We do not know thee. *Jâ ḍejf ar-raḥmân min în ent min ajj 'arab mâ ḥenna 'ârefinak*."

Should the host notice that the guest's answers are eva-

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hand on his knees, and waits for the others to finish. The host urges him to eat and also bids the others to remain at the dish and keep on eating, but they answer: 574 264

"Thou hast not restricted us. May Allâh increase thy welfare! *Mâ ḳaṣṣart allâh jeẓaṭṭer ḫejrak,*" to which the host replies: "I wish you good digestion and much success! *hana' w-'awâfi.*"

The guests: "May Allâh preserve thee for more success! *meḥajjik allâh 'ala-l-mejsûr.*"

The host: "[And may he preserve you] to success and booty! *mejsûren rânemen.*" Or: "May Allâh preserve you from the moment you leave us to the moment you reach your homes! *allâh meḥajjîkom min jowm mašejtom elja mâ lafejtom.*"

The guests: "And may Allâh expand thy heart with joy! *w-bak raḥḥab allâh.*"

If any one rides past the tent where the guests happen to be eating, the host calls to him: "O youth, direct thy steps hither! The food lies before thee! *jâ walad enṭaḥ ǧâj az-zâd bwaǧhak.*"

An invitation of this kind is considered by the rider as a favorable sign that he will succeed in what he has set out to accomplish. Therefore he does not stop but merely answers: "I am not inclined to eat!"

The host: "But think of thy welfare!"

He answers: "May Allâh increase thy welfare" and rides on joyfully.

A host who has killed an animal for his guest draws with its blood a long mark on both sides of the neck of the guest's camel.

When a guest of importance arrives at a Rwala camp, he takes lodgings with his closest acquaintance, where he also supa the first night and accepts invitations from others for the days following. This custom is called *dawrijje.* It is not done to spare the host but to honor the guest — for the host could be compensated for his outlay in some other way, if necessary. 574

A guest should not change his host without good reason. Should he think that he is a burden to his host or that he is neglected, *killet ḫefle,* and make a complaint to the host, he might be told: "Then be off and look for another host!" This, however, happens very seldom, even if the guest should stay in the tent five or six days at a stretch.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

DURATION OF HOSPITALITY AND DEPARTURE OF GUESTS

574 576 The usual or proper hospitality extends to three days and a third of the fourth day. The first day should be devoted to salutations, *salâm*, the second to entertainment, *ṭa'âm*, and the third to discussion, *kalâm*. The third of the fourth day is counted as lasting from sunset to the appearance of the morning star. Between this time and sunrise is the correct time for the guest to depart. But he who prepares to leave only after the dew has evaporated on the fourth day, causes his host a good deal of annoyance, for the latter probably wants to begin the day's march to a new camp site or has to watch his camels while their herdsman is eating his breakfast; hence the proverb: "A spotted snake and a guest who either comes or leaves when the dew has gone are esteemed alike! *al-ḥajje ar-rakṭa' walla-ẓ-ẓejf al-mezḥi.*"

If the guest, on the third day of his stay, inquires which way to take, the host describes it in detail as if he had to ride at night time: "If ye start at midnight when it is completely dark, go through that defile yonder, *elja ǧaḥamtom edrebow ma' haḏâk ar-rî'*." With the Ḥarb tribe alone can the guest leave the tent at any time he likes. Hence the saying: "Whether we leave early in the morning, or when the dew passes, or at noon, in the Ḥarb territory we shall find a road anywhere! *elja ṣbaḥna wa-ṣṭebaḥna w-elja' ẓaḥḥejna w-taṛaddejna dijâr ḥrûb killha drûb.*"

[672] For three and a third days the host will protect his guest and vouch for him while in his tent. Should he steal anything, the host must give compensation. After his departure the guest remains three and a third days more under the protection or before the countenance of his late host, who will protect him against his fellow tribesmen even to the distance of 150 kilometers. In case the guest is robbed in that time, he returns to his recent host, explains what has happened to him, and the latter, summoning his whole kin, says to them:

"So-and-So was our guest. Our salt and our food are still in his belly, and yet he was wronged by our fellow tribesmen. *Flân ṣâfana w-melḥana w-zâdana bebaṭneh w-naṭal min ǧemâ'atna.*" For it is the duty of the host's kin to assist him in recovering all that his guest has been robbed of.

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When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waḡh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ aḳwa' 'alejhom enhaḡ ûla' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ḡamî'.*"

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḫejl teḥmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓa'îf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓa'îf w-ben-nâs ḳawi.*"

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwejli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

[Poems Relating to Guests and Hospitality]

RWALA BEDOUINS

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1. *Tara-l-ḫawi w-aẓ-ẓejf w-aṭ-ṭâleṭ al-ğâr*
   miṯl aṣ-ṣala' mâ bên farzen w-sunna
2. *'ajben 'alejna zejfena talḥaḳeh an-nâr*
   wa-jmânana lesjûfen janḥaẓenna
3. *elja 'aṭejna-ẓ-ẓejf mâ ẓall beha kâr*
   naḳ'od 'an zên al-mebâni b'enna.

1. Behold, a companion on the road, a guest, and thirdly a neighbor
   Like a prayer are protected by Allâh's law and tradition.
2. Ours the shame if a shot should hit our guest
   As long as our right arms can lift our swords.
3. If we yield our guest, no work is left in our land for us,
   We shall then sit behind a heap of branches instead of in a fine tent.

The poet is unknown. Judging from the first verse, where theological rules and traditions are mentioned, he was either a settler or semi-*fellâḥ*. The reciters were Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

[558] Verse 3. He who yields his guest to the enemy loses his honor and must as an outcast leave both his tent and his kin. No tribe will adopt him. If he will not leave the desert for the settled territory he must wander about as a hunter or robber. Lacking a tent he must shelter himself in bad weather behind tree branches heaped up in a semicircle. There he lights a fire by which he sleeps. A camp made in this manner is called *'enna*.

1. *Low ẓâḳ ṣadri ḳilt ḥoṭṭû ğeḍâmîr*
   w-awžed nâri miṯl nâr al-ḥarâbe
2. *ṯumm aḥtaref w-ağîb 'owğ al-menâžir*
   w-aḥoṭṭhen 'ala ğamren 'aḳâb eltihâbeh
3. *edlâl tarka 'ala ḥâmi al-čir*
   tiḏlež čema silk al-ḥarîr en ṣabâ beh
4. *elja ğann ma' al-ḫall aš-šemâli da'âṭir*
   malzûm bel-jimna nḥanni ar-reḳâbe
5. *w-en ṣâna'at naḥoṭṭ čabšen ma' al-mîr*
   w-en 'âzabat jesidd ḳowlen halâ beh.

1. When in my breast I feel a burden I say: "Throw on logs [of wood
   And light a fire big as a war beacon."
2. Then I go out to fetch pots
   And place them on red-hot coals.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. From pots standing in the fireplace
A thin stream of coffee flows like a silk thread winding on a reel.
4. If travelers come to us by the northern path
We must daub the necks of their riding camels with blood.
5. And if [this world] allows, we shall offer a wether with boiled wheat;
If not, then the word 'welcome' will take its place.

The poet was Eben 'Abejče, mayor of the settlement Ḳna', lying on the road leading through the Nefûd from Syria to Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ǧwâd al-'Âni, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. *Zâḳ ṣadri* signifies a gloomy mood, depression, worry. *Ǧeḏâmîr* are thick logs of wood cut from palm stems, *eṭel* or *raṣa*. Ḥmâr pronounced this consistently *žeṭâmîr*. 2. *'Owǧ al-menâžîr* are coffeepots with long, crooked spouts. 3. *Čîr* is a blacksmith's red-hot forge, a heap of red-hot coal. The word *jiḏlež* is used when speaking of a boy whose urine flows in a long, thin stream. 4. *Ḫall* is a path or trail over sandy ground. 5. *Mîr* is the same as the Rwejli *'ejš*, boiled crushed wheat covered with meat. In the Neǧd settlements, as with the Bedouins in general, wheat is quite a rarity, as it has to be brought all the way from Syria or Irak. If there is no grain, there is neither *'ejš* nor bread, and the guest must be content with dates, meat, milk, and kind words.

1. *Jâ klejb šubb an-nâr jâ klejb šubbah*
'alejk šabbah w-al-ḥaṭab jiǧâbi
2. *'alejj-ani taḳlîṭ hejlah w-ḥabbah*
w-'alejk taḳlîṭ ad-dlâl al-'eḏâbi
3. *w-ḳalleṭ leha min ǧazel rimṭen beḫabba*
w-ehmes elja' nâmat 'ajûn al-ehdâbi
4. *bniǧren jenabbi tâli-l-lejl nabba'*
w-en endaḳḳ ṭâra teḳel ḏiben jenâbi
5. *'asa-lja šabbejtha wa-šlahab bah*
teǧḏeb lena jâ klejb ʿirâten ṛijâbi
6. *w-en žâṣa' al-mazbû' ḫaṭwa-l-ǧlebba*
w-ḥelw ṭakk 'ajijehom biržâbi
7. *al-wâlme jâ klejb lirab' ṣubbah*
w-ar-rizeḳ 'end-alli jenašši-s-saḥâbi
8. *bnisrijjeten jâ klejb ṣalfen mahabbah*
mučatfin w-eowḳehom bel-'ažâbi

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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9. *bsažwijjeten jâ klejb ṣalfen mahabba*
w-en habb nisnâsen tekel samm dâbi
10. *ehreğ lehom jâ klejb herğ al-mahabba*
w-low ğannab aṭ-ṭine mutîn al-'alâbi
11. *sawâlfen aḥla min šahâlîl ğubba*
w-aṣfa min as-semn al-ğedîd al-'arâbi
12. *w-čam čabš muṣlâḥen lirâseh neḏubbah*
w-min mazrab as-sičin nuḥanni-r-ržâbi
13. *w-ḳalben nuṣûḥ mâ maša' bel-musabba*
w-low hâk al-ağwâd aḫṭû-l-halâ bi
14. *w-aš-šejḫ w-ar-râ'i bdarb al-muḥabba*
w-al-ḫalḳ 'end allâh killehom biḥsâbi
15. *az-zejf zejf allâh w-lâ bhom musabba*
w-al-ḥâzer nimeddeh 'an al-'aḏâbi.

1. O Klejb, light the fire, O Klejb, light it!
To light it is thy duty; the fuel will be brought.
2. To prepare cardamom and coffee beans is my duty,
Thine to have the tarnished pots ready.
3. Lay upon the fire more fuel, *rimṭ* with bark,
And do the roasting as soon as my long-lashed eyes fall [asleep.
4. The mortar's voice will be heard at the night's end,
And a rap on its brim will sound like the howl of a wolf.
5. Mayest thou, when thou lightest the fire and its flame flares up,
Mayest thou, O Klejb, bring us night pilgrims from far away,
6. While a coward presses under him a disobedient wife.
Oh, how pleasant is their sticks' tap, tap, on the she-camel's neck!
7. What is left from yesterday, O Klejb, serve to the common visitors,
For our gain is in them only who do chase the clouds
8. In a dry, icy wind, O Klejb, that blows piercingly.
With hands folded they sit and urge only with heels
9. In a pouring rain with a sharp gale,
Or again in a light, moist breeze like snake poison.
10. To them, O Klejb, speak the language of love,
Even if into my mud hut a proud, stiff-necked man has come.
11. Tell them what is sweeter than dates on twigs from Ğubba
And purer than melted butter bought of Arabs.

2:Musil S--i, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Dṛejjem aẓ-Ẓulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Ḳna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Ḥâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Ḳuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Ḳna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Glebba* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Ṭakk 'aṣijehom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *saḥâba* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

539K 4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

[833] Verse 1. *Maẓẓa'* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebîle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating unpleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

827 269

Já mâ kaṭa'na dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâ.i 'ejâlaha
wa' hâj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

727 Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *kaw flân.*" Answer:
"O greeting to thee! *jâ hala.*"
"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:
"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"
"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalak hal-fowd.*" Answer:
"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalak wa-tfid.*"

[431] Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-ḥazijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *bešš behal-'aṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

727 574 Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Loosen your spittle! Look at the abundance! The *ğîre* oath rests on you!" Should they be reluctant to accept the invitation, they usually declare their readiness to have the oath rest on them and continue on their way. (On the *ğîre* oath see above, p. 460.) But if some one implores them with the words: "The *ğîre* oath of the slave Râšed rests on you, *'alejkom ğîrat al-'abd râšed*," they must stop and eat something. Who the slave Râšed may have been, nobody knows. It is said of him that he was most hospitable and even forced travelers to eat with him. 727 574

Within three days after his return either the leader or the man appointed by him offers the customary sacrifice, *'ažîre*. He kills a she-camel and exclaims: 727 782

"O Allâh, this is our custom! This belongs to the face of Allâh and to the face of our ancestor! *Jâ-llâh hâḏi 'âdatna hâḏi liwağh allâh w-liwağh ğeddina*." Every kin reveres its ancestor but never knows at what period he lived or where he was buried. The blood of the sacrificed animal is caught into the bulging iron sheet used for baking bread, *sâğ*, and with it the humps of the captured animals and the necks of the riding camels are besmeared. This is done in order to make sure of fresh booty.

A boy who has taken part in his first raid and brought back booty with him tries to buy a goat or a sheep in order to sacrifice it. Its blood he then sprinkles over his booty, *ḏbîḥa rušûš al-čâseb*; if a she-camel, he besmears her whole hump, if a mare, her whole forehead. From the tail of the captured mare he cuts a lock of hair, which he hangs up in his tent. This he does with every horse he captures to let all the guests know how many he has already taken; this custom is called *šeḏeb*. [883]

After the return from a raid the story of who has fallen, where, and in what manner, quickly spreads. The female relatives of the slain men then walk out of the camp to a distance whence even a loud cry cannot be heard, there to bewail their dead. 727 765

A mother cries: "Alas, woe is me! alas, my child! alas, woe is me! alas thou whom I bore in my womb! alas, woe is me! alas, thou little son of mine! *Wa' wâjli wa' waledi wa' wâjli wa' ğenîni wa' wâjli wa' bunajja.*"

A wife cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! ah, ruined is my tent! *wa' wâjli wa' ḥadem bejti.*"

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dabbed the scratch on my forehead and rubbed four drops of blood on his own forehead between his black eyebrows—the old Bedouin "*Nur-ed-Dem*", the "Light of Blood."

In this unusual, dramatic fashion I became, by the will of Allah, the blood-brother of Amir Fuaz.

Our friendship was soon to receive baptism by fire. A band of Ruala, two hundred and sixty-eight warriors, led by Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, set out on a *ghazu* (raid) into the Hamad and the Wudian region, against the Shammar Bedouins, and I accompanied them. We rode twelve hours the first day. In camp that night we were overhauling our riding-gear, water-skins, and so forth, when to our amazement we discovered, curled up in one of the goat-hair camel saddlebags—huge receptacles made of goat skins—little Amir Fuaz, sound asleep.

Not by the slightest sound or sign had he betrayed to us during the long and hard day's ride that we were carrying a stowaway. Our leader, Rasheyd (of the Muraf Ruala), wanted the boy taken home on the morrow by a camel-rider, but Fuaz pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the old freebooter was softened. He merely sent a mounted messenger to Misha'il's camp to let her know that her son was with us.

We were gone on this great *ghazu* almost two months. When we returned, worn out, having suffered serious losses, yet victorious, Amir Fuaz took four of the booty-camels, splendid fawn-coloured beasts, into the camp, and made them kneel before the tent of his blind mother. Misha'il, still a young woman, enquired pleasantly who was the stranger seeking her hospitality. Custom for-

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576 721 bade asking direct questions of a stranger. A Rueyli called out: "Khalati—it is a great prince who comes, O blessed daughter, to honour thee."

"And where is his *dira* (pasture) that I may send Hamar, our old slave, to proclaim him to our neighbour?"

"His name is 'The Young Falcon', and his dira extends as far as his eyes rove. It is thy son, O mother of Amir Fuaz."

[752] 721 685 648 In this foray, Rasheyd, the leader, had his right hand severed by a sword cut. He fainted from loss of blood. Our slaves then plunged the mutilated arm in boiling fat—a desperate remedy but successful, for Rasheyd recovered. He carried his amputated hand from that day forward in the saddle of his racing-camel. It dried up completely, like the hand of a mummy.

When we reached Bahr Saigal, not far from Dumeyr, the first Turkish fortress in Syria, its Commandant sent a cavalry detachment to our camp. He had been informed by telegraph of our illicit operations in the vicinity of the cultivated lands of Mesopotamia. His troopers were seeking Rasheyd, who was to be made answerable. But Rasheyd could not reconcile himself to the prospect of a Turkish dungeon. He placed his withered hand in a leather bag and dictated to Nauaf's *katib* (scribe) the following letter addressed to the Commandant at Dumeyr:

"In the name of the Benevolent and Compassionate! As *askar* (soldier) I cannot serve thy *Padishah* (Sultan), for I have but a stump of an arm. As thy prisoner I could do no work for thee; nay, as a friend I could not

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it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

I Meet My Blood Brother Again

All eyes were on the coffee-cook, who raked together 574
the smouldering embers on the hearth and added new 609
dried camel dung. On the silence soon fell the sound of [272]
boiling water bubbling in the capacious long-spouted pot.

The Amir's body-servant, Mnahi—the same who had spread the rug of greeting—took a stick of incense from a fold of his head-cloth, broke off a piece and placed it on a glowing dung-ember. Through the black roof-cloth filtered faintly the sunshine and wove a pattern of lights and shadows on the ground. Courtiers, warriors, and slaves formed a solemn, silent semicircle. Facing these squatting figures, Mnahi alone was on his feet; he had taken his post on his master's left and stood there, erect and motionless, one sinewy black fist on the silver hilt of his sword.

I stole surreptitious glances at my host. His *kaffiyah* framed an effeminate type of face, oval, with regular features and a high-bred, slightly aquiline nose. The dark eyes, brilliant and very large, were set beneath wide thick brows and a rather narrow forehead. When he smiled, dazzling white teeth showed under the small black moustache. The more I looked at this romantic young man, the more I recognized in him that spirited little blood-brother of mine in the long ago. It required an effort of will to restrain my impatience and not to declare myself forthwith; but I had to await the fitting moment. So far, no one had uttered a word. All seemed to be interested exclusively in the cook, still puttering about his hearth. In desert etiquette it is a gross breach [576] of courtesy to ply a guest with questions about himself.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

the herders, the shrieking of women and the whining of children. Scattered here and there among the ever-widening lines of advancing camels rode armed men, convoying their families. Thus out of apparent chaos arose the disciplined order of a general tribal migration, pushing forward into the uncertain wilderness.

As Amir Fuaz rode forward with me, past the marching columns, we were greeted from all sides. Tribesmen trotted across to cry hail and good fortune to their war lord. Slaves dismounted and kissed his feet or pressed their faces against them with a blessing. Women and girls shouted shrilly their "Zaraghrit!" or cried ecstatically: "Allah strengthen thee! Go thou before the countenance of our Lord! Ya el-'Adi—O dispenser of bounty. Long life to thee, our Prince! God grant thy wishes!"

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab. 769

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyya was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala. 619 721

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black. [302]

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates. [64]

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my 619 721 576

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 721 576 friends on no account to step within the circle of the *shiyukhs* without me.

No word of greeting or otherwise had come from these. Some turned away with ostentatious disdain. Ibn Meheyd, with his back to us, was excitedly whispering into the ear of his black body-servant, who was listening with bent head. The men of the bodyguard stood with eyes fixed on those two, their hands round the butts of the pistols in their belts, ready to draw.

Meanwhile, more by instinct than design, I seated myself close to Ibn Meheyd and motioned Faris and Mijhem to sit down too. (Abd el-Karim and the two slaves were waiting in our motor-car.) Furious ejaculations burst from every mouth at the liberties I was taking. At the sound, Ibn Meheyd turned in surprise; silently he regarded Faris and Mijhem with lowered brows and sinister eyes. I divined, nay, I could feel the murder in his mind. One sign from him, and there was an end of my friends; perhaps of me too.

There was not the fraction of a second to lose. Hailing the despised "coffee-cook" by the hearth, I called out to him: "O boy—strength to thee!" The old Negro looked up, startled, but did not dare to answer me; he only rolled his eyes timidly back and forth between me and his master. Suddenly Ibn Meheyd made a sign and his guardsmen drew their pistols. The last fragments of my courage and self-possession dropped from me and my knees trembled. But—the pistols were not levelled. Faris and Mijhem had been quicker than the guard. With great presence of mind they had whipped out their revolvers and had Ibn Meheyd covered before the black-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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amoors could take aim. And this they dared not do now.

This coolness helped to restore my own composure and I cried to the cook reproachfully:

"Is it forbidden in the house of Ibn Meheyd to present the cup of peace to the guest who has alighted at his sanctuary?" The old Negro dithered, as he reluctantly reached for the small china cup that was placed upside down on the handle of a big coffeepot to dry; he turned his face anxiously towards his chieftain. Unwilling to wait any longer, I jumped up and went quickly to the hearth, helped myself to the cup, took the pot from the bed of glowing embers—it burned my fingers cruelly, but I bit down the pain—and poured out the customary measure. Then I went up to Ibn Meheyd and presented the cup to him with the salutation of peace. He looked at me with bowed head from under lowered lids.

He must obey the Law of the Desert; he must take the proffered cup. Nor could he play with the lives of my friends without forfeiting his own. At the first aggressive move, he would be riddled with bullets, for Faris and Mijhem still had their pistols trained on him. He turned from me, but I put my hand on his shoulder: "Peace!" I said. He turned round again, a fanatic light in his eyes; but, despite the angry face, he now opened his lips to bid me peace and asked me to sit in his own seat.

Then, and not till then, Faris and Mijhem dared to put up their weapons; the word "peace" had been formally pronounced by the host. Slaves heaped cushions for us against the camel-saddle.

Ibn Meheyd himself then took the coffee-cup from

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 721 576 the slave's hand and presented it to me with, "Welcome! May it please thee!" Twice he repeated these words, which are a guarantee of peace and safety. Then Faris and Mijhem also drank with him.

ooo To us, used to the ways of Western civilization, such a train of events and their result must seem incomprehensible. But after one has lived a length of time with the Bedouins, one learns to understand that the unwritten laws of the Bedouin social code are closely adapted to the conditions of life in the desert and have sufficed, from time immemorial, to meet its manifold circumstances. Without these rules of the game, indeed, all human life in nomad Arabia would have become extinct long since.

619 728 After I had asked, and Ibn Meheyd had granted me, leave to speak, I set forth the object of my mission and exhorted the assembled *shiyukhs*, with what persuasive eloquence I could muster, to make peace with the Ruala, and, as in former years, share the grazing-grounds like [186] brothers. I dwelt on the advantages of unity and the evils of dissension, and drove home my argument by pointing out that by their present policy they were only playing into the hands of foreign powers, who, after all the Bedouin tribes had been weakened individually, would encompass the complete destruction of them all.

My exhortations and arguments were received in cold silence. Most of the chiefs sat with bent heads and tapped the ground with their camel-sticks in apparent boredom. I felt pretty sure, however, that their indifference was assumed, and I would not let myself be dis-

1: Raswan I-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

into the harem, to wait there until her bridegroom should call her. 585

Therewith the simple wedding ceremony was ended. We, who had been with Faris to witness the arrival of the bride, now rose to go.

The first stars were glittering over the hills when I stepped outside. The black tents in the valley melted into the deepening darkness of the evening.

The herds were wending their way homeward, their silhouettes now showing as they cross high ground, now sinking out of sight in the hollows. . . .

As my friends departed from the tent, each called out to Faris, according to Bedouin custom: "Vigour! And God be with thee!" [576]

Behind the partition that closed off the women's apartment Tuëma was waiting for our going. When the last farewell was uttered, she pulled the middle tent-pole from its position and laid it on the ground. The roof bulged and drooped low in the middle, almost touching Faris's couch, but the lateral supports and the taut stays kept the rest of the tent fixed at about a man's height. It was the sign to any passer-by that a bride was with her bridegroom.

That night Faris died. When we came to his tent next morning, Tuëma was lying unconscious beside her dead lover. 764

A stone's-throw from the tent a few slaves were busy digging his grave.

As we committed our dear brother, lying on the white

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

152 609 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to [577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place [576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-ernam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak 'al-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for
● [576 pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more
181] disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭa'ab al-ḥorr murr*."

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak 'arâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*)
685 or mounted (*mu'ajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *ḳowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana mu'težk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥîtak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as
302 bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭa' râsak*. It is much easier
628 for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

Šenne is the piece of an old, thoroughly dried hide which is stretched over the round hole of the violin-like rebec. It forms the sounding space and vibrates whenever the bow is drawn across the strings. *Rîḥa* means, properly, a vile and *benna* a pleasant odor. *Ǧallâb* is a merchant who does not sell for money but furnishes the women with perfumes and ornaments, taking from them camel's hair, traveling bags, *mezâwel*, fancy saddle bands, *sefâjef*, etc., in exchange.

Jâ hêh jâ râčeb al-ʿaṭli
sallem w-rudd as-salâmâti
sallem ʿala-lli nwa žatli
ḳul lâ lâ ḥajjen w-lâ mâti.

Hai to thee, who ridest a bony camel,
Salute and the salutes return!
Greet him who has resolved to destroy me,
And say I neither live nor am dead.

ʿAṭi (or *ʿaṭel*) is a bony camel. *Rudd as-salâmâti*, return the salutes—the visitor first salutes all present and is in turn saluted by each of them separately; he again answers every salute. To the ditty just cited the Rwala add the following:

w-ṯnejwâteh teḳel šatli
w-nhejdeh bêẓ al-ḥamâmâti.

Her teeth are like grains of rice
And her breasts round as the eggs of a pigeon.

Judged by its content this verse does not belong to the ditty; it may be a fragment of another with a similar rhyme.

Šatli is the same as *ḥabb ar-ruzz* or *ḥabb at-tummen*, grains of rice or of *tummen*.

Al-waǧd waǧdi ʿala dbajje
waǧd al-abkâr al-maʿâṭîši
dâǧen w-lâǧen ʿala-ṭ-ṭajje
w-al-maʾ baʿiden w-lâ nîši
jâ ḳrûnaha jâten al-mijje
miṯl as-sefâjef ʿala-l-ǧîši
jâ nhûdaha bêẓ ḳudrijje
taẓfi ʿalejh al-ʿačârîši.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

find a girl to marry him, owing to the fear that he would beget cowards like himself. The pastures on the river Sâğûr are called by our poet *ʿaḏra*, besmeared or polluted, because they are defiled by the excrements of countless flocks. No Rwejli would buy a mare from the neighborhood of the Sâğûr. 4. Turki eben Mhejd, head chief and commander of the Fedʿân, once gained a victory over the Rwala but was soon afterwards attacked and killed by them. Therefore he could not digest the mouthful he had won by his victory. *"Hanijjan,"* meaning: "Your health, well may it become you!" is the common way of addressing one who has just taken a drink of water. Nobody spoke in that way to Turki, *mâ-htanaʾ bah.* 5. Abu Nawwâf is the prince of the Rwala, an-Nûri. Âḏân are the members of the Âl Iḏen kin. *Šîǰâbe*, beasts of prey or wolves, is the name given to the members of the reigning house of Eben Nâjef, relatives of an-Nûri.

In Honor of the Author

1. *Abdi bḏičr allâh ʿala kill nijje*
   rabben čerîmen ʿâlimen bel-ḫafijjât
2. *jâ râčeben min fowḳ ḥamra ṭenijje*
   ḥorra hamîma min erčâb aš-šarârât
3. *mâ sâmaha-š-šarrâji bʿedâd mijje*
   w-lâ nawwaḫat leš-šêl dowmen maʿfât
4. *mirbâʿaha beṭrâf neǧd al-ʿaḏijje*
   tarʿa zahar nawâr ward aḏ-ḏwâbât
5. *fowḳah šdâd w-al-mijâreč zehijje*
   w-sefâǰifah lebb al-brîsem ḫalijjât
6. *maddat min bejten ʿelûmah ṭarijje*
   aš-šejḫ šejjâl al-ḥmûl aṭ-ṭeẓilât
7. *min bejt abu nawwâf ḏîb as-serijje*
   zejzûm meǧles čâsebîn an-nefâlât
8. *fowḳah ṛlâmen mâ jiḫâb ad-dwijje*
   jowṣel čalâm lidjâren baʿîdât
9. *elja lefejt adjâr hâk-as-semijje*
   ebdi-l-bešâra w-zid minna-s-salâmât
10. *ḳel ḥorren lefa min ʿendakom leh nwijje*
    neǧmen šebîh as-shejl mâ beh ṛabâwât
11. *bâǧ al-bilâd al-ʿâmra w-al-ḫalijje*
    beʿaḳl raǧiḥ mâ jihâb al-ʿasirât

576 When a man does a kind act for another, the recipient acknowledges it with the words: "*Mâ alḥaḳ ǧezâk, mâ eǧâzîk beǧmîl miṯl ǧemîlak.* I am unable to reward thee. I cannot do thee such a good turn as thou hast done me."

539x

Li fâṭeren mâ ṭ'aḏri
w-an-naḏel mâ testwîlah
jaḥram 'alejha-ṭ-ṭhaẓẓri
w-al-bâb wa-lǧat naḥîla
tefraḥ elja ǧît aǧri
w-al-bišet jowmi šelîla.

I have an old camel that needs not make excuses.
A coward cannot govern her.
Forbidden to her is the settlement,
The gate and the rustling of palms.
She rejoices when I gallop to her
And signal to her with the hem of my light mantle.

1. *'Asa-l-ḥaja jeszi mawârîd majḳû'*
   jeszi-l-želîb aṭ-ṭâref ma' maraddeh
2. *ḥejṭa maḳarr lel-farâžîn w-an-nǧû'*
   w-killen jwallem leh maḳâm w-'edde
3. *šifet al-ṛâzi ṭowbeh 'an as-sâḳ marfû'*
   mutmašleḥen lirša' jabṛi jišiddeh
4. *w-allâh jâ lôla-l-ḥabel maṭni w-marbû'*
   mâ ṭâwa' al-laḳḳâj low ḳâl ruddeh
5. *ḥasszejt îdi min al-'azed lil-kû'*
   raddejtaha bil-jowm tis'în radde
6. *waddak tebîḥ as-sedd 'ala miṯl ǧedû'*
   karmen elja šâf al-ḫana' mâ je'addeh
7. *zabn aḏ-ḏelîl elja haba' kill manzû'*
   sejfen šaṭîr w-jiḳṭa' ar-râs ḥaddeh
8. *ḳel en čân ams miṯl al-jowm mâ massâni ǧû'*
   w-ašûf ḥâli bšaḥam mustareddeh
9. *alli-skâni min ṭanâjâh ḳarṭû'*
   jâ ṣwejḫbi wa'-ḥlêl ḥebb al-mwadde
10. *w-allâh laḥalli ben-nezel ṣâje' w-maṣjû'*
    w-allâh laḥalli kill bedd jetla' lebeddeh.

1. May the rain fill the watering places at Majḳû'
And fill to the top the first well from which the rope returns with the buck

CHAPTER XVII

PROTECTION OF THE OPPRESSED

COUNTENANCE OR *WAĞH*

572 486 Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies to a person regardless whether present or not is called a countenance, *waǧh*. Before the countenance of some Rwejli it is possible to travel through the whole Rwala territory without fear of an attack or of violence. Before the countenance of Prince an-Nûri one may cross not only the Rwala territory but also that of all other tribes which acknowledge his sovereignty. It is said of the prince that he resembles a long branch to which smaller twigs are attached.

486 622 576 Whoever wishes to travel through the territory of a powerful chief goes first to him with the following request:

"I desire to ride through the pastures of thy tribe, so grant me the protection of thy countenance." If the chief answers:

"Undertake thy journey in peace! Behold, I give thee my countenance, *midd ma' as-salâme tarâni e'ṭîk waǧhi*," he may start as tranquilly as if accompanied by the chief himself.

If a man wishes to visit the territory of a strange tribe and has no comrade, *ḫawi*, of that tribe to go with him, he declares in the presence of some respected men of the neighboring tribe: "Behold, I go on a lengthy journey before the countenance, under the protection, of Chief So-and-So whose territory I shall soon enter." Then he continues his journey. When he meets the first members of the tribe in question, he shouts at them from afar:

"Behold! I travel under the protection of your chief." Should they disbelieve and rob him, he still tries to reach their chief, to whom he complains:

"I undertook this journey before thy face! *maddejt bwaǧhak*."

The chief, disliking complications, replies: "That is a lie, *čiḏeb*." But the plundered man continues:

"I undertook this journey before thy face, as So-and-So from the Such-and-Such tribe, whose word is believed, *raǧâlen ma'ḫûḏen čalâmahom*, will testify."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him.

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-waǧh naẓîf mâ jaršâh ad-danas.*

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abbe. had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry:

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw msâfet šahr zamânen 'anna."*

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḫâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
635 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *taḳṭi' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
628] is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
●576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
619 a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The
more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his
protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to
protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division
of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have
an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats
a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet*
su'ra. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler
to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim
is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request,
min rejr nab' jefekkeh. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger
cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana
Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Bišr and also to all the
'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the ʿAneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧh wâḥeḍ*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Singâra or the ʿAbde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl ʿalejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSPITALITY

SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâme*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *mâḫûḍ*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tarâkom mwaṣṣedîn w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwaṣṣed*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḳawwi* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ ḥala*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jesallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

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"May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh je'âfik.*"

"How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"

"May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"

"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh je'âfik w-jesallem ṛâlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[203] It takes some time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-ma'âzîb.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terawwehûnahom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

2: Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teszûn al-'aṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ 'endana ma'*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *taṭwîḥ*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *ṛana' b'âli ḥesseh.* One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

DURATION OF HOSPITALITY AND DEPARTURE OF GUESTS

574 The usual or proper hospitality extends to three days and
● 576 a third of the fourth day. The first day should be devoted to salutations, *salâm*, the second to entertainment, *ṭa'âm*, and the third to discussion, *kalâm*. The third of the fourth day is counted as lasting from sunset to the appearance of the morning star. Between this time and sunrise is the correct time for the guest to depart. But he who prepares to leave only after the dew has evaporated on the fourth day, causes his host a good deal of annoyance, for the latter probably wants to begin the day's march to a new camp site or has to watch his camels while their herdsman is eating his breakfast; hence the proverb: "A spotted snake and a guest who either comes or leaves when the dew has gone are esteemed alike! *al-ḥajje ar-raḳṭa' walla-ẓ-ẓejf al-meẓḥi.*"

If the guest, on the third day of his stay, inquires which way to take, the host describes it in detail as if he had to ride at night time: "If ye start at midnight when it is completely dark, go through that defile yonder, *elja ǧahamtom edrebow ma' haḏâk ar-rî'.*" With the Ḥarb tribe alone can the guest leave the tent at any time he likes. Hence the saying: "Whether we leave early in the morning, or when the dew passes, or at noon, in the Ḥarb territory we shall find a road anywhere! *elja ṣbaḥna wa-ṣṭebaḥna w-elja' ẓaḥḥejna w-taraddejna dijâr ḥrûb killha drûb.*"

[672] For three and a third days the host will protect his guest and vouch for him while in his tent. Should he steal anything, the host must give compensation. After his departure the guest remains three and a third days more under the protection or before the countenance of his late host, who will protect him against his fellow tribesmen even to the distance of 150 kilometers. In case the guest is robbed in that time, he returns to his recent host, explains what has happened to him, and the latter, summoning his whole kin, says to them:

"So-and-So was our guest. Our salt and our food are still in his belly, and yet he was wronged by our fellow tribesmen. *Flân ẓâfana w-melḥana w-zâdana bebaṭneh w-naṭal min ǧemâ'atna.*" For it is the duty of the host's kin to assist him in recovering all that his guest has been robbed of.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ aḳwa' 'alejhom enhaǧ ila' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ǧamî'.*"

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḫejl tehmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓa'îf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jezâm ẓa'îf w-ben-nâs ḳawi.*"

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwejli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, *neğes*, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*: The visitor salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiğîk*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednesday and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṭ-ṭakil*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mharfal*. As such they consider the imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalûṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meğîdijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die!"

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

"No longer sad, for Allah will no longer shut us out from the blessings of His heaven." 731x

At this moment we saw Amir Fuaz with his mounted bodyguard ride past. They saw us also and came over and sat down in the tent.

In the course of the conversation, Faris said to the young Amir: "Let Aziz and me travel to thy enemies and treat with them. If they give in and share their pastureland with us, the French will then make no objections." [648]

With some anger the young Amir fixed his eyes on Faris and cried: "We shall act, but no longer treat with them. We shall take what we want of our enemy's pasturage. Without forage there can be no camels, and without camels no life for us. Hast thou not perceived that?" [233]

"I understand," said Faris, in his gentle way. "Is it then no longer a custom with us that one may beg his life, even of the enemy when compelled by need? Truly the path of peace is shorter than the long road on which lurks destruction." [577]

Fuaz did not answer—and all the others in the tent held their peace. Suddenly, however, the young Prince got up, strode over to the slave who was watering his mare from a goatskin, mounted and rode away.

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nothing in common with those worthy camel and sheep raiders who ride *dhaluls* and mares, and whose exploits are somewhat in the nature of knightly enterprises.

Faris and I exchanged glances and stealthily groped under our cloaks on the ground for our rifles.

Now I could take my courage in my hands and speak to our uninvited visitors.

"What do you want of us?"

"God knows."

"And how did you get here?"

"From over there."

"And where are you going?"

"Over there."

"What tribe do you belong to?"

"The Beni Adam" (Children of Adam).

The replies sounded impudent and dangerous; but we were used to desert ways. By their ambiguous replies, the strangers stamped themselves as ordinary robbers. Had they responded to my questions more openly, they would have made themselves and their tribe responsible for our safety (or our death). We could then either have removed our headgear or in some way have touched one of them, and thereupon claimed their protection. Even to spit on a man (a truly singular way of "touching") and thus call on his protection is permissible and efficacious enough to save one's life, if not at the same time one's property.

These fellows had no use for the honoured customs of the Arabs. They were responsible to no one and would kill us in cold blood. Why they held back was incomprehensible.

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623 and the idea came to me at once that he would try to
728 ambush us on our return journey.
619 After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn-Milhem (Chief of the Wuld'Ali) and our *shiyukhs*. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the chieftains."

Thereupon Ibn Meheyd offered me his hand. I grasped it and thanked him and the others in the conclave for their willingness to share their grazing-grounds during the coming summer with the Ruala and Wuld'Ali and for allowing the peoples to live side by side in neighbourly amity. I also expressed my hope that the belligerent chieftains would also soon conclude peace among themselves.

It would have been useless to waste more words on the healing of the breach between the *shiyukhs*. If Ibn Meheyd fulfilled their promise of peace between the tribes, I could be more than content with the result of my journey. It would be no less than a miracle.

619 It was still dark when I was roused from sleep by the
728 clatter of cooking utensils. The cook was just putting
577 his water-pots on the glowing fire. Enveloped in its acrid smoke, by the threshold, stood the old mare that had carried me to this tent after the conference. I stepped into the open. It was still night, but the stars were paling and in the east the greenish-grey of dawn mantled the

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desert as with a fine veil. Between the tent-ropes lay our host's camels, chewing the cud. Beyond them spread the softly undulating steppe, and a wonderful fragrance exhaled from it. Everywhere was a stillness and a peace which filled me with awe.

But where were the tents and the herds that at midnight had covered the whole neighbourhood?

I ran into the open a little way and looked about. Far and wide no other tent. Our black shelter lay like a derelict ship on the ocean.

A curious feeling of loneliness came on me for the first time in my life among the Arabs. I had been left with a few companions only, where the evening before thousands had camped round us. Silently the Bedouins had broken camp and they—their women, their children, and their animals—had melted away like a mirage; I could not understand it all.

"Faris! Mijhem!" I called and went to wake the sleepers. Sheykh Nauaf-es-Saleh, in whose tent we had slept, also appeared. I took his hand and asked:

"What does this mean?"

"What doth it mean, thou askest?" he replied. "Ibn Meheyd never breaks his word. The promise he made thee last night he fulfils even this morning."

Ibn Meheyd had evacuated his grazing-grounds to make room for the Ruala!

Nauaf pointed to a group of persons some distance away, now visible in the stronger light. They seemed to be resting, just about where Ibn Meheyd's tent had stood the previous evening.

We rode over and found Ibn Meheyd himself, with

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six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

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152 609 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to [577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place [576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

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manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey. 609

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhaluls*. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty. 627 577

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory. 609 [486]

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XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

721 AMIR FUAZ HAD not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dis- [435] patched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only al- [425] ternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a [517] knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

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This disposition gave Fuaz twofold satisfaction. It would facilitate the execution of his plan to recover his mare by stratagem and confirmed his assumption that the Saba did not reckon with the possibility of a Ruala raid so soon, as very little rain had fallen in that region and travel therefore was still very difficult. They probably thought that the Ruala would not venture so far into the inner Hamad until much later, when water and pasture would be plentiful. It was clear at all events that, for the time being, Falha's keepers felt themselves quite secure. Furthermore, if a skirmish proved unavoidable, the fighting would be away from the Saba tents, for Bedouins of noble lineage consider it barbarous to engage the enemy near their own camp. They believe that only the Turks, the "Franks" (Europeans) and the rulers of agricultural Arabia wage war in such a way as to endanger the women and children.

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Luck favoured Fuaz's designs from beginning to end. We broke camp early in the morning and a few hours later circled round the pasture where the Saba horses were. Then we wheeled and got between them and the camp. The whole movement was made smoothly and without contact with our opponents. But now their outposts sighted our troop and sought to evade us and carry word to the camp. Our camel-riders easily caught the fugitives, who stopped when a few shots were fired over their heads and let themselves be taken without attempting any defence. They were mere boys, fourteen to sixteen years of age. In rough jest, their captors cut off some of their long plaits and with these bound them

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to him and to the Ruala than all the rest of the horses put together. We now began in turns, two men at a time, to file through the iron shackles. When we had finished that task, Amir Fuaz kissed his mare's hoofs with joy. 721

Falha, feeling her freedom, commenced to prance and neigh while I held her by the halter. I begged Amir Fuaz to tie her to the saddle of my camel, so that I might lead her home. "Ride her!" he replied, and explained that we must mount the captured horses in order to get as far away from the enemy as possible in the shortest space of time. So I jumped on Falha's back and galloped off with my friends to where the camel-riders with the prisoners were awaiting us.

In all, the Ruala had seized twenty-three mares. As we bade farewell to the Saba herders, one of them, a young lad, stepped up to Amir Fuaz and cried: 721 577

"*Ayb*"—"Shame on thee!"

"Who art thou?" asked the young Prince.

"Jaza ibn Ajlán."

"And what is thy desire?"

"Behold—only with tears can I water Freyha (the Joybringer) when thou takest her away, and she will not again have the milk of her Naga (Milch-camel), and Simiha (the Soft-one) and Nauma (the Sleepy-one) and her daughters will also mourn for her."

Amir Fuaz appreciated the lad's grief for his lost mares and asked him further:

"And how old are Simiha and Nauma?"

"Simiha is one summer old and Nauma two. But see, Freyha is again in foal!"

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●577 "And therefore thou would'st have back the mother of thy foals?"

"Not because of that, but because it is a shame that thou shouldst steal the *wool*-shackled mares from our pastures."

"Did I not honourably warn you?"

"We trusted thy word, which only referred to Falha, and therefore we shackled her with *steel;* all the other mares had only *woollen* shackles."

Amir Fuaz looked thoughtfully into the distance and, as was his habit, toyed with his hair-plaits. Then, twisting one of the locks round his index finger, he stared the young Saba straight in the eyes.

"Thou art daring. But thou speakest the truth and I am not offended. Now I understand why Falha alone wore iron shackles. Therefore I will reward thy trust. Falha is our booty; take back what belongs to thee."

The Prince ordered his men to dismount from the captured mares and return them to the Saba. He also commanded Mnahi to take the plaits cut from the heads of the young Saba from his saddlebag, into which he had stuffed them as souvenirs, and throw them away.

522 As Fuaz noticed me sitting peacefully and satisfied on Falha, he burst out laughing and cried:

"Allah Karim!—God is benevolent! Look at Aziz. First he comes on a raid against us, then we capture him, and now he rides home on our best mare."

Ali, my gallant protector, who stood near, took up the joke:

"Amir Fuaz will permit me to say that one must

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

watch Aziz carefully, or he may flee to your enemies with Falha."

"Allah give him strength," said Fuaz. "He rides with the panthers and the falcons!"

"With the lions!" was Ali's improvement.

Despite their show of cheerfulness, I could see that it went hard with the Ruala tribesmen to watch the Saba ride off with the captured mares. But no one uttered a word of complaint against the magnanimous gesture of the chief, for generosity is held to be the highest virtue amongst the Bedouins.

So we started on our long ride to the home camp, and eleven days later rested again under the hospitable roof of Nuri Sha'lan's dwelling.

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

577 ●

[For poems depicting qualities valued and admired by the Rwala and great deeds of men see category 116, pp. 473-488.]

CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šab'ân 'ala-l-ǧê'ân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ǧê'ân w-lâ ta'tîh 'arijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-sema' w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭa'.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ 'abdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh ja'mal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *'aša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ġada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 ✓
539 ✓

Such are the reports I have heard of thee—
And, by Allâh himself! I am at peace.
Be gone, be gone, so that my eyes may never perceive thee,
O thou, whom the mere sighting of the enemy turns to flight.

[577]
[513]

A maiden rejects her lover for hiding like a coward during a raid. *Śîḥa* is a plain covered with *šîḥ* growing as high as sixty centimeters, so that a man lying in it cannot be seen. *Mžejjilen* is one who likes to rest in the hottest hours of the day, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. *Edd* for *ruḥ*, away. *Ẓîḥa* is the first sight of the enemy.

Jâ wenneti wennet aṭ-ṭentên
ṛâdi waladhen maflâhen
en rawwaḥen jeẓ'ažen ṣourtên
w-en eḳbel al-lejl betnâhen
'alejk jâ žâdel al-ḳarnên
ḳalbi šfûḳen limâtâhen.

This is my lament, like the lament of two she-camels
Whose calf is lost in the pasture.
When they come back for the night, they wail with two voices.
Even when it grows dark and their legs are tied.
O thou, whose hair is plaited into two tresses,
My heart pities thee because of their meetings.

A youth warns the girl he loves, but who does not return his affection, that her lover has others beside her. If the Bedouins want to milk a she-camel whose young is a weakling, they kill the calf at birth and put another in its place. Both mothers now take this calf for their own, caring for and nursing it. When such a young camel gets lost in the pasture, either by falling into a pit or becoming the prey of a wild beast, both mothers wail day and night for a long time.

'Azzâk jâ barḳen jelûḥ
wara-ṭ-ṭawîl ṣowbaha
jâ ḥejf jâ 'ašîreti
wa'-l-mubreẓa 'ajjaw baha.

May Allâh comfort thee! The lightning flashed
Beyond aṭ-Ṭawîl, whither she wanders.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ḏalaf means "went abroad either to work for wages or on business" — for example, to work as a driver of camels bought by the ʿAḳejl. The wife of the absent man left his tent to return to her kin, whose tent was pitched on the very border of the camp.

Jâ ṣâḥebi w-an-nebi mâ-ḳfejt
w-lâ-ṭrejt ana-l-bowḳ min ḥîni
ṛaṣb ʿalejje jâ-l-ṛaẓi ǧaẓẓejt
darben ʿala-ẓ-ẓîž ḥâdîni.

O my beloved, by Allâh himself, I am not untrue to thee!
From the very beginning never have I thought of treachery.
Against my will, O my desired! as I told thee,
By a road leading to distress he drives me.

The second cousin or another near relative, *eben al-ʿamm*, presses his own claim on the girl. She apologizes to her lover. *W-an-nebi* is a very common saying, used even by the Christians. *Aḳfaʾ* signifies a fighter who in fear turns his horse around. To this, special blame is attached, as he thus betrays his comrades and exposes them to greater danger. *Min ḥîn* means "from the very beginning"; *lâ-ṭrejt al-bowḳ*, "no thought of treachery has occurred to me"; *ṛaẓi*, "the desired, the one eagerly expected"; *aṛẓi*, "I long for, I wish for." *Ǧaẓẓejt*, for *ḥačejt* or *ṣiḥet*. A *ḥâdi* is a camel driver.

Mišerfe jâ ḥajâti
nâdîni ṛadejt
laʿan abu min jerodd
ʿan alli baṛejt.

Mišerfe, thou life of mine,
Call me, for I have lost my way.
Cursed be the father of him who keeps me
From what I desire.

In a dark night the lover, in a terrain unknown to him and cut up by numerous gullies, cannot find the spot agreed on for the meeting with his sweetheart; he also curses her folk, who will not allow him to come to their tent.

1. *Jâ wenneti wennet baʿrîn telle*
biḥowî eben ʿâmerteʿat ajjâm beʿḳâl

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER X

POETRY

POETS AND POETICAL COMPOSITION

The Rwala love to hear, recite, and compose poems, which they call *ḳaṣâjed* (sing., *ḳaṣîde*). A verse is called *ḳâf*. It usually consists of two halves, the first being *nuṣṣ al-ḳâf* and the second, which is always rhymed, *âḫer al-ḳâf*, being *ḳâf at-tâli*. The poet says of himself: "I composed a poem, *ḳaṣatt* or *ḳilt al-ḳaṣîde*." Sometimes a poet will not say that he composed (a poem), *ḳaṣad*, but merely that he uttered (a poem), *ḳâl*. The audience say to the poet: "Reveal us thy poem, *ebdaha 'alejna*." If a begging poet comes to a chief in whose honor he has composed a poem, he begins by saying: "There are a few words, O chief! which I should like to disclose to thee, O long-living one! *endi ĕlêmât jâ šejḫ abṛi ebdiha 'alejk jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*." "Out with it! *hâtah*." And the poet in a nasal voice begins to recite his poem. The first words he blurts out, the next he half swallows, and the last he utters in a falsetto. If the chief likes the poem, its author gets a reward. The begging poets are not held in much esteem, being reproached for their insatiability, for their disregard of honesty in praising even scamps for a reward, and also because they lie and steal. They steal the ideas, sentences, and even whole verses of others. It often happens that the hearers assail such a poet with the words: "Thou liest. Thou stolest it from So-and-So!" The poet defends himself, calling on others to be his witnesses, but the confidence of his hearers is gone, and they say: "A poet is a liar, *ḳaṣṣâd kaḏḏâb*." When the poet learns that his composition or some of his verses are claimed by somebody else, he complains to the chiefs or even in the courts, but they all refuse to listen on the ground that a poet cannot be trusted.

On hearing a new poem the Bedouins inquire its author's name, *limin hâḏi*. An anonymous poem is called *maġhûla*.

A poem is but rarely written down. As a rule the poet's friends learn it by heart, and others learn from them. Every Bedouin knows several poems but hardly ever the whole of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him.

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-waǧh naẓîf mâ jaršâh ad-danas.*

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abher had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry:

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw msâfet šahr zamânen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze 486
from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression 572
to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧh wâḥeḍ*. 576

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the 619
most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of 577●
all security both of person and property. Whoever is threat- 572
ened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he 696
is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *ʿatab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh taʿteb ʿala daḫili ent ʿajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem ʿendana ʿâdaten sânijjaten mâ had jakṭaʿha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâʿ al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgracing the tent. If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

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Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal ʿalejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ ḥi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Żeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ṛanameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnaẓẓel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *adlah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Żeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḏahna 'alejhom*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛurrabna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ǧezire. Some time later the wounded man, *alli mesṭijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *as-aḍi*, who, as it was the time of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 627 the greatest heat of the day, was just resting with his flock, *mžajjel bṛanameh*. Suddenly Belhân seized his heavy club, *madrûb*, jumped at this relative of Medbaṛ, and beat him till he fell down insensible. When it was reported to us, we at once rode to the river and took Belhân to task:

'Thou knowest that he is under our protection. Why dost thou insult our face? Why dost thou beat thy cousin?'

"He replied: 'O brothers, his fate has overtaken him, *amreh ṣâr*.' But we went straight to his kin, *naḥarna haleh*, compelled them to come with us, and took all their tents and flocks just as if they were enemies as compensation for our lost face, *w-aḥaḏnâḥom aḥḏ al-ḳowmâni ḥakk waġhana ḥelâlhom w-bujûthom*. Then, lodging them, in our tents for the time being, we gave them this advice, *w-ašarna 'alejhom šowren*:

'If you make up the quarrel, behold! we shall give you these flocks; if not, we shall keep all as the price of our face and shall return nothing to you, *mâ nanṭîh*.' We had them all assembled, *lajjemnâhom*, in our chief's tent. Medbaṛ and Belhân also appeared, each with his surety:

'Medbaṛ, wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will, *žâbleh*.'

'Turn to, *anḥed*, thy surety!'

'I turn to 'Abṭân.'

'Wilt thou be reconciled, 'Abṭân?'

'I will.'

'Dost thou vouch for the reconciliation?'

'I do.'

"Next we asked Belhân: 'Wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will.'

'Who is thy surety?'

'Râzi.'

'Will Ṛâzi guarantee that Belhân will keep peace?'

'I do.'

'Lay aside your arms, then embrace and kiss!' This they did and became reconciled, and we now could give back to Belhân's kin all that we had taken from them as the price of our face."

Za'al eben Ṛâzi of the Ḳmuṣa subdivision of the Sba'a tribe had a son; Nejtûl eben Ǧdejjân was the father of a daughter. Za'al and Nejtûl were the sons of two different fathers but of the same mother. Za'al reserved Nejtûl's daughter for his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

son, claiming the cousin's right to his cousin. Nejtûl denied 577 ●
that the cousin's right was involved in this case, and his 627
daughter declared that she would never marry Za'al's son. Za'al then began to persecute Nejtûl in such a hostile manner that the latter had to seek refuge in Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed's tent and to ask his protection. Ṛaṭwân, sending for Za'al, said to him:

"Count thine ancestors till thou findest one who is both thine and Nejtûl's. Then ask for his daughter, and I myself will bring her to thee, if necessary, with a saber in my hand, *atakaffaha jammak bes-sejf raṣban.*"

Za'al began to count: "Râzi, the son of Ṣabr, the son of Sâjer, the son of Farağ, the son of Murabbeṭ — and Murabbeṭ is the fifth ancestor of Nejtûl." After this Za'al brought five pack camels: a five-year-old, *rubâ'*, a four-year-old, *ṭeni*, a three-year-old, *ğed'*, a two-year-old, *ḥeżż*, and a yearling, *mafrûd*, and, making them kneel before Ṛatwân's tent, spoke thus:

"O Ḳmuṣa, here ye see five ancestors connecting me with Nejtûl. I call you as witnesses. *Jâ ḳmuṣa tarâkom šâhedîn 'ala 'adad al-ğdûd tarâhen nâjeḥât.*" Here Nejtûl, turning to Ṛaṭwân, interposed:

"Za'al's son does not belong to my kin; he is not a cousin of my daughter and therefore cannot have her for five camels. Behold, I, thy protégé, demand such gifts as, according to ancient custom, are given in such cases, *al-muḳalledât.* Make Za'al bring also earrings valued at eight pounds, *tarâči bṭamân nêrât*, a necklace, *ṭowḳ*, the pendants to the necklace, *ma'âneż*, and also enough silk and cotton stuffs, so that I could walk on them from thy tent to mine."

When Ṛaṭwân repeated Nejtûl's demands to Za'al, he refused them indignantly, saying that *al-muḳalledât* gifts had long been out of fashion.

"I let thee know my protégé's demands and ask thee to comply with them. If thou thinkest that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts are no longer given, bring me thine opinion confirmed by the judge Eben Ṛubejn and I shall believe thee. But if Eben Ṛubejn decides that thou must give what Nejtûl demands, then bring a surety that thou wilt do it; otherwise Nejtûl will marry his daughter to whomsoever he sees fit."

"Well, then, let Eben Ṛubejn decide according to the law. Snejdân is my surety. Come, Snejdân, grasp my moustache

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 627 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give all that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in his fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demanded, if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-muḳalledât* were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon returned with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl nor Ṛaṭwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al gave up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards married another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarreled over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unable to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from her tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ǧel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in a matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should be helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its well trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, and, accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber of the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the camel with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarmed by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right galloped up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protégé and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect thy camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil thou causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 627 577 695 The parents of a married woman who had no other heirs died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished to get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relatives of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to return to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḫaǧlâna 'ala bejtha*. Not long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, and while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' camels passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two young she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, and,

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân ḥaḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḫoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi tḫâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥin hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt intoRšejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father.Ršejd, though he was

727 wounded in the left hand and bespattered with blood, posted himself in front of his tent and liberated the Ḥwêṭi, *fakkeh*, 577 from the enraged crowd. But no sooner did Eben Ḳardûš learn that the enemy who had slain his grandson was in Ršejd's ṭent, than he came there galloping on his mare and offered Ršejd twenty camels if he would deliver the Ḥwêṭi to him. Ršejd declined with these words:

"Wouldst thou tarnish my tent, *mâ tebûž bejti*, so that I should become an object of contempt? *atašajje' beh*."

Protection of Enemy Who Voluntarily Surrenders

727 The Bedouins hate to shed blood and therefore spare the lives of their enemies as much as possible. Thus, when repulsing an attack and pursuing an enemy, they urge him to surrender, *ḳâmow jamna'ûn*, with the words:

"Yield it (thy mare, camel, or arms) for thy neck as long as I can help thee, *ruddha 'ala rḳubtak meṭûli anfa'ak*."

The enemy answers: "Lay God on me! *ḥoṭṭ 'alejji allâh*."

"God on thee! *'alejk allâh*."

"I yield."

An enemy who has surrendered voluntarily is called *manî'*, pardoned or saved, because his adversary has pardoned him and saved his life, *mana'eh 'an ruḳubteh 'an aḏ-ḏabeḥ*.) All the possessions of such a *manî'*, such as his horse, camel, clothes, arms, etc., become the property of his captor. The latter, however, lets him keep them for a while, merely taking the precaution of giving the *manî'* his headband, kerchief, or jacket as a sign and a warning, *amûrijje*, that nobody must harm him. The pardoner, *mâne'*, then throws himself into the fight anew, and not until the victory is complete will he look for his *manî'* in order to take him and the booty to his tent. There he despoils the captive of anything he desires and then dismisses him with a gift of some kind. Yet sometimes the *manî'* chooses to break his word and tries to escape. If his animal is unwounded and the fighters draw away to some distance, he creeps out of the enemy's troop and flees into the desert, *jeḥoṭṭ al-ḳowm šanaḳ w-jenîr al-ḥala'*. On his return home, *elja' ṭabb 'ala haleh*, he will send, at the next opportunity, the part of the dress received from the *mâne'* back to him. A pardoned *manî'* of this kind is called *bâjež*, faithless. This will not injure him much with his fellow tribes-

men, but among the enemy he must, if recaptured, expect death, as no one will pardon him again. 727

Bâjež, faithless, is also said of one who attacks a friend. Such a stain fell on the name of the Rwala when, in the spring of 1898, they attacked the ʿEbede in al-Ḳaʿra. The ʿEbede, under the chief Barǧas eben Hdejb, asked Eben Šaʿlân for peace. This was granted, and the messengers returned home in the evening; but on the following morning Eben Šaʿlân's, Eben Meʿǧel's, and Eben Mǧejd's warriors attacked Barǧas' camp again and completely looted it. To excuse himself Eben Šaʿlân asserted that this particular troop had left twenty days before on a raid against the ʿAmârât in the vicinity of Kerbela but, when repulsed, attacked the ʿEbede on their way home, in ignorance of the fact that peace had just been concluded. The ʿEbede, however, do not believe this subterfuge but still maintain that they were attacked treacherously, *bâḳowhom bowḳa*, and, whenever they sight a Rwejli in the desert, they utter their battle cry, *jentaḥûn*: "I am a rider protecting the ʿArfa herds, I a Sbêʿi. O those faithless ones! O those blackened faces! Have you forgotten the peace dinner? *Ḥajjâl al-ʿarfa sbêʿi al-bowḳân sowdân al-wǧîh wên mṛaddâkom.*" A breach of faith is always condemned, for it is punished by God. Hence the saying: "A faithless one will never rise above the dogs, *râʿ al-bowḳ mâ jarḳaʾ fowḳ al-člâb.*" 577 727

PROTECTION IN CASES OF THIEVERY

To despoil a stranger belonging to a tribe not related to one's own is a proof of cunning and strength. But no chief will stoop to stealing. It is usually the sons of poorer families who go out in twos or threes to steal or to rob. A thief on foot is called *ḥâjef* or *ḥanšûli*; if mounted on horse or camel he is known as *muʿajjer*. When the *maʿâjîr* arrive near the enemy's camp they hide and try to acquaint themselves with the whole terrain. After sunset they leave their horses or she-camels in a safe place and crawl near to the tents. One of them remains at a certain spot about five hundred paces from the tents; the other advances cautiously till he finds a good horse or a she-camel which he thinks worth stealing. If he succeeds, he hurries back with the capture to his comrade and then to the place where their own animals are hidden. Tying the stolen animals to their own, he then leads them all 579 674

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḥmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh židdâm rukubteh*."

● 577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*,
672 *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâda bawwâḳ lâ tḥallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *adḥalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

aid him in obtaining his rights, *jimašši-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehîra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi ṛâje sowda' flân eben flân daḥalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizḳi bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *rab'i jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' wağhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arzûn 'endeh w-jentaḥûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.

When he has complied with every demand, the powerful
627 man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kaẓejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
●577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh waǧheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-akbalat al-menijje fakk ar-ruḳubat al-mâlijje.*"

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêẓa al-mabnijje.*"

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh.*"

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *ʿeddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ aḳwa' ʿalejhom enhaǧ ila' muʿzeb̄k ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel ʿala-l-ǧamîʿ*."

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḥejl teḥmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓaʿîf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓaʿîf w-ben-nâs ḳawi*."

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rweǧli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XIX

PERSONAL QUALITIES

A chief who is commonly spoken of as a *ṣâḥeb al-mar-ʿa* stands in high esteem among the Rwala. Such a one has a brave, strong heart, *ḳalbeh ḳawi*; knows how to wrestle with the greatest danger, *maʿeh fetel*; has a broad outlook, *maʿeh ʿerf*; thinks of the future, *šôfteh baʿîde*; and never acts hastily, *leh ṣabr*. He who is merely a daring fighter, *ṣâḥeb al-farse*, is not fit to be either a chief or a leader in time of war. He, too, has a strong heart but lacks calm consideration, *mâ leh ṣabr*, therefore he throws himself into danger recklessly, unmindful of victory or death; *ʿirmi ḥâleh jâ jiḳtel žebîleh jâ jinḳatel*.

But the most popular among the chiefs is the *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa*. He is kind, *kerîm*; truthful, *ḥabîb allâh*; disregards trifles, *saḫi*; and knows no distinction between great and small. Of such the proverb says: "A wolf does not suffer hunger with him, neither do his sheep perish; *lâ jiǧû' aḏ-ḏîb w-lâ tifna-l-ṛanam*." As examples of such a *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa* Ḳufṭân eben Ḥâmed of the Beni Ṣaḫr and Haǧer eben Meǧwel of the Rwala were named to me.

A generous man is universally esteemed, as he is often visited by guests who then carry his fame far and wide. They say that it is easy for a wealthy man to be generous, because the word generosity is derived from what a man possesses, *al-ǧûd min al-mawǧûd*. According to others generosity must be inborn. He that does not inherit generosity from his parents will always be a miser, even if he has more wealth than he knows what to do with, *al-ǧûd min al-ǧdûd*.

Aš-šime is among the most prominent qualities of a famous man. It is but rarely found, and the man possessing it excels all others in the same way as the head projects above the body. He who has *aš-šime* will not always insist on his rights, gladly yielding to one weaker than himself and sometimes giving up his claim to a thing which clearly belongs to him. *Jetašajjam ʿan aš-ši* means "he gave up a thing," or "he did not take a thing although evidently his." Without *aš-šime* no *râʿ al-mruwwa* is perfect.

577 Seemly behavior is esteemed by the Rwala. The proverb: *"Ar-raǧol ja'ref metabbeh*, a true man knows how to behave," is frequently heard. The meaning of the word *raǧol* is very similar to that of the word *âdemi*, which either signifies all men as the sons of Adam or well mannered men of pleasant behavior. The word *raǧǧâl* is used in connection with a man who excels by prudence and bravery, thus: *"Met'eb raǧǧâl*, Met'eb, that is a man!" A *raǧǧâl jeswa 'orbân* is a man as good as many Arab clans put together: *"W-allâh hw raǧǧâlen mliḥ*, by Allâh, he is a hero!" It is also said: *"Ar-reǧâl mâ hi killeha raǧǧâl biha raǧol w-raǧǧâl wa-rǧêǧîl w-reǧǧareǧǧa*; not all men are heroes; there are among them true men, heroes, helpers of women, and chatterers." Here *rǧêǧîl*, or *reǧêǧîl*, implies that, although having a moustache, *šwâreb*, he occupies himself rather with things that belong to women. *Reǧǧareǧǧa* or *reǧreǧǧa* is a coward who babbles like a woman. *Reǧâl* often signifies brave men. A woman attacked by robbers shouts: *"Îdekom îdekom warâji reǧâl*; your hands, your hands [they must not take anything from me], there are brave men behind me!" The men of some families have the reputation: *"W-allâh hom reǧâlen zênîn maẓbûṭîn*, by Allâh, they are true men!" *Raǧâǧîl* means men regardless of their qualities. Up to ten the plural *reǧâl* or *raǧâǧîl* is used; for a larger number *zelm*. *"Jammakom jâ zelm*, stand still, ye men!" *Zlema* is an unknown man. *Azlâm* is another expression for a number of men not exceeding ten, but usually the words *zelm* or *zilm* are used as the plural.

577 828 Noble qualities are inherited; therefore every Rwejli aims at winning a wife from an old and honorable family. It is often said of a noble but otherwise unknown man: *"Hw min âlen 'atîž mâ hw min hajallah nâs*; he comes of an old family, then surely not of riffraff."

'Arreb wulejdak 'arrebeh
w-an-nâr min mižbâseha
w-al-'ezz be'urûḳ an-nisa'
alli 'ariben asâseha.

By every means try to beget a thoroughbred son,
For as the fire depends on its foundation
So nobility is in the veins of women
Who are of pure blood descended.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles a fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *ṛaẓa'*, or *ṛṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *Asâs* or *nasab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Eben Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâh ṭalabtak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraǧ bel-mefâtiḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbeh w-ṭâbeh*
   jâ ḥâležen rizḳ al-'arab w-al-falâliḥ
3. *an-nowm sâs al-lowm bân ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowlât nowmeh šelâfiḥ
4. *alli jirid al-mêdeh jit'ab rečâbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ beṭûl al-ḥaṭa' jâ-hla-l-fiḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-neza' be'akâbeh*
   w-ad-daww jiḳṭa'enneh 'aṣêren beterwiḥ
6. *mâ fowḳha illa' žirbeten ma' zahâbeh*
   w-eefájefen tabrâh lown al-maiâwiḥ

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *henna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsane*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [577] •

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zaṛârit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rkaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

erves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḥel* is pronounced *imdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḥ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' ben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḥ aš-dâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḥwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *entaḥi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *enḥa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'ârefa*. 10. Muḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭib* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğahla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḥu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğahla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdiš*. 14. *Flân meḏhaḇeh* (pl., *meḏâheb) ẓajjeẑ*, or *ṣid-reh ẓajjeẑ*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the march travelers unknown to them and later discover they were their friends. 727

To spend the night in the camp of a friendly clan which maintains amicable relations with the plundered clan is not allowed.

The Rwala bury their dead friends; their wounded they carry off on their camels, having first bandaged their wounds as best they can. To the dead enemy no attention is paid. At the same time whoever has swept an enemy from the saddle and sees him writhing on the ground is obliged, as a man of honor, to help him. Should he kill an enemy in that condition, *ṭarîḥ*, he would commit a dishonorable deed, *'ajb*, in the same manner as he who kills a man he has pardoned, or one sleeping, or a woman, or child. Likewise it is considered shameful to attack a related tribe, even if hostile, after the appearance of the morning star, *bejât*, or to cripple or kill captured animals when to escape with them proves impossible, *feda' bel-ḥalâl*. 727 577

The successful bringing of captured herds from a distant territory to the home camp is the highest proof of a leader's sagacity, especially if he undertakes raids against tribes encamped as far as 600-800 kilometers away. A prudent leader will at once separate the camel calves from the grown animals and have them driven back; he will occupy the more important mountain passes and try to retreat through a country where the camels will find sufficient pasture. If he returns with the booty without any considerable losses, everybody talks of booty and success, *časab w-salâme*, but if the booty is taken away from him by some ambushing party on the way, the raiders come back, one after another, very much depressed, for besides having gained nothing they have lost many comrades, *ḫasâra*. If the defiles have been occupied they can march and rest at their leisure, for, as they say, "our little brothers follow in our tracks, *ḫwijjâna kẓabaw aṯârna*." The troop following the returning raiders and protecting them against the pursuers, *ṭalab*, is called *kaẓb*. 727

Returning Raiders' Songs

As soon as the returning warriors feel safe, they intone ditties, *ḥda'*, appropriate to such occasions; *elja kfejna naḥada'* (sic). 727 533

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703 554 they are informed of the youth's heroism. If during an attack an otherwise worthy youth does not stand his ground, the gray feathers are covered by black ones as a sign that for the first time he has not behaved in a manner befitting his honor. *Ḫaṭw* means "many a one." *'Alejh šarha*: he was depended on; *kunt maśrûhen 'alejh*: I depended on him.

539x

Aṣ'un la'ajni ṣâḥebi
w-aṭni la'ajni 'andeli
ḳalbi ṛada beh ṣâḥebi
minni 'aṭijjat ğandali.

To aid my sweetheart I wish to stab,
And I will stab also to help my thoroughbred mare;
Of my heart my beloved took possession.
She received it from me like a Ğandal's gift which is never returned.

'Andelijje is a thoroughbred white mare; in poetical language this expression is used instead of *aṣîle*. *Ṛada beh* and *aḫaḏeh*, he took him, have the same meaning. Anything a father has given may be demanded back by the son. However, if any member of the Eben Ğandal kin makes a gift, nobody, as will be explained below, may ask for its return. Therefore, he who wishes to make his gift secure, gives it first to a member of the Eben Ğandal kin, who then hands it to the person for whom it was intended.

[431]

Aṭ'an la'ajni bint eben ḳublân
oḫt alladi zabn aṭ-ṭarîḥ
al-'ajn 'ajn mušaḏḏar al-ṛuzlân
'ašîžaha mâ jesterîḥ.

I will stab to help Eben Ḳublân's daughter,
The sister of the defender of one from his saddle thrown.
Her eye keeps a sharp lookout like a frightened gazelle;
Her lover will, faith! not have much rest.

Eben Ḳublân is the name of a kin of the al-Ḥsene division, Weld 'Ali tribe. One who assists a comrade thrown from the saddle acts honorably, as by doing so he abandons any booty he might capture and also exposes himself to the danger of being attacked while lifting the fallen man from the ground and placing him on his own horse. The gazelles live

[577]

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726* 539* from a tent other than his master's; also of a man who helps himself from a full platter set before others, without being invited. *Ṛarra* is a thing of value which some man finds and keeps. 13. Eben Ǧrajjed is a chief of the Beni 'Aṭijje. *Ṣafḥa* is the general name of the territory where the Ḥwêṭât, Beni 'Aṭijje, and Šarârât like to camp, because it slopes both east and west. *Tway*: the dead buried. 14. Htejm is the term for the despised clans and tribes, thus also the Šarârât, of whom [714] the poet is thinking. 15. *Šihb* means attacking riders. Before the attack they divest themselves of their mantles and caftans, if they have any, entrust them to their returning comrades, *radd*, and are clothed only in their dirty gray, *šihb*, shirts. 16. Al-'Alja, the name given by the Rwala to their white camel herds. *Medâlîh* or *marâkiż*, swift, flashing, terms applied to the Rwala owing to their mode of delivering attacks in quick succession with the suddenness of lightning. Whenever the sky is enveloped in black clouds, a wind storm rises in the desert, carrying and driving dust, fine sand, and dry plants before it and overturning all tents the pegs and ropes [721 of which are not tight. 18. Eben Hazzâ' — i. e. an-Nûri, the ●577] commander of the Rwala — did not commit treason when he attacked the enemy. His face is without blemish, that is white. *Neḳa'* signifies integrity, honesty, which both parties to a peace treaty have to maintain. The party declaring war, returns the integrity, *neḳa'*, to the other party. He who attacks another without a declaration of war fails to return the *neḳa'* to the attacked party, commits treason, and blackens his honesty, his face. 19. *Nišâma* are gay youths, young heroes; *nešmijje*: a gay beauty, a heroine. *'Aǧǧat* is used alike for a violent passion, for rising dust, and for an approaching throng of raiders. Ḥmâr maintained that *ṣabâha* meant "her youth," but 'Awde pronounced it "*sabâha*." According to Ḥmâr the poet speaks of a gay beauty in whose veins was beating the blood of youth demanding its rights from another man, while 'Awde maintained that the poet expresses his admiration for a beauty who seeks to save, either by hiding or by flight, the camels burdened with household goods, against which a raiding troop, *sabâha*, was advancing, *'aǧǧat*. 22. *Ḥâlât* is an area covered with basalt and lava, where neither horse nor rider can move except by a few narrow paths. The Rwala drove the defeated enemy as far as the borders of such an area. The defeated mourned, the victors sang.

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hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the 133
rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared: not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shep- 609
herds rode over to us with their women and children, 221
scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home-
pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had [578]
disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian up- 133
lands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, 136
with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

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586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭallaẖni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *hâti-lli warâč*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *'ajb čebir*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Miïref eben Kurdi once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Miïref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Miïref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥaǧǧarka*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Miïref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, *eben al-'amm*, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

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aid him in obtaining his rights, *jimaššī-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehīra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi râje sowda' flân eben flân daḫalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizki bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *wā'i já ahla-l-ḥamijje kafṭa' wağhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arḍûn 'endeh w-jentaḫûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *já flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *já flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.
627 When he has complied with every demand, the powerful man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kaẓejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh waǧheh jowm aḳfat al-ḥajja w-aḳbalat al-menijje fakk ar-ruḳubat al-mâlijje.*"

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin ḥal-bêẓa al-mabnijje.*"

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ʕlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh.*"

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

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731* 221* [372] [252 262] sheltered position at the foot of a rugged hill, and gathered roots and dry weeds to make a fire by which to roast the bustards shot on the way by our slaves. The roughly plucked birds were cut into pieces, which were thrown on the hot ashes. The crops and intestines still full of partly digested herbs and red-haired caterpillars were also roasted in this way, and eaten with relish as a delicacy.

It was our intention to rest here awhile. From a point above our camp we surveyed the surrounding country from time to time for wandering herds, mounted Bedouins or automobiles, but as far as we could see there was nothing living within view; the wilderness stretched away to the horizon undisturbed.

●579 As we chaffed and laughed over our meal, six savage figures stood suddenly before us, as if they had risen out of the ground. They could not have ridden upon us, for Mijhem and Sleyman had, but a moment previously, scanned the whole neighbourhood with field-glasses. The six fellows must, therefore, have crept up on hands and knees from some spot close by, where they had been lying in hiding. They had no rifles, but nevertheless, they had us covered with pistols which they held under their cloaks.

At first they did not speak, and not one of us dared to move. Two of the strangers then commenced to argue with each other, eyeing us the while in a most unfriendly manner.

Unmounted wayfarers met in the desert in this way are usually common robbers and murderers, who will stop at nothing to attain their purpose. They have

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nothing in common with those worthy camel and sheep raiders who ride *dhaluls* and mares, and whose exploits are somewhat in the nature of knightly enterprises.

Faris and I exchanged glances and stealthily groped under our cloaks on the ground for our rifles.

Now I could take my courage in my hands and speak to our uninvited visitors.

"What do you want of us?"

"God knows."

"And how did you get here?"

"From over there."

"And where are you going?"

"Over there."

"What tribe do you belong to?"

"The Beni Adam" (Children of Adam).

The replies sounded impudent and dangerous; but we were used to desert ways. By their ambiguous replies, the strangers stamped themselves as ordinary robbers. Had they responded to my questions more openly, they would have made themselves and their tribe responsible for our safety (or our death). We could then either have removed our headgear or in some way have touched one of them, and thereupon claimed their protection. Even to spit on a man (a truly singular way of "touching") and thus call on his protection is permissible and efficacious enough to save one's life, if not at the same time one's property.

These fellows had no use for the honoured customs of the Arabs. They were responsible to no one and would kill us in cold blood. Why they held back was incomprehensible.

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579 As a last resort, and in order to get some idea of the strangers' intentions, Mijhem offered them cigarettes. They shook their heads in refusal, but their attention was momentarily distracted from us. Like lightning Faris seized the opportunity to raise his rifle and fire over their heads. Mijhem and I, who had awaited a cue, fired from under our herder's coats.

The surprised thieves fell back in fright. Two immediately threw themselves on the ground, while a third let off his pistol at us. The bullet lightly grazed Sleyman's left forearm, and he promptly pulled the trigger of his rifle and shot the robber in the thigh.

Mijhem and Faris ordered the bandits on whom we had so turned the tables to throw off their cloaks and face the other way. They obeyed without a word, and as the *abas* fell from their shoulders, we saw that each man's belt carried a small arsenal of daggers and pistols. They were ordered to place back in their holsters the pistols with which they had threatened us and to throw their belts to us.

These six worthies belonged by origin to the tribe of the Duleym. Faris got this out of them by a searching cross-examination; also, that, as the Duleym were confederates of the Fid'an, they were on the way to these allies to procure camels and horses. Lazy footpads like these carry no rifles; they find small firearms suit their purpose better.

They now revealed quite frankly that they had taken our automobile for that of the Sheykh of the Amarat. That a fighting-car of the Ruala might be in enemy ter-

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ritory had not entered their minds. Only our black or brown herder's coats betrayed us on closer view as possible foes.

We thanked our lucky stars for this error which had saved our lives and sent the robbers on their way unmolested, but without arms and ammunition. The wounded man we carried with us to the camp of Ibn Meheyd.

Before they left us, these fellows had the impudence to ask us to make a detour and take them into the neighbourhood of a Saba camp which they intended to raid. Incorrigible rogues!

"But the Saba are your allies!" I cried out, astonished.

"What of that?" answered the leader. "Thou are *gûm* (enemy) of the Saba."

"Magnanimous Duleym!" said Mijhem ironically, "thou art in error; we are on a peace mission."

"Allah! How fastidious art thou!" responded the man, with equal irony, and turned his back on us.

Our head-cloths fluttered in the wind as we raced on again over the undulating plain. Small groups of riders on camels and on horses appeared from time to time. They stood still as we passed, observing us from a distance.

We had also noticed three automobiles which held a course parallel to ours for some distance, but disappeared now and again behind a hill or in some depression. After one such disappearance, they reappeared much nearer to us. We halted and signalled to the motorists. They

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do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ṛazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḥâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeṛarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'ic* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'idîn aẓ-ẓa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The šwâja -- Analyst]

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mad and Ğwâd, who claimed that *jerješ* means brows, whereas Ḥmâr said "*jâ rîš al-ʿaỵn*," which, of course, means the same thing. An *eğra* is a small village or hamlet with huts built of mud bricks. *Taṣfîḥ* or *taḥrîf* signifies any act performed for money or simply as a display. 2. *Ḥabîna* stands for the activity of the participators in small predatory excursions or of the scouts sent to find out by whom certain herds are owned and the whereabouts and size of the enemy's camps. They often have to crawl on their bellies so as to escape notice and avoid bringing destruction upon themselves and their comrades. 3. *Ḫwaʾ* is the call to supper during a raid. Fejṣal enumerates his deeds among the Bedouins. 5. *Habbt ar-rîḥ* is a favorable wind, a good opportunity for success, booty. The partakers in a raid shout when mounting their animals: "*Habbî lana jâ rîḥâna*, blow us, O breeze [to our success]!" 7. *Senîna* is a sharp saber.

Difficulties Due to Kinsmen

Jâ ḥamaḏ jâ-l-ḥnejdi	O Ḥamad al-Ḥnejdi!
žetalni ḥawâk	Love for thee has been the ruin of me;
w-an-nâs braǧaʾ-llâh	While others put their hope in Allâh,
w-ana biraǧâk.	I put my hope in thee.

Enḥazem jâ selîm	It were well for thee to flee;
lâ tabet al-ḫalaʾ	Do not pass the night behind the camp!
ṣâḥebi min žedîm	My friend has long ago
sammani bel-ṛalaʾ.	Poisoned me with love.

The maiden warns her lover against the meetings at night behind the camp. *Ḫalaʾ* means everything behind the camp. *Ṛalaʾ* is the passion of love.

Jâ šowḳ mâ taʿṭi-l-mabṛi
ḳalb al-maḫâlîž jadrûni
jâ bint ana ḫâreben ṭabʿi
lijje ʿala-l-bîz ʿorbûni
jâ bint ana-ḫâf min rabʿi
w-al-kill jabṛîč miṉ dûni.

Sweetheart, wilt thou not give me what I most desire
Before the creatures discover me?
O maiden! I am ruining my character,

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al-meğarra is a long staff or saber brandished by a girl while dancing to keep away the youths who press on her. 4. *Aḥbâl al-asbâb* are opportunities for achieving success. 5. *Šwâhiž* are high, steep, impassable mountains. Here they mean the greatest glory, affluence. 6. *Al-ʿaẓm* is a piece of bone used by the Bedouins in mending a broken short pipe. 7. *ʿEjâl an-nâs, eben an-nâs,* are sons of respected families, whom the uncle could adopt.

1. *Li fâṭeren mašiha tûmi*
   ḳaṭʿ al-fejâfi mẓarrîha
2. *bčetfaha laḥḥ berğûmi*
   min kuṯr mâ-ni malâḥîha
3. *al-ḥorr elja ṣâr mazḥûmi*
   jeṣbeḥ bnâbi ʿawâlîha
4. *čam lejleten mâ beha nowmi*
   ʿalejje min abrak lejâlîha
5. *jâ mâ ḥala ḥaẓẓ umm ḫarṭûmi*
   w-aṣ-ṣubḥ jaʿğibk taḥallîha.

1. I have an old camel with a rocking gait,
   Which I train to ride over level plains.
2. A bald spot has been worn by my heel on her shoulder [blade
   By my constant rubbing.
3. [She is like] a falcon of gentle blood, by hunger frightened,
   Resting on the peak of the highest mountains.
4. Oh, how many sleepless nights
   Have been to me the nights most blessed of all!
5. How sweet the urging of a long-lipped camel,
   And in the morning thou shalt wonder how strong she looks.

The poet is unknown; the reciter was Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi.

Verse 2. A camel used for long journeys generally has on her right shoulder blade a bald spot, the size of the palm of a hand. The constant friction against the shoulder blade causes the skin to become bruised and bloodshot, especially if the rider's footgear is made of hard leather and he must urge the animal to greater speed with kicks. 3. If a pure-blooded falcon fails to catch its prey for a long time and is hungry, it settles on the highest summit, whence it has a wide view and can sooner sight the desired prey. 4. When the Bedouin is asked a large price for the girl he loves, he

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●579 takes part in predatory expeditions and raids to far and dangerous countries, in order to gain the required number of camels. The night marches through the enemy's country bring him the greatest profit, as the booty is obtained and brought away more easily. 5. At night the speed of a good camel is fastest and also she tires least at that time. *Umm ḫarṭûm* is the name given to camels with the underlip hanging down, so that it looks larger than the upper one.

539x

1. *Bakrati ḥelwen ḏemîlah bel-ḫalâwi*
   mubrama wuddi btašjiʿ ṭibe
2. *ummaha min ǧejš ḥammâd al-ḥâwi*
   bakraten min raʿijje ǧatna ṛaṣîbe
3. *mâ ṭemanha ḳaṭʿânen w-mzâwi*
   binten labu rîmân waʾ waj neǧîbe
4. *šarbet min bežže w-zâʿat lel-eǧrâwi*
   wa-mraḥat ʿend al-mḫejẓer bel-ǧeḏîbe
5. *jowm tefḳaʿ čennaha al-ḥorr an-nedâwi*
   aw ẓelimen zâʿ min dawwen ramî beh
6. *naḥḥarah ahl al-karam w-ahl al-ḳahâwi*
   jeʿabberûnak ḳabl taʿḳel an-neǧîbe.

1. In the desert my young camel has a pleasant gait;
   She is muscular, and I desire that only good be said of her.
2. Her mother hails from the Ḥammâd al-Ḥâwi's riding camels;
   My young camel came to us with a herd against her will.
3. With gold she was not paid for, nor with black cloaks,
   She is a daughter of Abu Rîmân — ah, glory, the noble one!
4. She drank at al-Bežže, ran as far as al-Ǧerâwi,
   Having spent the night by al-Mḫejẓer.
5. When excited by a gallop she is like the best hunting falcon,
   Or the ostrich running from a plain when a shot has been directed at it.
6. People both generous and fond of good coffee flock to see her,
   Offering money for her before thou couldst fetter the left foreleg of the noble beast.

The poet was Ṛaṭîṭ, a servant of Prince an-Nûri; the reciter, Ṛaṭîṭ himself. He praises his camel which he had

men, but among the enemy he must, if recaptured, expect death, as no one will pardon him again. 727

Bâjež, faithless, is also said of one who attacks a friend. Such a stain fell on the name of the Rwala when, in the spring of 1898, they attacked the ʿEbede in al-Ḳaʿra. The ʿEbede, under the chief Barǧas eben Hdejb, asked Eben Šaʿlân for peace. This was granted, and the messengers returned home in the evening; but on the following morning Eben Šaʿlân's, Eben Meʿǧel's, and Eben Mǧejd's warriors attacked Barǧas' camp again and completely looted it. To excuse himself Eben Šaʿlân asserted that this particular troop had left twenty days before on a raid against the ʿAmârât in the vicinity of Kerbela but, when repulsed, attacked the ʿEbede on their way home, in ignorance of the fact that peace had just been concluded. The ʿEbede, however, do not believe this subterfuge but still maintain that they were attacked treacherously, *bâḳowhom bowḳa*, and, whenever they sight a Rwejli in the desert, they utter their battle cry, *jentaḫûn*: "I am a rider protecting the ʿArfa herds, I a Sbêʿi. O those faithless ones! O those blackened faces! Have you forgotten the peace dinner? *Ḥajjâl al-ʿarfa sbêʿi al-bowḳân sowdân al-wǧih wên mṛaddâkom.*" A breach of faith is always condemned, for it is punished by God. Hence the saying: "A faithless one will never rise above the dogs, *râʿ al-bowḳ mâ jarḳaʿ fowḳ al-ĕlâb.*" 577 727

PROTECTION IN CASES OF THIEVERY

To despoil a stranger belonging to a tribe not related to one's own is a proof of cunning and strength. But no chief will stoop to stealing. It is usually the sons of poorer families who go out in twos or threes to steal or to rob. A thief on foot is called *ḥâjef* or *ḥanšûli*; if mounted on horse or camel he is known as *muʿajjer*. When the *maʿâjir* arrive near the enemy's camp they hide and try to acquaint themselves with the whole terrain. After sunset they leave their horses or she-camels in a safe place and crawl near to the tents. One of them remains at a certain spot about five hundred paces from the tents; the other advances cautiously till he finds a good horse or a she-camel which he thinks worth stealing. If he succeeds, he hurries back with the capture to his comrade and then to the place where their own animals are hidden. Tying the stolen animals to their own, he then leads them all 579● 674

579 674 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 609 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sânijaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh židdâm rukubteh*."

577 626 672 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*, *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḥallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 627 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḍḥalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

It is the duty of every Rwejli capable of procreation to marry. This duty is laid upon him by his connection with his kinsmen. The more numerous these are, the more power and influence they possess. The individual who refused to defend the rights of his kin would be expelled, and whoever deliberately declined to multiply its defenders would meet the same fate. Without his kin, *ahl*, the Bedouin would be the most wretched of beings.

To marriage the Rwejli is led by mutual inclination or love. A boy of twelve has a liking for a girl of the same age, and it is generally recognized; no one objects. It is said: "Love comes from Allâh, *al-mḥabbe min allâh*." The boy calls on his beloved in her tent, talks with her there, helps with the work, and the parents recollect the time of their first love. An older boy may join his sweetheart where and whenever he wishes to. He helps her water the camels, draw the water, strike and pitch the tent; he attends her on the march, and pays her a visit in the evening. Usually they meet in a tent that is either vacant or little visited. The Šarârât women whose husbands are serving as herdsmen or who are widowed gladly lend their small tents, *ḫarâbîš*, for the lovers' meetings. There in the cold seasons of the year they sit all night by the fire, parting only when the morning star makes its appearance. In the warm season, especially when camping in the Nefûd, the lovers sit down on a sand drift in the shade of a tall *rṯṯa* bush to talk of everything and nothing. Their love they declare to each other in these words:

"Thou art the slumber of mine eyes, *enti nowm 'ajni*; thou art my desire, *ent murâdi*; thou art my food and drink, *enti akli w-širbi*; thou art my creed, *ent dîni*," and so on.

The enamored Rwejli likes to say: "I wish to fast and pray, but only in honor of those with loosened hair; in honor of Allâh's countenance I shall not pray; *ana-ṣûm ṣ-ṣalli lnâ-ḥâṭât al-'ačâriš w-illa lwağh allâh mâni mṣalli*." Or: "I will not

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Witre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

[1] [Errata: See p. 712, cat. 116 for correction of line 8 on this list.]

539* *Śowl* has much the same meaning as *bel*, camels collectively
and forms no plural. Two slaves (negroes) and the master atten
233 only to the watering, while the herdsman watches the camel

Ḳum ṣubb (sic) *w-eszi-l-ḥâjel*
nâḳt eṣṭâm al-ʿâjel.

Rise, pour in, and water the sterile one,
The she-camel of him who tames the violator.

Ṣubbû-ʿala-l-ʿašâjer Pour in water for the sweetheart
muǧawwezât al-bâjer Wedded to a sluggard,
al-bâjer eben al-bâjer. To a sluggard son of a sluggard

[461 *Bâjer* is the name for a squeamish fellow afraid alike
•581] the sun's heat, the night's chills, or of much exertion, an
therefore one who loves to loiter in the tent most of the tim
No girl would marry such a man voluntarily, but, as by th
law of kinship he can claim his nearest cousin, her paren
must give her to him. Small wonder that, once married, h
wife prefers other men; nor can he even rebuke her for thi
as she would run away and he could never get another wif
[827] Because of the Rwala belief that the son inherits his father
qualities, the father in this verse is no better than the so
and the wife, who has no wish to bear him a son, looks arou
for others; such a wife is a called *ṭamûḥ*.

Jâ rabb jâ mawlâna O Lord! O thou Ruler of ours!
bedder lena bhwâna Help us quickly to what we desi
eszi-l-ʿedâd awḍâna. Fill with water our vessels which
have tired us ou

233 When forty to fifty camels of one herd must be water
461 from a well over thirty meters deep, or from a shallow w
that has caved in and into which the water flows very slow
even the hardiest men become tired partly from the labor
drawing the water and partly from watching the crowdi
camels, who, if very thirsty, press around the well, into whi
they would fall if not driven away constantly by the her
men. One man can hardly keep three thirsty animals fr
breaking away from him and running to the water trou
there to squeeze in among those already drinking. Often th
knock over the watering vessel, tread on each other's fe
bite, and knock about the men who are raising the wat

2:Musil S-4 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ẓâfi ar-rdâx ṣallejt.*"

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor her daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭijje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭijje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫuwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḫuṯara*, or protected neighbors.

619 554 582 565 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem, al-Fbejǧât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization, they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins, and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫuwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes, they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫuwân*, they pay *ḫuwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors, *ḫuṯara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje*, free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 326 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith, *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣunnâ'* that they are no *aṣîlîn* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves. 582 326

Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *ahl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin. 582 567

Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the 'Aneze group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks: 619 554 582 565

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-'Amm

The children of parents descended from the respectable old 'Aneze families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-'amm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-'amm* occasionally claims the girl, *jeḥağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *'oḳdha w-ḥallha bjad eben 'ammiha* (*sic*!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha bnafseh*, is the *eben al-'amm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-'amm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation. 582

If the *eben al-'amm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-'amm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥağğir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee 582 584

582 584 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away; *ana abûj râḥ abṛik teğûz min ruḳubti abṛik tedaššerni ʿawâz abûj râḥ.*" The *ḥağğir* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 684 583 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe; there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful chief, *jinḥâšûn ǧamm al-ʿarab ǧetazabbenûnhom.* They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-ʿamm.* An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

ʿAğâğ al-Msêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-ʿamm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutahâwin hw w-ijjâha ṭalaṭ sinîn,* ʿAğâğ fled with his sweetheart to the Âl ad-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *innahom minḥâšîn,* the *eben al-ʿamm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab.* But ʿAğâğ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of ʿAğâğ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of ʿAğâğ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *šemâṭa,* is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-ʿamm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meǧwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

O Solejmân, my heart rebels against me,
For it is aflame with love for a stranger.
How pleasant when a woman's dress covers the hips [of my camel]
And the plaits of our hair mingle together.

Ağnebijje is a girl from a different, unrelated tribe. With such a one a Rwejli is not supposed to fall in love. He did not mean to become enamored, but his heart caught fire against his will and clove to the stranger. Of this he complains to his friend Solejmân. The kin of his beloved refusing her to him, he decides to elope with her. The maiden mounted his she-camel behind the saddle, her dress, *ṯowb*, covering not only the camel's back and hips but the rider's hips as well, and in a strong wind her plaits mingled with his long hair. With the relatives of his sweetheart pursuing him, he fled to his own people, who, ignorant of the danger threatening him, could not come to his rescue.

1. *Mâ bikom alli faṭan li jâ ma'âzîbi*
   dam'i 'ala waǧneti taṣṣi ẓwâmîha
2. *w-allâh jâ low lâ-l-ḥaja la-rkab 'ala ẓibi*
   w-aṣûf li direten w-aǧli laḥâliha
3. *w-axhab ṣaḥîf al-ḥaṣa w-al-heǧen tasri bi*
   w-ab'ad maṣâbîḥah 'an dâr aḥâliha
4. *w-enti firejtini jâ mefrijat al-ǧibi*
   wa-ǧrûḥč al-ḥafije mâ ḥad dara biha
5. *jâ 'ajn 'anzen taṣaffaḳ bel-'arâẓîbi*
   tatli maḥabb al-hawa' w-aṣ-ṣajd jatliha
6. *w-aṣ-ṣajd bisâḳeteh ṛâden ǧenâdîbi*
   hi ta'teḍi bel-maha w-ana-'teḍi biha
7. *w-allâh jâ low lâ-n-naḥad mâ čân taṣṭi bi*
   w-allâh al-ǯeḍâjel ǧeda killen jwaddîha.

1. There is none among you who may understand me, O hosts!
   For my cheeks are wet with sorrow for her.
2. By Allâh! even if I lose my life, I will surely mount my old camel,
   Search another country, and flee to the people who encamp there.
3. I shall steal her with the slender waist, and at night the riding camels will escape with me,
   So that I shall be far from my kin in the morning.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭalležni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *hâtî-lli ʿaṭêtč*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *ʿajb čebîr*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels *aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly* beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Miśref eben Kurdi once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Miśref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Miśref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥaǧǧarḳa*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Miśref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, *ebn el-ʿamm*, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

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come his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to con- 593
nt, comforting her with the hope that Miśref would free her 582
mediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall
t disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me
r act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭla' min šowr abûj w-aḫûj*
-lâ-ḫdief šowfathom." On the wedding night she escaped from
e round tent, *ḥefra*, and would not allow Miśref to come
ar her. After becoming Miśref's wife she admitted that she
as in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain
virgin until she could marry him. Miśref, who loved her
eatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but
so from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger
beating her and swearing that he would never give her
ck her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows 593
e first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any
nt, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as
ng as she pleases. Such a woman is called *za'lâne*. The owner
the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to
turn to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send
me relative or servant to her. When they return to him
ith the information that she is inclined to be reconciled
ith him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving,
ads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and
ys: "Enter the tent! *fûti-la-l-beit*!" The wife obeys without
rther ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened.
ut if the man is really angry with the woman who has run
way from him to another tent he will not send her word to
turn to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not
know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed.
er husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she
as left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without
eiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her
r the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young
d pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant
some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with
r and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here 586
scribed it is not always easy to return to the man his 562
ide's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may
ve already divided the amount among themselves and may 602
unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

567 murder they avenge not only among themselves, but on the
627 free Bedouins as well. The master who kills his slave exposes himself to the vengeance of the latter's kin and must pay the blood price. Should he refuse, the avengers place themselves under the protection of a more powerful slave, generally the head slave of a chief, who soon compels the Bedouins to assist him in humbling the guilty person. A slave can pursue or protect, *leh wağh je'addi jesaddi*, in the same manner as his master. Whoever hurts his protégé gains the enmity not only of the slave but of his whole kin, and of the slave's master as well, who must support the slave in order to have peace in the tent and his usual comforts.

501 Yet, no matter how powerful, a slave can never marry the
582 daughter of even the poorest Bedouin; and, on the other hand, the least of the herdsmen would not think of marrying a slave's daughter. For even the poorest Bedouin is independent, *ḥorr*, while the slave remains subject, *'abd*, for ever. Not even the members of the most despised tribes, like the Ṣlejb, Šarârât, Htejm, etc., would marry a slave. In a certain manner they all are *ḥorr*, despite the low esteem in which they are held, and a slave remains *'abd*, no matter what power he wields.
326 Only the sons and daughters of white blacksmiths, *ṣunnâ'*,
567 enter into blood relations with slaves. If a black slave marries a white girl, the daughter of a *ṣâne'*, and their son also marries a daughter of a *ṣâne'* again, the third and fourth generations are quite white, and yet they do not become free, *ḥorr*, but always remain slaves, *'abîd*. In the settlements — especially in the cultivated regions — the origin of such whites is sometimes forgotten, but never among the Bedouins of the desert.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND THEIR AGENTS, THE 'AḲEJL

442 As the Rwala are occupied almost exclusively in camel breeding, it is only in exchange for camels that they can get grain, clothing, arms, saddles, and other necessities of life. The camels they sell either in the inner desert or in the settled territory, nearly always to the same wholesale merchants who live in the larger towns on the borders of Arabia as well as in Egypt and India. The most prominent among these is the Eben Bassâm family, from the settlement of Bassâm in al-Kaṣîm. Its members own large business houses at al-Baṣra, Bombay, aṭ-Ṭâjef, Cairo, and Damascus. They export camels

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

326 sells for his own profit. When the Bedouins procure supplies of grain in the tilled territory for their stay in the inner desert, the blacksmith demands one *meǧidijje* ($0.90) on each horse in order to buy his provisions. Whoever slaughters a camel must give the blacksmith all its entrails and the shins of its hind legs.

326 No Bedouin, not even a member of despised tribes like
●582 the Šarârât, Ṣlejb, Ḥawâzem, etc., would marry the daughter
564 of a blacksmith nor let his daughter marry him. For the *ṣâne'*, although white, is not independent, is not *ḥorr*.

539x The poet was a negro accompanying a trade caravan from Irak to Prince Muḥammad eben Rašîd; the reciter, ʿAbdallâh al-Maṭrûd.

Verse 1. *Mezhebe* or *mezwede* are bags in which food needed on the journey is carried by the camels. 2. *Šejb al-ṛawâreb* are camels with gray or white hair. From continuous sweating the hair covered by the cushion on which the rider rests his feet becomes white. *Ḥaḳab* is the breast girth, a rope of camel's hair which secures the saddle. When a long fatiguing journey causes the camel to lose its hump, the saddle shifts to and fro and the breast girth with it. 3. In the settlements the host sits on a rug and leans against a cushion. 4. *ʿArḳûb* is a slope, or a steep, rocky hillside. On roads leading across such slopes the merchants keep a sharp lookout for robbers who frequent such places. The camels often stumble, the loads on their backs lose their balance, and while the guides are picking up the fallen parcels, putting them back, and pushing the animals into the road again, robbers often take advantage of the disorder to make a successful attack on the caravan. Muḥammad eben Rašîd cleared the slopes from this pest, thus continuing the work begun by his father, ʿAbdallâh, founder of the power wielded by the Eben Rašîd house. 5. The kin of Eben Rašîd hails from the Ẓijâṛme clan. 7. Gathering fuel on the plains and in the mountains for the camp or town of Eben Rašîd is a task left to the serfs, members of the despised clans. 8. *Ješabbeḥ*, he examines thoroughly, is used of a gazelle standing on some high point and keeping guard over the grazing flock. On sighting a suspicious object it looks at it with the same attention as the women look at Eben Rašîd and the members of his family. [554 *Mištebeh* is a man who claims to be highborn and who is considered as such by many people, while in reality there is a ● 582] blot of some kind on his descent. No honest Bedouin, even the poorest, would give him his daughter for a wife. He seeks a grandee of doubtful origin like himself and marries his daughter. 9. To the daughters of the house of Eben Rašîd nothing is too costly. They can pick out at the merchant's the best and most expensive dress goods. They never suffer from hunger or thirst, and to obtain a drink of milk need not wait longingly till the herdsmen drive in the camels for watering from a distant pasture. *ʿAẓîb* is a pasture from which the camels are not driven home every evening. This

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

stained knife in one hand; with the other she pulled her neckerchief up to her eyes, to hide her features. But I had already recognized her. "Tuëma!" I called out delightedly. For a moment she showed only her laughing eyes; then she let the neckcloth drop from her face and held out both hands to me. I drew her to me and kissed her on the forehead.

Faris, still in the saddle, pretended to be greatly astonished. "Aziz," he exclaimed, with perfect dissimulation, "dost thou know this maiden?"

Taking up his jest, I shook my head. "No; but she looks very much like one I know."

But love's impatience cut short the little comedy. Faris slipped from his horse and embraced Tuëma, babbling his delight at meeting her so unexpectedly. Then he took one of her hands and laid it in mine, saying: "This is thy sister, O Aziz; and if she were not my betrothed, she might well be thine. Is it not so, Tuëma?' She nodded bashfully.

[583 231]

When Faris helped her to tie the buck on her mare's crupper, I noticed with surprise that the animal did not shy at the smell of blood. Faris had trained it, Tuëma explained. He had taken the mare on a raid and had only recently sent her to Tuëma's father as a bride-gift. She was a *muhajjala* and he had named her Sabah on account of her colour—a sorrel with a white blaze and white stockings on the forelegs. The beautiful beast whinnied softly and rubbed her forehead on Tuëma's shoulder. "She is coaxing you," said Faris.

With a few vigorous and dexterous strokes of her hunting-knife Tuëma severed head and neck from the

582 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away;
584 *ana abûj râḥ abṛîk teğûz min rukubti abṛîk tedaššerni ʿawâz abûj râḥ.*" The *ḥağğir* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe;
684 there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful
583 chief, *jinḥâšûn jamm al-ʿarab jetazabbenûnhom*. They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-ʿamm*. An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

ʿAğâğ al-Msêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-ʿamm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutahâwîn hw w-ijjâha ṭalâṭ sinîn*, ʿAğâğ fled with his sweetheart to the Ahl aš-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *innahom minḥâšîn*, the *eben al-ʿamm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab*. But ʿAğâğ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of ʿAğâğ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of ʿAğâğ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *šemâṭa*, is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-ʿamm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meğwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A single Rwejli of the 'Abdelle clan eloped with a white slave girl. The search for him proved useless — he disappeared without leaving a trace. Should he ever return, he would be killed by his own kin.

When a youth wishes to marry a certain girl, he confides his secret to some older friend, begging him to find out from his father whether he agrees to his wooing or not. It is considered bad form, *'ajb*, for the son to ask his father for this permission. The father, who as a rule knows all the time which girl the son has chosen, says after hearing the news: "If it is Allâh's will, it will be good. Be it blessed. This day is already gone; to-morrow we shall realize his wish; *al-jowm fât bukra nakẓi ṛaradeh.*" Next day the father goes with some prominent man to the father of the girl. They sit down, exchange greetings, talk about various matters, and finally say:

"We want thy daughter X for the youth Y, *nabṛi minak bintak al-flâne lil-walad al-flâni.*"

"All right. Salt cannot be increased except with salt again. *Ṭajjeb mâ-zûd al-meleḥ il'a-l-melâḥ.* I am satisfied. Let them beget children together. Speak with her cousin, *eben 'ammha.*"

Then they go to the *eben al-'amm*, sit down, salute, and converse a while. The youth's father rises, beckons to the cousin or the second cousin, leaves the tent with him, and they squat down at some distance from the tent, where nobody can hear them.

"We give thee good evening, *numassik bel-ḥejr.*"

"Oh, good evening to you both! *jâ masa-l-ḥejr.* You surely did not come to me without desiring something, *mâ-ntom bela ja ṛaraz.*"

"Yes, we come with a certain desire; *na'am ǧâjin bel-ṛaraz.*"

"Then speak! *ehreǧû.*"

"May Allâh add to thy days! We want her for him, and what thou desirest we hold ready for thee."

Now if the *eben al-'amm* agrees to the girl's marriage, he says: "I want this and that." If he does not, he answers: "She is destined to be my wife. I will not give her." But if he has no intention of marrying the girl himself and wants no compensation, he ends the parley with the words: "I wish you well."

The dowry or price demanded for the bride is expressed by the word *sijâḳ*. This means only the value put on the bride

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

583 or on a mare. The *sijâḳ* is not strictly stipulated. If the *eben al-ʿamm* asks much, much must be given him. It is always to him that the *sijâḳ* is delivered. Only when he dies and there is nobody else to care for the girl, the whole *sijâḳ* goes to her father as soon as the wedding is over, *aʿras ʿalejha*. The usual compensation for the bride is one or two she-camels and the first mare captured after the wedding. One she-camel always goes to the mother of the girl for having nursed the bride. This animal is called *baʿîr al-kûʿ*, elbow camel, because the mother used to lean her elbow against the ground when suckling her daughter.

LOVE DITTIES AND POEMS

831* 539* The delights and sorrows of love are expressed by the Rwejli in short ditties known as *heğejni* or *taṭwîḥ*. Some compose their own, others borrow and adorn them with their own name, as if they were the authors. It is said in this respect:

Heğejnijjeten ḳalladawha-l-ʿaḳâl
ḳalladawha-l-brijjesem w-riš an-naʿâm.

The *heğejni* ditty they adorned with a head rope,
Adorned it with silk and ostrich feathers.

[727] When a warrior pardons his enemy, he lays his head rope, *ʿaḳâl*, around the latter's neck as a sign that this particular enemy belongs to him with all he may possess, and then he throws himself into the fight again. The composer of a *he-*
[424] *ğejni* song adorns it not merely with his head rope but with silk and ostrich feathers as well, so that nobody can steal it from him — but all this without avail. There are many who like to appropriate a pretty song, although it does not belong to them.

In Praise of Lovers; The Delights of Love

Jâ ʿammi waʿ bint aḷ-ṛarâwi
tabṛîni w-ana-ṛidaha
w-elja taḥaṭṭat bel-ḥazâwi
aḥadat ḳlejbi bîdaha.

Oh, uncle, Ṛarâwi's daughter
Wants me and I long for her;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. She never drew the knife with blacking around the edge of her eyelids,
And never raised her hand to threaten the neighbors.
4. I swear to Allâh, oath upon oath I swear,
As well as by the life of him who spurred her,
5. That as soon as she saw me wrathful she tried to appease me
As a kind mother tries to soothe her boy.
6. She came to me as a gift, not in exchange for animals of value,
She was the boast of the kin, for all who came praised her.
7. O ʿAḳâb! that bliss of mine! thou hast buried her in Nimrîn
By the impassable crags, O ʿAḳâb! opposite the water.
8. Five of my sons died, O ʿAḳâb! five, and my two brothers,
And none can say that my eyes had a sleepless night.
9. No one with grief filled me, O ʿAḳâb! except the one who dwells—who knows where?
And whose body was scented with the fragrance of *ḥẓêra*.
10. Never did my heart prove faithless to my love, nor my eyes,
And whenever she whispered, my eye was as if with ophthalmia struck.
11. No matter if in two long rows come the Bedouins' daughters, O ʿAḳâb,
Thou little brother of mine! I would take none but Wazha alone.

The poet was Nimr eben ʿAdwân from al-Belḳa'; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

Verse 1. *Jâ sin* (or *jâ ḥejf*), Ah me! 3. A *raṭrûf* is a *mil*, or small knife for rubbing on the eye black. 4. A married woman is often likened to a saddled mare and her husband during sexual intercourse to a rider. 6. Among the ʿAdwân a fixed number of she-camels, sheep, or mares must be given in compensation to the father of the girl whom a man wishes to marry. This custom is known as *sijâḳ*. 7. Nimrîn is the name of a small creek in al-Belḳa, where lies the burying ground of the ʿAdwân. 9. *Ḥẓêra* is a plant which emits a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Drejjem az-Zulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Kna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Ḥâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Kusmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Kna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Glebba* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Takk 'aṣijehom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *saḥâba* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

flock," she cried warningly; "do not shoot. It is only some small wolves; my dogs will chase them away. . . . Sushan! Kasabi!" she shouted, as she urged on the dogs.

Faris lowered his pistol. Tuēma took it out of his hand and replaced it in his belt; but she did not release him. Timidly she pressed herself against him, her arms about his hips. Her garments fluttered faintly, stirred by the warm dry breeze. The steppe exhaled its perfume. The air was saturated with a scent like that of lavender. Dawn had come, revealing the woolly backs of the huddled sheep, now quiet again. From far away, growing fainter and fainter, came the barking of the dogs, still chasing the wolves. Close by, our tethered horses snorted.

Faris gently disengaged himself from Tuēma's arms and, taking her by the hand, led her to the tent, where they sat down side by side. As he leant towards her and kissed her on the top of the head, Tuēma drew the curved poniard from his belt and put it in her lap.

"Let this dagger rest in my lap," said she. It was thus she reminded him of her virginity. Among Bedouins of pure race, a girl's chastity has been, and still is, the most sacred rubric in the tribal code of honour. For its violation a father may kill his daughter, a brother his sister, and have her flesh cut in pieces.

The sun broke through the veils of the morning, shooting flaming fingers across the heavens, and the dark earth glowed rosily. "Sabah!" whispered Faris to his beloved. *Sabah* means the morning, but it is also a poetic word for "virgin bride." Tuēma leaned her cheek to his.

So they sat, motionless, without a word. Then Tuēma

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

buck's carcass and handed me the bloody trophy. Then she picked up her carbine and, like a boy, vaulted on the back of her horse with a single swing over its flank and a twist of her body. She gave us a roguish parting look and rode off.

Faris gripped me hard by the shoulder. "She is as shy as a gazelle fawn," he exclaimed ecstatically. "And can there be another maid as beautiful as she?"

The following day Faris fetched me to go on a visit to Tuēma's household. After we had exchanged compliments with her father, Surhan, we went to the women's quarters. Tuēma was there alone; the other inmates of the harem had gone out.

Faris put his arms about his beloved. "My wild he-ostrich," she greeted him, nestling her head on his shoulder. "My little ostrich-hen," he replied.

Tuēma presently handed her lover one of the Bedouin bread-loaves, which was twisted together in the manner of a dumpling. It contained a small sugary cake of Tuēma's own making, the traditional offering of an espoused Bedouin maiden to her husband-to-be. Faris broke it into three pieces, sharing it with the girl and me. He thanked her gravely and then, stroking her hair, he said: "In exchange for this I shall gather for thee a bouquet that shall not wither, and I shall bring thee also a pair of silver ankle-rings."

Tuēma laughed and held out her hand. "No bigger than the tip of my little finger are the flowers of our wilds, and thou dost promise to pick a bouquet for me? And where wouldst thou find silver bangles where there is no silversmith?"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 "In truth, loveliest maid, O my mistress, I shall pick for thee a bunch of rare flowers wherewith to adorn thyself for our festive hours in the hills," he insisted.

Still incredulous, she mocked at him, gaily rumpling his head till she had pulled off his *aghal* and *kaffiyah*.

"Oh, how untidy thou art!" she exclaimed.

302 Six dishevelled tresses had tumbled over his shoulders. She drew him closer and put his head in her lap. Then she set about rebraiding in proper fashion his Ishmaelite locks. From the flap of her head-cloth she took a handful of dried gazelle dung; small blackish-green capers. They spread an odour of thyme and camomile as she crumbled the pellets between her palms and rubbed the stuff, like a scent-powder, into the long strands of hair. Faris kept as still as a mouse, without a word.

000 At last she had completed her task. Faris replaced his head-dress; then he declared: "Now it is the turn of Aziz!"

Whether I would or no, I too must put my head in Tuēma's lap and let her, with Faris's assistance, plait my mop into little pigtails and powder them with her exotic perfume. What a sight I must have looked! I always regret that I did not have my photograph taken then. At all events, Faris and Tuēma grew so merry over their handiwork that people from the neighboring tents came running up and burst out laughing at "Aziz Radhwan."

As Faris and I were leisurely riding homeward that night, we heard distant hoof-beats behind us. The sound rapidly grew, and there came a rush of riders—twelve or more Bedouins on swift steeds. In the moonlight I saw their long locks and head-cloths fluttering, their shep-

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XIII

Tuēma

IT WAS THE day after our return. Faris and I were lying on a hillock, idly watching his father's roaming herds. He spoke of his sweetheart with emotion and somewhat quaintly: "She who approaches in the camel-litter"—"she who is hidden behind the veils of the riding-tent"—"the guarded one"—"the strong *dhalul* shall carry her through the deep shadowy valley until the rising sun reddens her cheeks with its radiance——" 584

Faris was a poet, and in love.

A Bedouin maiden came riding by on a camel, driving another camel with its calf before her.

"Mawia!" cried Faris. It was a friend of Tuēma. She slid from her *dhalul* and spoke to the animals, which obediently stopped and waited.

"Where is my sister?" Faris asked.

She smiled and answered: "Tuēma hath awaited thy home-coming day by day."

Faris stood up and went close to the girl. "When thou meetest her," said he, "bid her remember those nights when she and I met in secret. Tell my beloved that I long to walk with her in the sand dunes. The trail of her gown will obliterate our footsteps, and none shall know where we abide."

"Faris!" the girl protested.

"Tell her the blade of my dagger reminds me that I

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

shall never be at peace until the slender blossom bends before the storm of my love," he said.

A few hours later Tuĕma came. Her friend had given her the good news of her lover's return.

She appeared over the brow of a hill. Then she drew rein and leapt from her sorrel, drawing the halter between its forelegs and tying it over the left hock; thus the mare was free to graze, but could not run away.

Tuĕma walked toward us with the grace of a fawn and we went to meet her. She put her arms around Faris's neck and said tenderly: "O thou, my life." And he replied: "O thou, my faith." Then we sat down together on the hill-top.

Tuĕma cast her eyes about and asked with a mischievous laugh: "Where is my bunch of wild flowers? My big beautiful bouquet?"

"Thy bunch of flowers?"

"Yes, and the silver anklets?"

Faris put on an air of importance and jingled the trinkets which he had in his pocket. Tuĕma then gave him a look of surprise and, jumping up, reached for the hand which he had thrust into his pocket; but with the other he held her arm fast and said: "Thou must shut thy eyes and not open them until I have kissed them."

She did as he bade her. Then he drew from his pocket the silver bangles which he had procured in Jauf and slipped them on Tuĕma's ankles. She begged and begged to be allowed at least one look at the gift. "Not yet," cried Faris; "first I must deck thee with the flowers of the desert, the imperishable ones."

One by one the enamoured youth unloosed the ends

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584 of the girl's glossy, black braids and twined into them
431 fourteen magnificent white ostrich plumes, each a foot long. When he had done this, he drew the long tresses forward over her shoulders and gathered them into one hand, so that the shivering plumes formed a bouquet, and kissed her eyelashes. "Here, my sister," he said, "is the bouquet I promised thee, of everlasting flowers."

She opened her eyes and gazed with wonder on her lover's gift. Then she buried her face in the plumes and twined her arm about him.

584 Faris leaned his head on her shoulder, and placing his
834 hand over her heart, said: "It jumps like a wild rabbit."

"It will become quite tame in thy hand," she murmured.

"Hast thou never before permitted a young man to put his hand on thy heart?" he asked.

Tuĕma flushed. "No, never; only thee."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

It is the duty of every Rwejli capable of procreation to marry. This duty is laid upon him by his connection with his kinsmen. The more numerous these are, the more power and influence they possess. The individual who refused to defend the rights of his kin would be expelled, and whoever deliberately declined to multiply its defenders would meet the same fate. Without his kin, *ahl*, the Bedouin would be the most wretched of beings. 581 602 183

To marriage the Rwejli is led by mutual inclination or love. A boy of twelve has a liking for a girl of the same age, and it is generally recognized; no one objects. It is said: "Love comes from Allâh, *al-maḥabbe min allâh*." The boy calls on his beloved in her tent, talks with her there, helps with the work, and the parents recollect the time of their first love. An older boy may join his sweetheart where and whenever he wishes to. He helps her water the camels, draw the water, strike and pitch the tent; he attends her on the march, and pays her a visit in the evening. Usually they meet in a tent that is either vacant or little visited. The Šarârât women whose husbands are serving as herdsmen or who are widowed gladly lend their small tents, *ǧarîbîâ*, for the lovers' meetings. There in the cold seasons of the year they sit all night by the fire, parting only when the morning star makes its appearance. In the warm season, especially when camping in the Nefûd, the lovers sit down on a sand drift in the shade of a tall *rṯṯ* bush to talk of everything and nothing. Their love they declare to each other in these words: 584

"Thou art the slumber of mine eyes, *enti nowm 'ajni*; thou art my desire, *ent murâdi*; thou art my food and drink, *enti akli u-širbi*; thou art my creed, *ent dîni*," and so on.

The enamored Rwejli likes to say: "I wish to fast and pray, but only in honor of those with loosened hair; in honor of Allâh's countenance I shall not pray; *ana-nim u-salli lad-ǧeṯâṯ al-'aššâṭ u-illa lewǧh allâh mâni msalli*." Or: "I will not

2:Musil S-4 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ṣâfi ar-rdân ṣallejt.*"

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor her daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭîjje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭîjje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫuwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḫuṣara*, or protected neighbors.

619 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem,
554 al-Fhejğât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called
582 Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization,
565 they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins, and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫuwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes, they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫuwân*, they pay *ḫuwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors, *ḫuṣara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje*, free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith,
326 *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣuwnâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣuwnâ'*, that they are no *aṣîlîn* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns,

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settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves.

Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *akl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin.

Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the 'Anese group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks:

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-'Amm

The children of parents descended from the respectable old 'Anese families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-'amm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-'amm* occasionally claims the girl, *jehağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *'oḳdha w-ḥallha bjad eben 'ammiha* (sic!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha bnafsh*, is the *eben al-'amm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-'amm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation.

If the *eben al-'amm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-'amm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥağğir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee

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582 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away; *ana abûj râḥ abṛik teǧûz min ruḳubti abṛik tedaššerni ʿawâz* 584 *abûj râḥ.*" The *ḥaǧǧir* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe; 684 there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful 583 chief, *jinḥâšûn jamm al-ʿarab jetazabbenûnkom.* They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-ʿamm.* An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

ʿAǧâǧ al-Mšêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-ʿamm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutaḥâwin ḥw w-ijjâha talât sinin,* ʿAǧâǧ fled with his sweetheart to the Ahl aš-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *innakom minḥâšin,* the *eben al-ʿamm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab.* But ʿAǧâǧ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of ʿAǧâǧ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of ʿAǧâǧ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *ḥemâṭa,* is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-ʿamm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meǧwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

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A single Rwejli of the 'Abdelle clan eloped with a white slave girl. The search for him proved useless — he disappeared without leaving a trace. Should he ever return, he would be killed by his own kin.

When a youth wishes to marry a certain girl, he confides his secret to some older friend, begging him to find out from his father whether he agrees to his wooing or not. It is considered bad form, *'ajb*, for the son to ask his father for this permission. The father, who as a rule knows all the time which girl the son has chosen, says after hearing the news: "If it is Allâh's will, it will be good. Be it blessed. This day is already gone; to-morrow we shall realize his wish; *al-jowm fât bukra nakẓi ṛaradeh*." Next day the father goes with some prominent man to the father of the girl. They sit down, exchange greetings, talk about various matters, and finally say:

"We want thy daughter X for the youth Y, *nabṛi minak bintak al-flâne lil-walad al-flâni*."

"All right. Salt cannot be increased except with salt again. *Ṭajjeb mâ-zâd al-meleḥ il'a-l-meláḥ*. I am satisfied. Let them beget children together. Speak with her cousin, *eben 'ammha*."

Then they go to the *eben al-'amm*, sit down, salute, and converse a while. The youth's father rises, beckons to the cousin or the second cousin, leaves the tent with him, and they squat down at some distance from the tent, where nobody can hear them.

"We give thee good evening, *mamsalk bel-ḫejr*."

"Oh, good evening to you both! *já masa-l-ḫejr*. You surely did not come to me without desiring something, *má-ntom bela ja ṛaraḍ*."

"Yes, we come with a certain desire; *na'am ǧájin bel-ṛaraḍ*."

"Then speak! *ekreǧú*."

"May Allâh add to thy days! We want her for him, and what thou desirest we hold ready for thee."

Now if the *eben al-'amm* agrees to the girl's marriage, he says: "I want this and that." If he does not, he answers: "She is destined to be my wife. I will not give her." But if he has no intention of marrying the girl himself and wants no compensation, he ends the parley with the words: "I wish you well."

The dowry or price demanded for the bride is expressed by the word *sijâḳ*. This means only the value put on the bride

586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she h... stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *hedâğe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *mu'allaka*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *'cha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

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introducing himself as his son. Without giving the matter much consideration or making long inquiries, as he was at feud with Ḫalaf, Fahad acknowledged Ṭrâd as his son and asked his brother an-Nûri to give the young man his daughter to wife. But when an-Nûri acquainted the girl with this proposal she swore that she would never consent. On learning of this Fahad commanded an-Nûri, whom he wished to ruin: "Either thou bringest thy daughter to the *ḥeǧra* tent thyself, or it will be done by me without thy consent." An-Nûri therefore bade his female slaves to get the *ḥeǧra* in readiness and to bring his daughter there after sunset. The girl, however, in the meantime had persuaded her brother Nawwâf to wait for her at night by the place reserved for the riding camels and to save her from Ṭrâd. When this youth entered the *ḥeǧra* she began to converse with him, pretending to be sorry that she knew him so little and saying that she should be much happier if he would marry her for love and not from compulsion; and when Ṭrâd tried to assure her that she had already been the object of his desire for a long time, she asked him for proofs. Ṭrâd now began to cite at some length all the instances where and when he had seen and inquired about her, by whom he had sent word to her, etc. The time flew and the moon set. Suddenly she rose asking Ṭrâd's permission to step out in order to satisfy a natural necessity. Ṭrâd nodding his consent, she left to return no more. To the man guarding the female riding camels she gave the same reason that she had given Ṭrâd and then walked some distance farther into a small gully where Nawwâf was waiting for her with a saddled she-camel. He then leaped into the saddle, she took her seat behind him, and on they rode to Eben Ǧandal.

Ṭrâd was patiently waiting for his bride in the tent all this time. Realizing at last that the girl had outwitted him, he was ashamed to alarm the camp and said in the morning that she had left with his consent. That very day Fahad received a visit from the chief Ḫalaf âl Iḍen with his wife, Ṭrâd's mother. Both swore that Ḫalaf was the real father of Ṭrâd, because, after having wedded Ḫalaf, the youth's mother had still had her monthly period three times in succession. Yet Ṭrâd appealed to Fahad to protect his son and not to believe a false oath. Fahad finally declared that Ḫalaf must appear in court at al-'Ela. The latter duly went to this settlement

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851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meǧidijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berkubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân ḥawǧânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏil an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḫejje*. If his wife's lover

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763 came into his eyes and they seemed to soothe the mother's pain.

She sat bolt upright by her son's side, arranged his clothes and cushions and replaited his long, thick tresses, which some words of jest about him and his beloved Tuēma. When she had finished, she left again, leaning on my arm, and from the threshold called out to her son that she would now send in Tuēma.

We had arranged a broad comfortable couch for Faris and partitioned it off with curtains; but one of them, according to the direction of the wind, was always drawn back, so that Fāris, resting with the upper part of his body propped up, could look out.

A smile of happiness mingled with surprise suddenly lit up his face. Tuēma had come in. She had paused at the threshold with a smothered cry and a look of horror in her face at her lover's helpless plight. But so quickly had she mastered herself that I hardly noticed her emotion, and Faris saw only a smiling face as she moved to his bedside. Her silver bangles tinkled faintly. "Faris! Faris! My Life!" she exclaimed, dropping on her knees; and, twining her arms about his neck, she stroked and caressed his face and body.

When she kissed him, I noticed that her mouth was stained with his blood; but she kept her lips firmly pressed to his, so that he should not see that blood was trickling from his mouth on to her neck.

●585 Shortly before sundown the tent began to fill with relatives and friends, who had been invited as witnesses to the wedding.

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Tuĕma had meanwhile returned to her own dwelling at the lower end of the valley. Her girl friends had been busy selecting the handsomest camel-litter and decorating it for the occasion. With its ornate marriage canopy it was mounted on a fine, gorgeously caparisoned camel, which slaves then led to Tuĕma's tent. There the bride mounted to her lofty seat between the slender horns of the camel-litter and, with songs and shouts and waving of scarves, her girl friends escorted her to the tent of the bridegroom.

Before the women's quarters, but so arranged that Faris on his couch could see everything, Tuĕma made her camel kneel down. Faris's mother and sisters, attended by numerous men and women slaves, greeted and received the bride ceremoniously.

Close by, Mnahi held an old white battle-mare by the halter. Auda, "the helper", she was called, and also the "Virginal Kuhaylat-Ajuz", for she had never been mated. The Ruala all but worshipped her as sacred. As a three-year-old she had been presented to Misha'il as a gift, on the birth of her son, Amir Fuaz. The mare was thus twenty-seven years old and her body bore the scars of many a raid. Over her back was spread a white lamb's-skin rug, the "Virgin Fleece" which, according to immemorial custom, the Bedouin bride brings to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Tuĕma had disappeared into the harem to be attired in her wedding dress by Faris's mother and sisters. When she came out again, she was resplendent in a rich cashmere gown woven in red and green (it had been worn by Faris's mother at her own bridal ceremony) and a

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gold-laced shepherd's cloak floating from her shoulders. She took her position beside the white mare; and an aged Bedouin, with a little lamb, only a week old, in his arms, stepped before her, laid the lamb at her feet and slit its throat as a sacrificial offering. Auda snorted and backed away from the blood, but the old man grabbed the halter and, dipping his fingers in the lamb's blood, painted the *Wasm* (tribal mark) of the Ruala on the mare's neck. Then he calmly passed his gory fingers through his white beard. The slaughtered lamb was given, in accordance with the custom of the Bedouins, to an orphan—a little girl selected by a *sheykh*.

Without accepting a helping hand from Mnahi, which he offered because of her trailing garments, Tuëma lightly swung herself on to the back of the white mare and at a walking-pace rode through the camp. The huge Negro strode beside her, holding over her head the great sword of Janda and Jidua and exclaiming, herald-fashion:

> "See ye the bride of Faris! See ye the virgin!
> O for Tuëma's eyes and Alya's grazing herds!
> O for the dark hero and his bride!"

Thus the procession made the round of the camp, all the inhabitants of which were lined up in front of their black tents and, as the bride rode past on her white mare, it was with a joyful "*Zaragbit*" they greeted her, even though their hearts were heavy within them.

Returning to Faris's tent, Tuëma dismounted, took the white lamb's-skin rug from her mare's back and spread it on the nuptial couch. Then she disappeared

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into the harem, to wait there until her bridegroom should call her. 585

Therewith the simple wedding ceremony was ended. We, who had been with Faris to witness the arrival of the bride, now rose to go.

The first stars were glittering over the hills when I stepped outside. The black tents in the valley melted into the deepening darkness of the evening.

The herds were wending their way homeward, their silhouettes now showing as they cross high ground, now sinking out of sight in the hollows. . . .

As my friends departed from the tent, each called out to Faris, according to Bedouin custom: "Vigour! And God be with thee!" [576]

Behind the partition that closed off the women's apartment Tuĕma was waiting for our going. When the last farewell was uttered, she pulled the middle tent-pole from its position and laid it on the ground. The roof bulged and drooped low in the middle, almost touching Faris's couch, but the lateral supports and the taut stays kept the rest of the tent fixed at about a man's height. It was the sign to any passer-by that a bride was with her bridegroom.

That night Faris died. When we came to his tent next morning, Tuĕma was lying unconscious beside her dead lover. 764

A stone's-throw from the tent a few slaves were busy digging his grave.

As we committed our dear brother, lying on the white

831 × 539 × [133 103]

Verse 1. 'Awde climbs high hills to see the route taken by his sweetheart, who prowls or creeps cautiously, *taḏebb*, to the channels in order to meet him without being observed. 2. *Ḳarm* is a poetical form of address, referring here to Ṛusna's father. 4. *Neṭâjel* is the earth with which a stone-covered grave is filled. The hill of Žijâl is 46 kilometers northeast of al-Ǧowf. 5. Ṭawîl al-Felǧ (the High One With Snow) is the name given by the Rwala to the Hermon mountains, which are covered with snow most of the year. Ḥâjel lies about six hundred kilometers southeast of Hermon. Bird and Rwâf are mountains about four hundred kilometers south of the Ḥawrân. 6. Ḥâmi Raṭîf rises beyond Tiberias. *Dannû ar-raḥâjel*, bring hither the female pack camels, is the order of the tent owner when he intends to move. *Meẓâkir* are the camels when laden with tents, utensils, and litters for the women. *Salaf* are warriors riding one or two kilometers in front of the laden camels. 7. *Enkîf* is the return from a raid without success and without booty. 'Awde will not desist until Ṛusna becomes his wife. 8. He who tries to drink from a wooden cup, but continues talking all the time, cannot pay attention to what he is doing, so that the cup often inclines to one side and the water is spilt. Then his comrades correct him with the words: "O So and So, the cup is tilted, *al-žedaḥ mutaṣâweren*." Likewise one who does wrong also bends, partly because he is ashamed, partly with intent to deceive. Abu Ṭamad makes straight or rebukes such a crooked fellow, *yeṣṣa' kill 'âjel*, and thus prevents injury.

THE WEDDING

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The wedding, as a rule, takes place immediately after the wooing. In the morning some one — even a slave — kills before the bridegroom's tent a she-camel, as a *ḏbîḥt al-'ars*, wedding sacrifice. Neither of the betrothed needs to be present. Towards evening a small round tent, *ḥeǧra*, is pitched by the women near by and the bridal bed made there. Among the poorer people a corner of their inhabited tent is partitioned off for the young couple. Two or three of the bridegroom's female relatives go to the bride to bring her towards sunset to the prepared tent. A little later the bridegroom also enters, after which the tent is closed altogether, *jeḥaḏḏeren 'alejh ḥeǧrateu*.

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There are no special wedding ceremonies. Part of the meat from the slaughtered she-camel is distributed among the members of the bride's kin and acquaintances, the rest is served for supper in the bridegroom's tent. Nobody is invited, nobody brings any wedding presents. There is no party, no dancing; neither the girls nor women sing or shout with joy. Often even the relatives of either the bridegroom or the bride do not know that there is going to be or has been a wedding. Neither does the slaughtering of a she-camel signify anything especially important, because an old or wounded animal is killed quite frequently. The tiny round tent, *ḥeǧra*, alone shows that there has been a wedding. But if it was put up at sunset and the camp moves elsewhere next morning nobody takes notice of it, except perhaps the nearest neighbors.

The morning after the wedding night the bridegroom goes to the men's compartment, *rub'a*, of his family tent, where he is saluted with the words: "Be blessed, may good be thy portion! *lâfi 'alejk al-ḫejr*." The bride is likewise visited by the women, who greet her: "Mayest thou bring good to thy cousin!" The young bride receives a gift from her father-in-law, then leaves the *ḥeǧra* to join the other women of her husband's family in the tent, although she need not work for seven days after the wedding. Her husband attends to his work as usual, also buying her trousseau, which consists of various blankets and rugs, as, for instance, the *bsâṭ*, wool carpet, *nasije*, thin fabric rug, *siǧâde*, prayer carpet, *lhâf*, European quilts, and of dresses and kerchiefs. The trousseau is given to the wife after, never before, the wedding night, *elja-'ras 'alejha*, and she is not obliged to return it.

If a widow or a divorced woman marries again, she is free from work for three days only.

When a man marries for the first time he stays with his wife for seven nights, but if he already has another wife he devotes himself to her also.

A young husband is greeted with the words: "Blessed be the tent! *mbârak al-bejt*," his answer being: "May (Allâh) bless thee still more! *bâreḳ lak bel-mubârak*." When speaking of a woman's husband the word *rafolha*, her man, is used; of a man's wife, *mrateh* (or *ḫurmeteh*), his wife; and the husband addresses his wife as *râ'ijet bejtena*, the mistress of our tent.

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bweğbet aṯ-ṯnên*."

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Já-lláh maksúm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'od*."

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl*. If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rubi'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḫdûha*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberún al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rubi'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrís* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *ḫrûs al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

[585 777] [834] [714]

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
593 speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move, the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture, and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors, *salaf*, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
574 says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not at home, *tarákom jè zujûf rā'i-l-bejt mā hu hāzer*." Then she brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready, if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests, she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent it, *en fulleiha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon afterwards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
586 557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
222

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents. 586 557 628

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them: *ar-rā'i w-al-waṭw la tewā-kerhom elja tabṭi-tewākerhom dzārkhom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Kowṭeri tārvē ṭālēž w-ar-raǧǧāl 'ālēž*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ijaẓw mazji 'alejē ǧelāleč*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin. *elja wṣalti bejt kalēč ṭalāžeč jeǧīd jāṣelē ila bejt kalēč*." for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin. 586 591 602 614

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭālēž beṭ-ṭalāṭ al-ḥawā-rem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥeǧǧer taḥǧīr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḥob flān* (or *kowd flān*, or *ṣejr flān*) *māni muḥallič leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḥob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṣejr*) *flān*." When a man 586

586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭallełni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *ḥâṭi-lli warâḳ*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *'ajb čebîr*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Miṯref eben Kurdi once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Miṯref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Miṯref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥaḍḍarha*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Miṯref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, *eben al-'amm*, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

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become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Miśref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭiʿ min ḥoor abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḫâlaf ḥowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥafra*, and would not allow Miśref to come near her. After becoming Miśref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Miśref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *zaʿlâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *(fûti-le-l-beyt.)*" The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

586 562 602 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajâf*. All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she h... stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 851 691 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has to wait at least six months, *ʿeha ʿedda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation:

851 584 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâʿ eben Šaʿlân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḥalaf âl Iǧen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḥalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḥalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meǧidijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏil an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḳejje*. If his wife's lover

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cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

586 837 587 [684]

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

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PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

683 831

[1] [Errata: See p. 712, cat. 116 for correction of ...]

852 o Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their
539 bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ǧebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejh min eḏ-ḏahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṯowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ǧemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ǧa'al min tabroẓeh tenlâ'
jamût wlêdaha-r-rzâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [342 thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred 554] by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband [586 and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to 754] the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mokra ẖidat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḫawwâdha ḥâled She was led by Ḥâled,
lâ jâ ba'ad 'êni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mokra means in this case the young wife of Ḥâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḫorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf

XV

Famine and War

587 628 TARFA, SISTER OF Amir Fuaz, who had married Mijlem ibn Meheyd, the Chief of the Fid'an, died suddenly. Thereupon, what must the fifty-five-year-old widower do but forthwith sue for the hand of another sister of the Ruala Prince, Fuwasa, who was seventeen. Fuaz refused, and declared publicly, before the men in assembly, that he considered Ibn Meheyd too old for his young sister. Thereupon the vain Fid'an chief flew into a towering rage and swore that he would take vengeance not only on his brother-in-law, Amir Fuaz, but also on the whole Ruala tribe, and the Sha'lan family in particular. All this ultimately came to pass.

628 721 731x During the last few months, Ibn Meheyd had matured his plans for revenge. He had stirred up the neighbouring tribes of the Fid'an into joining him in war on the Ruala. It seemed as if the famine, threatened by the failure of rain in the Hamad and other grazing regions, would now become an additional formidable ally of Amir Fuaz's foes. Thirty-five thousand Ruala, with seven thousand tents and about three hundred and fifty thousand camels would be forced to invade the grazing territory of enemies, unless sufficient rain fell in the Hamad within the next few days.

000 As yet, life ran its familiar round. But over all hovered the spectres of thirst, hunger, and death.

The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

There are no special wedding ceremonies. Part of the meat from the slaughtered she-camel is distributed among the members of the bride's kin and acquaintances, the rest is served for supper in the bridegroom's tent. Nobody is invited, nobody brings any wedding presents. There is no party, no dancing; neither the girls nor women sing or shout with joy. Often even the relatives of either the bridegroom or the bride do not know that there is going to be or has been a wedding. Neither does the slaughtering of a she-camel signify anything especially important, because an old or wounded animal is killed quite frequently. The tiny round tent, *ḥeǧra*, alone shows that there has been a wedding. But if it was put up at sunset and the camp moves elsewhere next morning nobody takes notice of it, except perhaps the nearest neighbors.

The morning after the wedding night the bridegroom goes to the men's compartment, *rab'a*, of his family tent, where he is saluted with the words: "Be blessed, may good be thy portion! *lâfi 'alejk al-ḫejr*." The bride is likewise visited by the women, who greet her: "Mayest thou bring good to thy cousin!" The young bride receives a gift from her father-in-law, then leaves the *ḥeǧra* to join the other women of her husband's family in the tent, although she need not work for seven days after the wedding. Her husband attends to his work as usual, also buying her trousseau, which consists of various blankets and rugs, as, for instance, the *ṣwâf*, wool carpet, *nasije*, thin fabric rug, *siǧâde*, prayer carpet, *ḫâf*, European quilts, and of dresses and kerchiefs. The trousseau is given to the wife after, never before, the wedding night, *el'ja-'ras 'alejha*, and she is not obliged to return it.

If a widow or a divorced woman marries again, she is free from work for three days only.

When a man marries for the first time he stays with his wife for seven nights, but if he already has another wife he devotes himself to her also.

A young husband is greeted with the words: "Blessed be the tent! *mbârak al-bejt*," his answer being: "May (Allâh) bless thee still more! *bâreḳ lak bel-mubârak*." When speaking of a woman's husband the word *raǧolha*, her man, is used; of a man's wife, *mrateh* (or *ḥurmeteh*), his wife; and the husband addresses his wife as *rê'ijet bejtena*, the mistress of our tent.

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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and plants on cool days. 8. *Jaṣṣâṣ* is said of one who delights in quarrels and in setting people against each other by carrying gossip and distorting their words. *Zibdet al-mḍâb*, melted butter, signifies invented, false stories, or calumnies. Melted butter is liked by everybody but cannot be the exclusive food, as it would cause death from dysentery; thus it is also with false stories. Pleasant to listen to, should the hearers make them a foundation for their acts, they would not meet with success. 9. He that cannot work, but lives and thrives on the sweat and toil of others, must perish as soon as they cease to support him.

Prudence

1. *Al-ḥâjet bâlak tebni*
   illa-s-sôs ḥeǧâreh kbâr
2. *w-al-bâjeh ḥaḍrak tetwih*
   damhât al-bauwâh kṭâr
3. *w-al-mar'i ḥaḍrak ter'ih*
   elja' ra'ejt er'a-n-nuâr.

1. Beware of building a wall,
   Except when the foundation is of big stones.
2. Beware of taking an ingrate for thy companion,
   For much trouble he will cause thee.
3. Of land that has been grazed upon beware;
   If thou desirest to pasture, on blossoms pasture.

The poet was a settler from the oasis of al-Ǧowf; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. As the houses in al-Ǧowf (as in all the settlements of inner Arabia) are built comparatively high, their walls must have solid foundations. During the fights in which the settlers frequently engage among themselves a weak foundation could be easily broken through by the enemy, and the wall would collapse. For this reason only big boulders are used in foundations. 2. *Al-bâjeh* is a man without a heart, *mâ beh ḳalb*, devoid of sympathy, gratitude, and even of morals. Whoever takes such a man for his companion, *ḳaṣr*, on a long trip will suffer more troubles than could be found even in hell. 3. *Al-mar'i* is either a woman divorced by her husband or a widow. Do not marry such a one; rather take a blossom, a virgin.

582 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away;
584 *ana abûj râḥ abṭik teḫûz min ruḳubti abṭik tedaššerni 'awâz abûj râḥ.*" The *ḫaḏḏûr* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe;
584 there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful
583 chief, *jinḥâšûn jamm al-'erab jetxabbenûnhom*. They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-'amm*. An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

'Aǧâǧ al-Mšêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-'amm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutaḥâsirîn ḥar ar-ijjâha ṯalâṯ sinîn*, 'Aǧâǧ fled with his sweetheart to the Ahl al-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *innahom minḥâṭṭîn*, the *eben al-'amm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab*. But 'Aǧâǧ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of 'Aǧâǧ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of 'Aǧâǧ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *ḥemâṭa*, is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-'amm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meǧwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A single Rwejli of the 'Abdelle clan eloped with a white slave girl. The search for him proved useless — he disappeared without leaving a trace. Should he ever return, he would be killed by his own kin.

When a youth wishes to marry a certain girl, he confides his secret to some older friend, begging him to find out from his father whether he agrees to his wooing or not. It is considered bad form, *'ajb*, for the son to ask his father for this permission. The father, who as a rule knows all the time which girl the son has chosen, says after hearing the news: "If it is Allâh's will, it will be good. Be it blessed. This day is already gone; to-morrow we shall realize his wish; *al-jowm fât bukra nakṣi yarodeh*." Next day the father goes with some prominent man to the father of the girl. They sit down, exchange greetings, talk about various matters, and finally say:

"We want thy daughter X for the youth Y, *nabṛi minak bintak al-flâne lil-weled al-flâni*."

"All right. Salt cannot be increased except with salt again. *Tajjeb mâ-zâd al-meleḥ ill'a-l-meláḥ*. I am satisfied. Let them beget children together. Speak with her cousin, *eben 'ammha*."

Then they go to the *eben al-'amm*, sit down, salute, and converse a while. The youth's father rises, beckons to the cousin or the second cousin, leaves the tent with him, and they squat down at some distance from the tent, where nobody can hear them.

"We give thee good evening, *mumassik bel-ḫejr*."

"Oh, good evening to you both! *já masa-l-ḫejr*. You surely did not come to me without desiring something, *má-ntom bein jà rarag*."

"Yes, we come with a certain desire; *na'am jájin bel-rarag*."

"Then speak! *ehreṣá*."

"May Allâh add to thy days! We want her for him, and what thou desirest we hold ready for thee."

Now if the *eben al-'amm* agrees to the girl's marriage, he says: "I want this and that." If he does not, he answers: "She is destined to be my wife. I will not give her." But if he has no intention of marrying the girl himself and wants no compensation, he ends the parley with the words: "I wish you well."

The dowry or price demanded for the bride is expressed by the word *sijáḫ*. This means only the value put on the bride

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a while Faris's father came home, and we celebrated our reunion.

In a corner of the women's section of the tent there presently appeared a small, chubby Bedouin boy, who gazed at us newcomers with inquisitive and bashful eyes. He was still a toddler, and had to hold on to the end of the frayed tent-curtain.

"Menwer!" a woman's voice called from within.

The voice was Tuĕma's; and this was Faris's son!

She came out and laughingly took the boy by the hand to lead him back, when I called out her name. She turned round in amazement and raised her hand to me in the salutation of peace. Then she bent down and whispered into her child's ear. The little fellow pointed to me and looked into his mother's face. She nodded encouragingly, and he wobbled toward me with outstretched arms. As I picked him up and hugged him to me, I laughed, but there were tears in my eyes.

Tuĕma, who was speechless with amazement at seeing me again, at last joyfully exclaimed: "Aziz!"

At a gesture from her father-in-law she sat down on a camel-saddle beside us. She touched me with shy fingertips in greeting and in her dark eyes was the sadness of memory. Since Faris's death she belonged altogether to Ibn Naif's family. She had been taken into it as a daughter and sister.

She drew the boy to her breast, and the two fondled each other, a picture of maternal happiness.

"In the evening the Beloved one went from me," said Tuĕma. "In the morning he came back to me."

"Sabah—the morning," I whispered to myself.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents. 586 557 628

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them: *ar-rā'i w-al-warw la tenākerhom elja tubṛi tenākerhom dwārhom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Kawferi tarīč ṭâleż w-ar-rugğâl 'âleż*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥuğra mazfū 'alreje ğa lāleč*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin, *elja wuṣalti bejt halec ṭalāżec jeğic jâṣelč ila bejt halec*," for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin. 591 602 619

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâleż beṭ-ṭalâṭ al-ḥawārem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥağğer taḥğīr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân*." When a man 586

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, brânded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer: "The *rwémel* are mine. Eben Ĝandal gave them to me." The slave asked: "Which Eben Ĝandal?" "Ĝed'ân eben Ĝandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ĝandal knows no mesn."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha ḥeric ḏl-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *be'îr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *farâjeẗ al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫḫe*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iĝen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *farâjeẗ al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'ajle* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

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342 of the pole passes]; sew a strip of coarse goat's hair, *ṭarâǰež*,
286 along the edges of the tent; at the end of these *ṭarâǰež* sew (Fig. 3)[5] on leather loops, *ḫurb* (*l*)[6], fastened to strong pegs [about ten centimeters in length]; through the leather loops draw and hook the ropes, both those which hold the tent on its long sides, *aṭnâb* (*h*), as well as those which hold it on the short sides [of which the front rope is known as *ǰad* (*i*), the back one as *riǧel* (*k*)]; *ḫoṭṭen aṭnâb ḫoṭṭen idên w-riǧlên*. Turn down as a hem the upper edge of the back wall, *ruwâḳ* (*f*), and sew on this hem [which is about ten centimeters broad], *maḫalla*, a strong thread, *ǧerîr*, in order that it may be fastened by means of strong pins, *ḫella*; to the lower edge of the *ruwâḳ* sew on a strip of inferior material [about fifty centimeters broad], *sefle*; to both the short sides [for a distance of fifty centimeters from the edge] sew on pieces of lighter tent material [about a meter and a half long]." This border strengthened to a breadth of fifty centimeters is known as *'amâra*, and the material which is sown forms the side wall, *ruffa* (*d*).

342 When the tent is to be pitched, its owner calls out to his
284 sons, servants, slaves, or women: "Spread out the tent, *fellû al-bejt* (Fig. 4); extend all the ropes, *marreṭû al-aṭnâb*; drive in the pegs with a wooden mallet, *eṭebṭû* (sic) *al-awtâd bel-miǧema* (Figs. 5, 6); wind the ropes round the pegs; tighten the ropes, *ekrebû*, at the front, *al-meždem*, at the back, *ḳafa'*, and at the sides, *česer*, by loosening their ends in the loops, *ḫruba*, drawing them taut, and securing them, *'alîṭ* or *'aljeṭ* (Fig. 8, *m*); prop the poles up, *'emdân* (Figs. 7, 8), first those in the front on the side away from the wind, *esemkû al-mežâdîm* (Fig. 3, *a*), then the main pole, *esemkû al-wâseṭ* (*b*), thrusting it into the *ḳoṭb* opening in the middle of the tent, and finally the two poles at the rear corners, *česer* (*c*); when all the poles are standing, tighten all the ropes, *karrebû al-aṭnâb*; attach the back wall to the windward side (Fig. 9) with iron pins, *rawweżû al-bejt*, and peg its lower part, *sefle*, down to the ground so that the wind may not lift it; do the same also with the side walls, *ruffa*; from the main pole and from two loops sewn on the edges of a *ṭariḳa* strip hang a central
342 partition, *ḫâṭe'a*." This dividing partition, 1.6 meters high,
592 cuts the tent into two compartments, the right-hand one

[5] This figure represents my large tent of the kind used by the 'Abejl camel traders. Its rear wall and pegs differ from those of the common Rwala tent.

[6] In the following descriptions of the tent the text letters refer to Fig. 1.

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342 592 being for the women, *maḳ'ad al-ḥarim*, the left-hand one for the men, *maḳ'ad ar-reǧâl* (or *rab'a*). The partition with a hole through which the women are fond of peeping at the guests is called *sâḥa mafǧûǧa* (or *ḳâṭe'a mafǧûǧa*). The ropes 283 known as *aṭnâb* as well as those called *mḳûṭ* (pl., *muḳṭ*) are of hemp. If such a rope is thin it is called *maras*. *Ḥabl* (pl., *ḥbâl*) is the name given by the Rwala only to the ropes which they themselves make of camel's hair.

FURNISHINGS OF THE MEN'S COMPARTMENT; THE FIREPLACE

352 286 When the tent has thus been firmly set up, they carry into it the whole equipment, *ḥelle*. "Place the furnishings, *efehkŭ al-ḥelle*," orders the owner. In the men's compartment the ground in front of the dividing wall is covered with a carpet, either bought, *ḳaṭîfa*, or else made by the Rwala women, *ma'aneḳa*, upon which are laid quilts, stitched and filled with cotton, *farše* (pl., *frâš*), either of the European pattern, *leḥef*, or of an Oriental pattern, *ṭarrâḥa*. Upon these are placed pillows, one meter long and 30 centimeters broad, filled with wool or camel's hair and sometimes also covered over with a broad woollen shawl, *šâf*. A pillow is often replaced by a camel's saddle, against which it is easier to rest.

516 [291] The master of the tent and his guests remove their shoes or boots, which they place behind them against the dividing wall, while they hang their rifles on the main pole in the women's compartment and sit down on the carpets, drawing their legs in upon it. A man when thus seated usually supports his side, *murtači*, or back, *mutasanned*, on the pillow or saddle. When a man is narrating a story, he sits on his crossed legs, *muṭarabbe'*. During a meal he kneels on his left knee and sits on his left heel, *ḳâ'ed 'ala rkubeh w-nuṣṣ*; while inspecting anything or testing a weapon, he kneels on both knees and sits on his heels, *bâreč 'ala rkubeh*; when he washes his hands, he squats, *meẓ'i*; if he sits down with his arms round his knees, he is referred to as *mufaḥḥeẓ*. When it is hot, he lies down on his stomach, *mumbaṭaḥ*; when he takes a nap, *jeṣčče'* (or *jinûd*), he turns over on his back, *mutasalči 'ala ẓahareh*, or lies down with his face resting on his hands, *mufannes*, or turns over on his side, lays his hand under his face, and goes to sleep, *nâjem minǧeda'*.

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6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwala numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neğe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf ježeldi al-mezâhîr*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arṣa* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: "*Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Abči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
w-aṣonn min jabči ḥaleh mâ jiljâmi
2. *ğît al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḥalb maʿ'ûm*
manâzel al-ğullân ḫom w-al-'amâmi
3. *ḥâḍa meḥabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maʿlûm*
marka' dlâlen muʿabâten aš-šwâmi
4. *w-hâği merâbaʿ ḫejlaḫom dâjmen dûm*
ḫoḫb al-'ujûn mrowbaʿât al-ḫwâmi

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x 539x

Dear brother mine, do not set off on a visit in the nighttime,
Do not put on the bridle, O thou paragon of mine!
If thy heart longs passionately for me,
Carry away that which I owe thee in daylight.
I bless him who has built for himself a strong house,
For his kinsmen dwell in the same place every day.

[342 592]

Ḳaṣr is the name of any house built of stone or mud bricks. A desert *kaṣr* forms a square courtyard enclosed with a high wall, against which abut the dwellings of the several families. Thus the whole kin lives together. In the desert the members of one kin also usually pitch their tents together, but sometimes one or another joins another kin, so that the lovers become separated. The maiden fears lest some one attack her lover at night and asks him therefore to call on her in the day time.

Hala hala jâ daḫîlallâh
jâ-lli ʿelûmek teʿazzîni
wuddi bikom mâr ḫalḳ allâh
čaṭrat ʿelûm all farrâžîni
oḫtak lja rčebat aẓ-ẓalla
jâ ʿejn nâder šijâhîni.

Welcome, welcome, O Daḫîlallâh!
O thou, to hear of whom so gladdens me!
I would fain go to you, but Allâh's creatures
Have spread reports which prevent me.
Still thy sister, when seated in a shaded litter,
Looks like a noble falcon.

Daḫîlallâh, a Šammari, falling in love with a Rwala maiden, was frequently a welcome guest with her parents. Unfortunately a near relative of the maiden was found killed with his herds, and the murderer could not be discovered. The kinsmen suspected Daḫîlallâh of having killed his rival from jealousy, and pressed the girl to refuse the stranger. But she remained faithful and sang these verses. *Aẓ-ẓalla* is the *žetab* litter with a covering thrown over its upper horizontal pole, so that the woman is shaded. She speaks of herself as sister, thus a blood relation of Daḫîlallâh, as a proof that she will not give him up. She contemplates the threatening faces of her kins-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

857
539x

Jâ ḫajji jâ mâli
warâk li šenjân
jâ ḫajji-bṛi-mâri
bilammat al-'orbân
fowḳ ašḳaḥen 'âli
nowfen 'ala-l-ža'dân
ummeh 'atejbijje
w-abûh min al-'adwân
w-alâjefeh haǧme
sowden čema-l-ṛorbân.

O little brother of mine! O my all!
Both thy mother and thy sister hate me.
O little brother of mine! I would fain show my bravery
In a throng of Arabs
On a tall ash-gray,
Surpassing the stud camels,
Whose mother hails from the 'Atejbe
And father from the 'Adwân,
And to whom is united a herd
Of she-camels black as the raven.

The maiden wishes to accompany her Arabs into the fiercest fighting, hoping thus to gain the good will of her lover's mother and sisters.

[592] *Warâk*, behind thee, here signifies female relatives. In the part of the tent reserved for the men the male members of the family sit with their backs to the wall which divides them from the women's compartment. Anyone who has transactions with the men takes a seat facing them and if he wishes to mention the female members of the family says briefly: "Behind thee, behind you." *Lammat al-'orbân* means "the Arabs will assemble (or flock together) to repel a hostile attack." The 'Atejbe camp east of al-Medîna and Mecca; the 'Adwân to the southeast of them. In Neǧd the predominating color of the camels is black, *amlaḥ*.

Jâ rabbi tsâ'efni
'ala kill má-ṛid
fowḳ awẓaḥen 'âli
bzên al-ma'âlîž
wa-ṛlejjemen jaṭni
elja jâbsat ar-ṛiž

tried to telegraph for everything the riders asked for, but he could not get them anywhere. 28. *Ḥafâje* is the name given to she-camels with bruised soles which bleed at every step; such camels cannot, therefore, be used on long marches. *Erte'âdi* means shaking of the loins, a sure sign of fever and sickness. 29. Having been deceived by his friend Fejḥân, 'Abdallâh sought help from other chiefs in Neǧd and was in such haste about it as to rouse everybody's wonder. 30. He addresses Fejḥân. "*Já šên*, O shameful!" O rascal! is used in both a friendly and hostile sense. 31. Fejḥân would reproach him with fearing to win the beauty for him. 33. *Radij al-ǧeldi* is a bald-headed man. 34. *Ḥaziz* is what remains of water in a folded leather water bag. 35. He woos for Fejḥân a girl of his own kin, as a kin usually forms a *ferîž*, smaller camp, of their own. 37. He can see her cooking behind the narrow partition which protects the fireplace from the wind, *dera'*. 38. *Al-ḥeǧa'* denotes the corner in the women's compartment where women in childbirth or with abnormal menstruation rest. 39. Fejḥân viewed his beloved's beauty with his own eyes, but other people judged it differently. In Neǧd almost every settlement has its own valley without an outlet. These valleys are mostly large basins where the rain water accumulates, there soaking into the sandy ground and keeping fresh for a considerable time. None of these basins are connected, so that the water cannot flow on the surface from one to another. 41. He who is careless will perish, be he the most powerful. A person on foot carrying a pouch with cool water will overcome a rider dying of thirst. 43. A Bedouin may not marry a *ṣâne'*'s daughter.

'Obejd Eben Rašîd Lies in Wait in a Ravine to Fight the Âl 'Ali

1. *Hejh já-lli lak ma' an-nâs widdâd*
   má tarḥamûn al-ḥâl jâ 'azwati lejh
2. *má tarḥamûn alli ṛada dam'eh abdâd*
   ṭowl az-zemân w-ḥarrak ad-dam' ḥaddejh
3. *min šowfeti lel-ṛarw mazbûr al-anhâd*
   mutmašlehen jâṭa' 'ala-žđâm riǧǧejh
4. *aš-šowk má leh 'an mwâṭih raddâd*
   ejẓan w-lá sibten žiwijjen jewaǧǧejh

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539[k] 9. They pleaded: "But she is so small yet,"
O my dear! O twig to whom for its youth respite must be given!

10. Her breast is a *zbejdi* growing in an overflowed vale,
The drops of sweat of the black clouds, pouring forth a rain shower.

The poet was al-Herbîd eben Swejd of the Sinǧâra tribe belonging to the Šammar in Neǧd; the reciters, ʿEbči, a Šammari serving as a herdsman with the Rwala, Mḥammad al-Ḳazîb, and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. The poet had several times visited the settlements lying on the lower Euphrates, to buy grain. Being greatly pleased with his stay there, he longed to live in the settled country permanently, and to this wish he gives expression in our poem. He would have liked to own a large palm grove and an extensive orchard, which he would irrigate from a spacious well by a big leather bag with the help of fat she-camels. On the palms he desired many yellow twigs to sprout, growing into bunches of dates. There was to be a common house for entertaining guests, with a coffee set. Then he would marry a very young girl, for whom he would have to wait some time yet.

Verse 1. *Dîre* is the name given by the Bedouins to the tilled territory where they go for their supplies and the inhabitants of which pay them tribute. 2. *Žammateh mustadîre* signifies a round hard footpath trodden by the animal raising water. *Ar-reǧǧaʿ al-kunnas al-ḥil* are she-camels accustomed to turning a flush wheel and not used for breeding purposes; they graze in the garden. 3. On a large flush wheel there often hang twenty buckets made of either burnt clay or leather, *dlije*, which are emptied into a trough opening into either a reservoir or an irrigation ditch. *Muǧaḏḏefât aš-šaḫâlil* are such large buckets from which the water pours in a flood. 4. *Mkarkamât aš-šemâšil* are the yellow twigs growing luxuriantly in the top of the palm tree from which, later on, [592 574] bunches of dates will hang. 5. In the settlements a certain room is usually set aside for the common guests, where they live during their sojourn and where they also receive food sent them from the different houses in succession. This guest room should bear a sign on the outside, so that it may be found easily by the traveler. 7. *Waḏḏar al-ḳalb tawḏîr* implies that he would marry, for love, a girl who would cut

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 of Tra'd ibn Sattam. Tears ran down the children's faces, but they bit their lips. Now our adventures were related, to the accompaniment of the free comments of the company. With incredible self-mastery, Faris, marked by death, sought to hide his sufferings and take part in the general conversation, which ran on and on. Every little detail of the fighting was threshed out in cold blood, and Faris's inevitable fate was discussed with (to anyone of the Western world) cruel disregard of his feelings.

This discussion lasted two hours. When the company finally rose, Faris also tried to get up; but a severe hæmorrhage threw him back on his couch, and he 763 fainted. His mother was sent for. When he came to, she 593 was kneeling at his side, with his hands in hers; and one could see she was hungering for a look from him. "My son!" she whispered, and kissed him, her face streaming with tears.

When Faris's still-wandering eyes saw her so convulsed with grief, his face quivered. "Who is this woman?" he said, propping himself on his elbow. "Take her away! I don't know her."

The slaves looked at one another uncertainly.

"Take her outside!" Faris called to them again. Then I took the poor woman by the arm and, with some words of consolation, led her from the tent. But at the entrance of the tent she wrenched herself from me, ran [782] back and threw herself at Faris's feet. With both hands she gathered dust from the ground and poured it on her head and cried to God to preserve her son.

Faris touched her bent head and said:

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"Go, Mother! God will give thee strength. I would have only happy faces about me. Nay, have I lived in order to be afraid of death?" 763 593

He motioned to me to lead his mother away.

When I came out of the woman's tent, a rider on a sorrel horse came galloping from another camp at the lower end of the valley and I waited. It was Tuëma, as I had thought. 763

Her whole body trembled and her voice was choked with tears. I tried to calm her and told her of what had passed between Faris and his mother. At this she pulled herself together and kissed my hands and pressed them to her wet eyes.

"What shall I do, Aziz?" she asked.

"Make his last hours cheerful, Tuëma. Show him that you are happy. That is all."

"Go thou before me," she begged, and tried to smile; but the tears rolled down her cheeks.

"Go before me," she repeated. "I want first to dispel the cloud from my eyes."

It had been decided that the marriage of Faris and Tuëma should take place that very evening. He had been inquiring after her with growing impatience. When I told him the glad news that Tuëma had come and would be with him at any moment, he begged first to see his mother again.

I went myself to the women's quarters to bring her. Her grief had made her a frail wraithlike creature: she walked with uncertain steps, but was more composed. She knelt down by Faris's couch. He put his arms round his beloved mother, and hugged her to his breast. Tears

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

an attack) this (month) just passed, wilt surely save us also in that which is now beginning. *Jâ helâl jâ sajjed jâ sa'id jâ 'azz al-helâl jâ-lli fakkejtna bha-lli zell tafekkna bhalli hell.*" 821

The Rwala never know positively how many nights old the new moon is. When discussing this they fall to quarreling and then have to believe what the older and more experienced say about it. But from generation to generation the confidence in the elders is on the wane. The young men are too clever and heed neither the advice nor the hints of their parents; whereat an old father thus complains to his son: "My son, there will come a disobedient generation, which will claim of (the first night of) the moon that it is already two nights old; *jâ wledi jeṭla' ǧîlen wâni jeḳûl lal-helâl eben ṭâni.*" An old neighbor of his adds: "A perverse generation is coming; if thou invitest them to feast, they will never find enough to drink or eat; if thou raisest thy war cry for help, they will not come; *jeṭla' ǧîl medfa' ilja 'azzemteh mâ jarwa' w-mâ ješba' w-ilja naḥejteh mâ jefza'.*" [593]

The Bedouin is most happy from the eighth to the eighteenth night, for the moon in that period is still alive at sunrise, *taṭla' aš-šams w-al-ḳamar ḥajj.* These nights are called the white, *lejâl al-bîẓ.* The Bedouin cannot then be discovered from afar, nor suddenly attacked from near by, as he sees farther than the rifle would carry. Beginning with the eighth night he can sleep easily; from the tenth onwards, he need not drive together the camels which lie here and there around his tent; *lejlet ṭemân nim bamân w-lejlet 'ašar lâ tarodd an-našar.* In these nights the fire of a lonely traveler can be left burning; on war expeditions no lantern is needed to show the way — what wonder then that the grown youth wishes: "I would that the night were always bright moonlight, the depression always freshly green, and that I might live on, growing neither younger nor older; *abṛi enna-l-lejl aḳmar w-ar-rowẓ aḫḍar w-ana ḥajj lâ azṛar w-lâ akbar.*"

But after the eighteenth night trouble begins. Thieves prowl around, hostile troops ride through the region, the smallest fire can be seen from a great distance, and danger threatens from both near and far. Therefore the warning is heard over and over again: "The twentieth night! Guard thy property, wretch! *lejlet 'ašrin eḥfaẓ mâlak jâ maskîn.*" The darkness of the night fills the wakeful with terror, and they cry out: "God save us from the evil of the darkness and of those

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom
595 two, and very rarely three. A young Rwejli almost always
593 marries a girl whom he loves, and remains faithful to his
837 young wife till the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy. Then his love cools and in many cases he begins to look for another girl or divorced woman whom he also marries, unless he is setting out on a raid. If the latter is of several weeks' duration and he comes back exhausted, he desires no new marriage and waits for his wife's confinement. If she bears a boy, the young father is so happy that he clings to her again and banishes the thought of all others from his mind. If the wife behaves with sense, keeps the tent in order, can cook cleanly, is not strongheaded and quarrelsome, the husband often remains faithful to her all his life.

PLURALITY OF WIVES

595 In case a husband is not fully satisfied with his first wife, he generally takes a second one. The first wife in the beginning is much displeased with her new companion or neighbor—*ǧârti*, as she calls her—and abuses her to the best of her ability. "Why didst thou come to me? Couldst thou find no one but my man? O thou daughter of So and So! O thou cursed in both thy parents! *Lêh ǧîtini mâ laẖejti ṛejr ǧowzi enti jâ bint flân jâ mal'ûnet wâlidejn.*" However, the resistance put up by the first wife is, as a rule, not of long duration. In a comparatively short time peace is concluded by the women and they live together like sisters.

When a man has two wives, each cooks for him a day in turn, and on that day he usually eats and sleeps with her. Such is the woman's right, *ḥakkaha*, which nobody is allowed to violate. If he sees that his wife is dissatisfied, the man asks: "What art thou angry about? I have not infringed thy
595 right. *Lêh taz'alin mâ-ḥṭejt 'alejč beḥakkeč.*" Even when he
833 does not love his wife, the man should devote himself to her on the nights belonging to her. He need not have sexual intercourse with her, but neither must he with the woman he loves. In such cases he usually sleeps in the men's compartment, or lying down at his wife's head he says: "To night I wish for nothing, *mâ-ni bâṛi hal-lejle*," and the woman dares not say a word. Sometimes the women haggle among themselves: "Let me have the man tonight!" "What wilt thou give me for it?" [illegible] they come to an agreement, the woman who

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk eršed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-i-ḥejẓ*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt al-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehušš lal-faras*, etc.

562 462

The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *ṛaṛa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

562 462 593

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562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move,
593 the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near
his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with
the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture,
and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the
rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to
the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors,
salaf, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On
arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for
his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against
the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch
the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all
this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make
his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with
the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not
574 at home, *tarâkom jâ zujûf râ'i-l-bejt mâ hw ḥâżer*." Then she
brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel
and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee
beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the
women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready,
if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she
calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be
the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to
carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests,
she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and
amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent
it, *en ṭalležha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can
do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him
on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason
himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce
her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
622

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭalleżni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *hâti-lli warâč*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *'ajb čebîr*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Mišref eben Kurdi once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Mišref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Mišref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥaḡḡarha*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Mišref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, *eben el-'amm*, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Mišref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana má-ṭiʿ min ḫowr abúj w-aḫúj w-lá-ḫâlef ḫowfathom*." On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥefra*, and would not allow Mišref to come near her. After becoming Mišref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Mišref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *zaʿlâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *fûti-la-l-beje*." The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *aḥl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḥef min allâh.*"

Only when the girl has been raped, *maṛṛûba*, will her relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot be left alive, as it would have no kin, *aḥl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him.

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *dl-wağh nazif mâ jarżâh ad-danas*.

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abbar had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neğd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry:

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw maâfet šahr zamânen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Akejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirhân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

12. Oh, how many fat wethers' heads have we thrown away
And besmeared the necks of she-camels from the wound
made by the knife.
13. A pure heart seeks no gossip,
And should those heroes refuse to salute me (I shall
salute them).
14. For both the chief and the herdsman should walk the
path of love,
As Allâh keeps the account of each being.
15. A guest is Allâh's guest and must not be insulted,
And this one we shall protect against wrong.

The composer of this poem, Drejjem az-Zulmâwi, lived in the settlement of Kna' and was famous for his hospitality. Whoever traveled from Hâjel to Damascus or from Syria to the Šammar or Kuṣmân territory stopped with him. Once, in a cold and rainy night, a band returning from a raid reached his abode and knocked on the door of his mud hut. He instantly awakened his servant and ordered him to prepare supper for the guests, many of whom had not before even saluted him. The reciter was Fhejd, a camel herdsman, native of Kna'.

Verse 4. When pounding coffee, the pestle is first beaten against the center of the mortar on the coffee beans, then on its brim, and is tapped two or three times to shake off the coffee sticking to the pestle and the brim; this sound is much like the deep howl of the wolf. 6. *Masbû'* is a man afraid to go out on a raid, preferring to stay at home near his wife. *Ğlebbe* is a woman who has not married for love but has been bought by her husband. She cannot run away from him because her kinsfolk would have to return what they got for her, and the husband will not divorce her, hating to lose what she has cost him. She shows dissatisfaction by everlasting opposition and quarreling, especially when she finds her husband to be a coward. *Ṭakk 'aṣijehom* is the tapping with sticks on the she-camels' necks to make them kneel on the ground before a tent or house, where the riders are to be guests. 7. It is for the guests that fresh coffee is made, whereas the other visitors who were attracted by the beating of the pestle in the mortar must be content with yesterday's warmed-up coffee. A *saḥâbe* is a dark low cloud, through which the rider has to pass, inhaling its moist smell

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death, *siḳtha wa-ḥtarajtha ḥra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏir* or *ḥaddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zelema žabl al-waḥama,*" and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *maḏja-l-'arṛ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

628 The chief of the Mwasserîn replied obligingly: "Whatever comes to us, comes to its goal; *mâ waṣalna wâṣel.*"

Mnezzel's kin stayed with the Mwasserîn a whole year. After that time the Mwasserîn herdsmen sighted a strange Bedouin. They pursued, caught, and brought him before Mnezzel, who recognized him at once as the avenger of Ḥarrâs. The Rwala therefore fettered his feet with a chain as they fetter a mare. On the fourth day they said to Mnezzel:

"Mnezzel, we do not wish to kill the avenger, but, if he refuses to accept the blood price, we will take thee to the Beni Ṣaḫr; there thou wilt be safer than with us; *jâ mnezzel ḏabḥ mâ eḥna ḏâbeḥîneh čân ḥnneh mâ ḥw žâbel al-medda newaṣṣelak 'a'a ahl aš-šemâl 'ala miğlâk.*"

Their next step was to visit the avenger and ask him whether he would accept the blood price. The man said:

"I am willing, but there are besides me other brothers and relatives whom I must consult first. Allow me to return, and I will send you a report."

So they let him go and soon received news that the avengers were willing to accept the blood price and had named at the same time Eben Ḳardûš as their arbitrator. The Rwala therefore conducted Mnezzel with all his kin to Ṭaṭwân eben Meršed, who sent the avengers the following message, *dafa' 'alejhom*:

"Mnezzel eben Nims is staying with me. If you want the blood price, come. I guarantee its payment."

Finally Eben Ḳardûš arrived. Ṭaṭwân brought Mnezzel's mare and asked Eben Ḳardûš:

"Will ye accept Mnezzel eben Nims?"

The answer being in the affirmative, Ṭaṭwân delivered to him one mare, four she-camels, and a rider's equipment. The rest of the she-camels were to be given to Ḥarrâs' kin in the next few years. And when the rainy season began Mnezzel once again migrated and camped with the 'Ebede — they were reconciled.

628 593 682 A Bedouin of the Eben Mhejd kin of the Fed'ân struck his wife with a pestle, *mihwa'*, from a big mortar, breaking her head so that she died shortly afterward. He was sued by her kin, but all the judges, *'awâref*, declared that he had struck her in anger with no intention of killing and, as he

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had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

Me'ǧel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammîṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ǧel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammîṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ǧel.

As soon as the head chief Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ǧel's and Sammîṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Ṛaṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥîdi.*"

Ṛaṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ǧel.

A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ǧubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍîn. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

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619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ğebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ad-dîre* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

● 594 The *ʿajle* indicates a family which has a house and hearth of its own, *al-ʿajle ahl al-ğdâr w-an-nâr*. Any settler who has a house of his own and in it a wife who cooks for him is said to have his *ʿajle*.

601 The word *ḏurrijje*, descendants, is replaced among the Rwala by the word *ẓana*, which designates very distant descendants, irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or the relationship is due to adoption.

CHIEFS

622 The word *ḳowm* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "*Ḳowm eben šaʿlân*, he is of the *ḳowm* of Eben Šaʿlân"; "the *ḳowm* of Eben Meʿğel are encamped there; the *ḳowm* of Eben Ğandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as: "That is the *ḳowm* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḳowm* of the Freğe" will never be heard. When Prince Eben Šaʿlân speaks of *ğemâʿati* he is thinking of the various tribes who obey his orders and who hasten to his assistance, *jefzaʿûn*. *Ğemâʿa* is almost the same as *ḳowm*.

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There are no special wedding ceremonies. Part of the meat from the slaughtered she-camel is distributed among the members of the bride's kin and acquaintances, the rest is served for supper in the bridegroom's tent. Nobody is invited, nobody brings any wedding presents. There is no party, no dancing; neither the girls nor women sing or shout with joy. Often even the relatives of either the bridegroom or the bride do not know that there is going to be or has been a wedding. Neither does the slaughtering of a she-camel signify anything especially important, because an old or wounded animal is killed quite frequently. The tiny round tent, *ḥeğra*, alone shows that there has been a wedding. But if it was put up at sunset and the camp moves elsewhere next morning nobody takes notice of it, except perhaps the nearest neighbors.

The morning after the wedding night the bridegroom goes to the men's compartment, *rab'a*, of his family tent, where he is saluted with the words: "Be blessed, may good be thy portion! *lâfi 'alejk al-ḫejr*." The bride is likewise visited by the women, who greet her: "Mayest thou bring good to thy cousin!" The young bride receives a gift from her father-in-law, then leaves the *ḥeğra* to join the other women of her husband's family in the tent, although she need not work for seven days after the wedding. Her husband attends to his work as usual, also buying her trousseau, which consists of various blankets and rugs, as, for instance, the *bsâṭ*, wool carpet, *nasije*, thin fabric rug, *siğâde*, prayer carpet, *lḥâf*, European quilts, and of dresses and kerchiefs. The trousseau is given to the wife after, never before, the wedding night, *elja-'ras 'alejha*, and she is not obliged to return it.

If a widow or a divorced woman marries again, she is free from work for three days only.

When a man marries for the first time he stays with his wife for seven nights, but if he already has another wife he devotes himself to her also.

A young husband is greeted with the words: "Blessed be the tent! *mbârak al-bejt*," his answer being: "May (Allâh) bless thee still more! *bâreč lak bel-mubârak*." When speaking of a woman's husband the word *raǧolha*, her man, is used; of a man's wife, *mruteh* (or *ḥurmeteh*), his wife; and the husband addresses his wife as *râ'ijet bejtena*, the mistress of our tent.

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The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom
595 two, and very rarely three. A young Rwejli almost always
593 marries a girl whom he loves, and remains faithful to his
837 young wife till the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy. Then his love cools and in many cases he begins to look for another girl or divorced woman whom he also marries, unless he is setting out on a raid. If the latter is of several weeks' duration and he comes back exhausted, he desires no new marriage and waits for his wife's confinement. If she bears a boy, the young father is so happy that he clings to her again and banishes the thought of all others from his mind. If the wife behaves with sense, keeps the tent in order, can cook cleanly, is not strongheaded and quarrelsome, the husband often remains faithful to her all his life.

PLURALITY OF WIVES

595 In case a husband is not fully satisfied with his first wife, he generally takes a second one. The first wife in the beginning is much displeased with her new companion or neighbor — *ğârti*, as she calls her — and abuses her to the best of her ability. "Why didst thou come to me? Couldst thou find no one but my man? O thou daughter of So and So! O thou cursed in both thy parents! *Lêh ğîtini mâ lažejti ṛejr ğowzi enti jâ bint flân jâ malʿûnet wâlidejn.*" However, the resistance put up by the first wife is, as a rule, not of long duration. In a comparatively short time peace is concluded by the women and they live together like sisters.

When a man has two wives, each cooks for him a day in turn, and on that day he usually eats and sleeps with her. Such is the woman's right, *ḥaḳḳaha*, which nobody is allowed to violate. If he sees that his wife is dissatisfied, the man asks: "What art thou angry about? I have not infringed thy
595 right. *Lêh taʿalîn mâ-ḫṭejt ʿalejč beḥaḳḳeč.*" Even when he
833 does not love his wife, the man should devote himself to her on the nights belonging to her. He need not have sexual intercourse with her, but neither must he with the woman he loves. In such cases he usually sleeps in the men's compartment, or lying down at his wife's head he says: "To night I wish for nothing, *mâ-ni bâṛi hal-lejle*," and the woman dares not say a word. Sometimes the women haggle among themselves: "Let me have the man tonight!" "What wilt thou give me for it?" If they come to an agreement, the woman who

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has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk eršed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-l-ḥejz*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt al-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

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TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešîl al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *teṇṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehušš lal-faras*, etc.

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The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *ṛaṛa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

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About four years before my stay with the Rwala, a young Rwala chief fell in love with a beautiful young girl. The chief was already married and father of two boys, whom his healthy young wife had borne to him. Driven by jealousy, she went to a witch, *saḥḥâra*, complained of her husband, and begged the witch to prevent his taking a second wife but not to harm him. The witch asked her to bring a piece of the wool of a sheep killed on the day of her husband's new wedding and dip it into the blood of the sheep. At that time the Rwala were camping east of Damascus, where they could buy a sheep for their supper. The young wife promised to do as she was asked. When the sheep was killed before the chief's tent a little after noon, she tore out a bit of wool as if by accident, dipped it into the blood, and gave it to the Ṣlubijje. The witch pressed the wool with both her hands, mumbled strange words, and then returned it to the wife with instructions to take good care of it, to press it thoroughly, *temûṣah*, every Friday night, and to continue doing so until the new wife was divorced by her husband. Cheered by this advice, the young wife gave a suitable reward to the Ṣlubijje, who was camping with some families of her kin on the outskirts of the Rwala encampment, and returned to her tent. At the side of this a small tent was already being put up, shut in from all sides, into which the young chief meant to bring his new bride after the wedding ceremony. This took place in the evening, the young couple entering the tent immediately afterwards. After midnight the chief returned to the big tent. All the next week his mien was dark, and the new wife did not show herself at all. After two weeks he gave her a severe beating and before the month was out divorced her because she scoffed at him in public and said that he was incapable of having intercourse with a woman; and as matter of fact she returned to her parents a virgin. The witch had caused the man to become impotent at the very moment when he approached the second woman, but reinvigorated him on his return to his first wife.

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THE EVIL EYE

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The evil eye is universally feared among the Rwala. Every Rwejli knows that there are persons of either sex who can cast a spell over him, yet he is never able to say who it was

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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs; *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḫwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ 'alejh arrbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting: *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ*. The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beni'am* (or *ḥakk al-beni'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-beni'ame ṣwât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ṣeji*, or fellow traveler, *ḥaci*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣliḥ al-ḥaċi min ṣejr manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm*. 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *'aširt*) *ar-rwala*, *'ašire* having the same meaning as *bedide* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the 101 601

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name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor; a *ferîž* is also wider than an *ahl*.

The *ahl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," in a technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individual only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father or son (although all three kins in this case would include many individuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descendants to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the third generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants to the third generation from each. Descent is reckened through male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collaterals that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to the same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ancestor of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provided not more than five individuals are thus counted between X and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is not separated from either X or Y by more than three generations, X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of the kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfather, whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be absolutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the following explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓeri, who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâleḥ. Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left me, that is Blejhân, Ǧî'ân, and 'Aŝwân, while Baṛri's sons were Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named Nedi and Ǧlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḏijâb; Ǧlejdân had Neǧîb and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *ahl*, and nobody else. My father's *ahl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the father of Ẓeri and 'Abdallâh, but the descendants of 'Abdallâh do not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I shall not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew nothing at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (and therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he had a brother, Ma'rûf by name. But how many generations there were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anybody in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as being thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1) his father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly he

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counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'ajle* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

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619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ğebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ad-ḏire* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

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There are no special wedding ceremonies. Part of the meat from the slaughtered she-camel is distributed among the members of the bride's kin and acquaintances, the rest is served for supper in the bridegroom's tent. Nobody is invited, nobody brings any wedding presents. There is no party, no dancing; neither the girls nor women sing or shout with joy. Often even the relatives of either the bridegroom or the bride do not know that there is going to be or has been a wedding. Neither does the slaughtering of a she-camel signify anything especially important, because an old or wounded animal is killed quite frequently. The tiny round tent, *ḥeğra*, alone shows that there has been a wedding. But if it was put up at sunset and the camp moves elsewhere next morning nobody takes notice of it, except perhaps the nearest neighbors.

The morning after the wedding night the bridegroom goes to the men's compartment, *rab'a*, of his family tent, where he is saluted with the words: "Be blessed, may good be thy portion! *lâfi 'alejk al-ḫejr*." The bride is likewise visited by the women, who greet her: "Mayest thou bring good to thy cousin!" The young bride receives a gift from her father-in-law, then leaves the *ḥeğra* to join the other women of her husband's family in the tent, although she need not work for seven days after the wedding. Her husband attends to his work as usual, also buying her trousseau, which consists of various blankets and rugs, as, for instance, the *bsâṭ*, wool carpet, *nasije*, thin fabric rug, *siğâde*, prayer carpet, *lḥâf*, European quilts, and of dresses and kerchiefs. The trousseau is given to the wife after, never before, the wedding night, *el-ja-'ras 'alejha*, and she is not obliged to return it.

If a widow or a divorced woman marries again, she is free from work for three days only.

When a man marries for the first time he stays with his wife for seven nights, but if he already has another wife he devotes himself to her also.

A young husband is greeted with the words: "Blessed be the tent! *mbârak al-bejt*," his answer being: "May (Allâh) bless thee still more! *bâreč lak bel-mubârak*." When speaking of a woman's husband the word *rağolha*, her man, is used; of a man's wife, *mruteh* (or *ḥurmeteh*), his wife; and the husband addresses his wife as *râ'ijet bejtena*, the mistress of our tent.

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom

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should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share. 567

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave. 855 567

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire. 622 567

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*semm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command. 601 567

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and 567 627

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rousing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are to be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but slowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No wonder, then, that the waterers pray Allâh to help them do their task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, *'edâd*, with water.

Jâ rzajjelen bumm iden Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iden!
jetli maṭabb al-mizen. She goes there where rain fell from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge their direction and where their sluices may open. They even send a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a favorable report (i.e. that the rain has been abundant) they move to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle, a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iden, had come there after having followed the rain cloud which had filled the pool.

Jâ mizen ar-ra'âdi O thou cloud rumbling with thunder!
emṭer 'ala-l-ḥamâdi. On al-Ḥamâd let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamâd is the western half of north Arabian desert between Palmyra and the Nefûd.

Al-bîr tabṛi ḥâder Into the well should descend
eben ḥalâ'en žâder. A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalâl* is a man against whose father there is no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain. The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring; therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and origin are clean and pure.

Welli 'aǧûzen šība Run from the gray-haired woman!
allâh jikṭa' naṣîbah May Allâh cut her fate, for
ted'i 'ala naṣîbah. She curses her son-in-law.

Allâh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death. *Ted'i 'ala*, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good and bad sense. *Naṣîb* is the name that a mother gives not only to the man who has married her daughter but also to a man who as yet only calls on the daughter.

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-'Amm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called 'Aneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern 'Aneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Ḳaḥaṭân and Muntifeẓ. The northern 'Aneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sba'a, Fed'ân, and 'Amârât. The former include the Weld 'Ali and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ġlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the 'Aneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-'amm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-'amm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddîm ġeddeh mâ hu eben al-'amm čéf jeẓir lena-bn al-'amm*," or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the 'Amârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr arla' lena min al-'amârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôle akrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr aġânib mâ lena w-lahom ġidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbê'ân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Maha' married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbê'ân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *'amâm*, and not the [628] maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the sons of Ẓbê'ân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *'amâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs: *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḫwâleh arḥâm.*

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *má 'alejh arbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ*. The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment.

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beni'am* (or *ḥakk al-ben'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-ben'ame swât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *zejî*, or fellow traveler, *ḫawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣlîḥ al-ḥači min ṣejr manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm*.

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *'aširt*) *ar-rwala*, *'aširet* having the same meaning as *bedîde* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the

101 name given to a group of kindred descended from the sa
601 ancestor; a *ferîḳ* is also wider than an *aḥl*.

The *aḥl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," i
611 technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individ
602 only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father
son (although all three kins in this case would include many
dividuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descenda
to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons,
great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the th
generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and gre
grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants
the third generation from each. Descent is reckened throu
male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collate
that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to
same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ances
of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provi
not more than five individuals are thus counted between
and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is
separated from either X or Y by more than three generatio
X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of
kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfath
whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be
solutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the follow
explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓ
who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâ
Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left
that is Blejhân, Ǧîʿân, and ʿAẘân, while Baṛri's sons w
Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named N
and Ǧlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḍijâb; Ǧlejdân had Ne
and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *aḥl*, and nob
else. My father's *aḥl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the fat
of Ẓeri and ʿAbdallâh, but the descendants of ʿAbdallâh
not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I s
not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew noth
at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (
therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he ha
brother, Maʿrûf by name. But how many generations th
were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anyb
in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as be
thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1)
father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly

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counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'aṣîr* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

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CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

It is the duty of every Rwejli capable of procreation to marry. This duty is laid upon him by his connection with his kinsmen. The more numerous these are, the more power and influence they possess. The individual who refused to defend the rights of his kin would be expelled, and whoever deliberately declined to multiply its defenders would meet the same fate. Without his kin, *ahl*, the Bedouin would be the most wretched of beings. 581 602 183

To marriage the Rwejli is led by mutual inclination or love. A boy of twelve has a liking for a girl of the same age, and it is generally recognized; no one objects. It is said: "Love comes from Allâh, *al-maḥabbe min allâh*." The boy calls on his beloved in her tent, talks with her there, helps with the work, and the parents recollect the time of their first love. An older boy may join his sweetheart where and whenever he wishes to. He helps her water the camels, draw the water, strike and pitch the tent; he attends her on the march, and pays her a visit in the evening. Usually they meet in a tent that is either vacant or little visited. The Šarârât women whose husbands are serving as herdsmen or who are widowed gladly lend their small tents, *ḫarâbiš*, for the lovers' meetings. There in the cold seasons of the year they sit all night by the fire, parting only when the morning star makes its appearance. In the warm season, especially when camping in the Nefûd, the lovers sit down on a sand drift in the shade of a tall *raṣa* bush to talk of everything and nothing. Their love they declare to each other in these words: 584

"Thou art the slumber of mine eyes, *enti nowm 'ajni*; thou art my desire, *ent murâdi*; thou art my food and drink, *enti akli w-širbi*; thou art my creed, *ent dini*," and so on.

The enamored Rwejli likes to say: "I wish to fast and pray, but only in honor of those with loosened hair; in honor of Allâh's countenance I shall not pray; *ana-ṣûm w-pelli lâ-ǧâṭ al-'aḏâriš w-illa lwaǧh allâh mâni mṣalli*." Or: "I will not

with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels. 12. *"Jâ zejm ḥâli*, Oh, gone is my reason!" is the cry of one surprised or dazed by something. *Ẓeraf*, saucer or tray, was pronounced by Ǧwâd as *zeraf*. 14. *Mraffa'a* is a slender, delicate one. *'Ûd al-mejs* is a sapling or sprig of the cherry tree, which grows wild in al-Belḳa', where the poet was camping. From these very flexible sprigs stems are made for smoking pipes known as *ṛaljûn*. 16. *E'reẓûneh* means, properly, "extend or stretch out the limbs" to enable the poet to see them better. 17. *Ḳâni* is the name given by the 'Adwân to the kinsman whose duty is to avenge wrongs done to his kin. He who has no kinsman and thus no avenger is subject to all misfortunes, like a captured Moslem carried by the unbelievers to foreign lands.

1. *Jâ sîn jâ umm 'aḳâb jâ sîn jâ sîn*
   jâ miṯl 'anz ar-rîm temši waḥadha
2. *mâ la'ebat as-summejr bên al-ferîžên*
   w-lâ ḳaṭṭ ab-al-'amalât râwaz wa'adha
3. *w-lâ ǧarrat al-ṛaṭrûf bemiḍneb al-'ejn*
   w-lâ 'ala-l-ǧîrân tûmi bjadha
4. *ḥalaft ana w-allâh dînen baṭar dîn*
   w-ḥajât min hw beš-šwâber lakadha
5. *en šâfaten za'lân lâzem terazzîn*
   miṯl aš-šefûḳ alli telaḥleh waladha
6. *ǧatni 'aṭa mâ seḳet biha meṭâmîn*
   šimet ḥamûle kill men ǧa' ḥamadha
7. *jâ 'aḳâb wa' ḥazzi defentah benimrîn*
   bḥadd al-wa'ar jâ 'aḳâb bemustanadha
8. *'ejâli ṛadaw jâ 'aḳâb ḫamse ma' eḫwên*
   w-lâ žîl 'ejni sâhera min reḳadha
9. *mâ hammani jâ 'aḳâb ṛejr alli wên*
   alli čema rîḥ al-ḫzêri ǧesadha
10. *mâ zâṛ ḳalbi 'an hawâha w-lâ al-'ên*
    w-en zaṛzaṛat 'ejni ǧazâha ramadha
11. *low ǧann banât al-bedw jâ 'aḳâb ṣaffên*
    jâ-ḫaj mâ-ḫoḏ ṛejr waẓḥa waḥadha.

1. Alas for my loss, O 'Aḳâb's mother, my loss!
   Alas for her, who like a white gazelle used to walk all alone!
2. She never took part in the amusement of *summejr* between the two camps,
   And not once did a gallant dare to ask her to a tryst.

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Chattering and evildoing,
I would fain, when a slanderer comes to the Arabs,
Take his measure and make my dearest ready,
So that we might saddle our strong she-camels, mount
And ride directly for al-Ḥôr and Ṣfajje. [them,

The lover wants to settle with the slanderer and then depart with his beloved, Nîra, for the inner desert. The price Nîra's kin ask for her is very high; in order to pay it, the lover wishes for a hundred yellow she-camels.

Ačileh means "take his measure, settle with him"; *učajjel*, prepare, make ready, load, weigh. Al-Ḥôr is a depression in the center of al-Ḥamâd; the Ḥabra Ṣfajje is located there.

Jâ zejd lâ taẓreb al-maḥbûb
hw ṣâḥebi w-ent ḳowmâni
ḥowse low žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb
lâ jâ ba'ad kill ḥajjâni.

O Zejd, do not beat my dear one!
She is my friend, thou mine enemy.
When Ḥowse lifts her garment,
Oh, that I may live longer than the whole kin!

Ṣâḥeb means a friendly tribe, *ḳowmâni* a hostile one. *Žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb*: she raises the dress covering her breasts in such a way that they show through the enlarged slit. If a girl or a woman wants to encourage her kinsmen to the greatest bravery in a dangerous fight, she does so not by words alone but also by significant deeds. So, for instance, she opens her dress on the breast as a sign of how she means to reward the bravest. Her lover then forgets everything else, only wishing not to perish in the fight, in order that he may enjoy the promised reward. *Lâ jâ ba'ad* means "Oh, that I may not be absent, that I may not die." *Ḥajjân* are the kinsfolk, who keep together even in a fight.

Jâ wanneti wannejtaha
w-an-nâs mâ darjaw baha
lâ wâḥani min ǧâẓa'aha
bên al-berîm w-ṭawbaha.

This is the lament which I utter,
And none knows of it;

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by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents.

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them; *ar-râ'i w-al-mara la tenâḳerhom elja tabṛi tenâḳerhom daššerhom.*" When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Kowṭeri ṭaráḳ ṭâlež w-ar-raǧǧâl 'âlež.*" Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥaẓra` maẓi 'alejḳ ǧelâleḳ.*" This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin, *elja waṣalti bejt haleḳ ṭalâžeḳ jeǧiḳ jâṣelḳ ila bejt haleḳ.*" for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin.

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež beṭ-ṭalâṭ al-ḥawârem.*" The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧir*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh.*" Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân.*" When a man

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become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Mišref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭla' min šowr abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḥâlef šowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥeǧra*, and would not allow Mišref to come near her. After becoming Mišref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Mišref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *za'lâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *ʃûti-la-l-beiṭ.*" The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she has stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *ḥcha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

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cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself. The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṯara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

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camels into his own herd and waits till some ʿAḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the ʿAḳejl even during their absence, *ʿajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâneʿ* (pl., *ṣunnâʿ*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâʿ* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-ʿamm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâʿ*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâʿ* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâʿ*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâneʿ* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *heźźe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

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aid him in obtaining his rights *jimašši-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehîra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi ṛâje sowda' flân eben flân daḫalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ riẓki bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *'ub'i jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' wağhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arẓûn 'endeh w-jentaḫûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
●602 compensation.
627 When he has complied with every demand, the powerful man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *ḳażejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh waǧheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-akbalat al-menijje fakk ar-rukubat al-mâlijje*."

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêẓa al-mabnijje*."

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh*."

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

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CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

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The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳẓâẓa bêẓa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl.*

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The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits.

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *ahl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[11]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṭred w-jenṭared.* The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥeżż*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *ahl as-saṭwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *ṭallâbt addamm*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dûmijje.* The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[11] See above, pp. 47—53.

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628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in the
614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However,
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the least attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. These three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-damm*, or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avengers ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones and their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even an old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet their mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of the forelegs, *je'ažžerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captive.

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for then he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whole tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprits proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerful chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries:

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of our heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *tarâna blawbak* [*bellâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân behafâfna w-aṭrâfna*."

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save your lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahlan w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom*."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whole kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, loads the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carries them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. To the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according to ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târa' dûmikom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-swâni al-'atîža ḥassekom nafsekom*."

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay with thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from committing violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powerful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefore wilt not protect culprits forever, *mâ tezebbenhom ha'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's tents and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Should the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pro-

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tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance.

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *wağhahom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ğandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words:

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ğarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognized as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ğelwijje* or *ğallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ğelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chains and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message:

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SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never per-
672 secuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married
562 to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be
spared.

614 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject
602 to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmîha berḳubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-šarrha lahalha.* The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿîd ʿan al-ḥejr žerîb ʿan al-meẓarra.*" If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh,* she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands com-
683 pensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she
843 miscarries, *ramat,* before the seventh month of her pregnancy,
628 while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat,* and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill
628 her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to
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539*

Já ḫajefín mın·al-manâja
min ǧâh melek al-mowt mât
al-mowt mâ fakk as-sabâjə
jâḫoḏ ṛanâdir al-banâ..

O ye who fear death! [know]
That he whom the death angel visits dies.
Death, however, cannot free captured she-camels
Yet can take those who always linger with the girls.

Ṛanâdir are elegant youths who from love of the girls remain at home instead of going out on raids.

Jâ ḫâjefín min al-manâja
al-mowt mâ ǧâ' leḥ naḏîr
al-ḫowf mâ fakk al-ḥabâri
w-lâ ṭawwal al-'omr al-ḳaṣîr.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That death is not preceded by a herald.
Fear cannot rescue the *ḥabâri* birds [from the falcon's talons]
Nor prolong life, short as it is.

Jâ-ḥal as-sebâja rûsehen
elja' mâ 'amâmi jelḥaḳûn
naḳḳâlaten šuṛul al-'aǧam
ḏabbâḥaten mâ jarḥamûn.

O riders! ye plunderers, pull up the heads of your mares
Till my uncles come,
Who are carrying arms of Persian make,
Who only slay and know not mercy.

Ahl as-sebâja has the same meaning as *ahl al-ḫejl*, horse riders who throw themselves on the herds and then drive them away as their booty. With *rûsehen ešbeṭû* is understood: "lift up the heads of your mares." In order to stop the galloping mares the reins are pulled up short, which makes them raise their heads and slacken their pace. They are to wait till overtaken by their paternal uncles—that is, by their kinsmen, as maternal relatives are not considered kin if not related to the father in some other way. The Persian-made weapons are mainly swords, broad spears, and daggers.

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serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḥel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḥ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḥ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḥwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḥi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḥa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭib* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḥu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdîše*. 14. *Flân meḍhabeh* (pl., *meḍâheb) ẓajjeż*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeż*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs: *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḫwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ 'alejh arrbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting: *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ.* The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beni'am* (or *ḥakk al-beni'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood: *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-beni'ame ṣwât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ṣeji*, or fellow traveler, *ḫawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣlîḥ al-ḥači min ṣejr manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered: moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm*. 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedidet*, or *'aširt*) *aṣ-ṣwala*, *'ašire* having the same meaning as *bedide* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the 101 601

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'ajle* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

1: Raswan
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[For information concerning the relationship between the Arabs and the author, a European, see the complete text, category 116.]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

683 How my heart went out to the wild little creature!
609 He had such an air of aloofness and arrogance. Yet it would have been impossible to be angry with him. Was not his whole way of thinking different from a European's? Quite unintentionally he had the blood of his father's guest on his conscience, and he only thought of the satisfaction due to me, before the news of this accident could travel any further. How much blood was shed—in this case only a few drops—did not matter; the only thing that mattered was the unwritten Bedouin law that secures to the stranger absolute safety and inviolability, even in the tent of the humblest nomad. The blood-price of a guest is reckoned twice as high as that of a man killed in fight—fifty camels and four mares.

683 I had to smile when I thought of the value set on a
572 few drops of my blood. But outwardly I composed my face to due solemnity and, calling the other boys and some men, who had gathered round out of curiosity, as witnesses, I said to Amir Fuaz: "This has happened according to the will of Allah. I know no other price than thy friendship."

For a moment blank amazement! He stared at me wide-eyed. Probably Amir Fuaz could not yet believe it possible that I, a stranger, should invoke the ancient custom of his forefathers. Suddenly he flung away the fateful sling and advanced to me with outstretched arms, and with childish affection he clasped them round my neck as I bent down to him. In a wave of joyous love, I pressed the youngster to my breast and kissed him on both cheeks. With his little finger he lightly

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

hot, glassy air. At full speed I drove into it towards the rain pools.

Nearer and nearer came the sheep, when in an instant the whole picture changed. The long, wide pool had disappeared; not a trace of moisture was to be seen. Instead of gleaming waters, we saw milling around us a dusty mass of woolly beasts—thousands upon thousands of sheep and goats.

I stopped the car to let the animals pass. The shepherds rode over to us with their women and children, scrutinized us curiously and wished us peace. I distributed cigarettes and sweets, and in response the talkative nomads told us they were moving back to their home-pastures in the north, because other Bedouin tribes had disputed their territory with them. They passed on and the desert became empty again.

The Hamad lay before us, the North-Arabian uplands that seemed to extend into infinity: flat, hard soil, with nothing of any significance to break its level monotony for hundreds of miles southward and eastward. As we sped along, hour after hour, through this parched tableland, immense flocks of migratory birds would whir up out of the camel-grass at our approach. They would fly some hundreds of yards before setting again, like a cloud, upon the earth. Again and again we started clumsy, desert bustards, and large coveys of pintail grouse took wing. These desert birds—about as large as a European partridge—feed mainly on the flaming red caterpillars, which are to be found on every blade and stalk in the otherwise arid waste. Once a small wolf broke cover and two foxes loped away into the distance.

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

it for a moment. When it had passed we saw also a flock of rain-drenched sheep tightly huddled together. Two huge dogs, barking furiously, challenged our approach. From near the fire came a clear female voice: "Who is there?"

Using my wet hands as a speaking-trumpet, I shouted against the wind as loudly as I could: "Friends!"

"And who is with you?"

"Only God," I replied.

"His countenance be upon you, and peace," the voice answered.

A Bedouin maiden stepped forth from a diminutive tent, calling her dogs to heel, as Faris and I dismounted. She took our horses, placed before them a bowl of milk, and gave us permission to come to the fire. It crackled cheerily, though heavy raindrops were still falling, filling the air with acrid smoke. The pigmy habitation beside the fire hardly deserved the name of tent: it was a single piece of coarse goat-hair cloth, a mere rain-screen, at most affording precarious shelter to the shepherdess and her dogs. A lamb and its mother, which had a broken leg, had taken refuge in it. I set and bound the limb with a few twigs and a gauze bandage, the girl meanwhile watching my manipulations with eager eyes.

She must have been sixteen years of age—a beautiful creature, mature, and lithe, like all Bedouin women. Healthy blood glowed in her sun-bronzed cheeks. Her thick, smooth hair and the high-bridged nose betokened the pure-bred Ishmaelite.

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the

The Lone Shepherdess

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desert, she set before us a bowl of fresh ewe's milk and, turning to me first, said: "Swear to thy sister that no harm will come to her." She gazed at me with large trustful eyes. Her white teeth flashed, and small dimples danced in her cheeks. Taking a dried twig from the brushwood pile by the fire, she held it out to me and said: "Take this in thy hand and swear by the life of the Lord, the giver of all life."

I quickly did her bidding and solemnly pledged the sanctity of her hospitality in the oath no child of the desert would break—an ancient Ishmaelite formula:

"In the name of God: as He took the life from this piece of dead wood, thus may the Lord take life from me if I do not honour and protect thy soul and thy body, O my sister!"

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After Faris, too, had taken this oath, she was encouraged to offer us the freedom of her "house" and spread before us all her store of food—bread, fresh milk, a little butter, and dried dates. While Faris and I were supping, she dragged up to the tent a lamb, bleating pitifully and struggling to get free. When I leaned down to hold the animal fast, the girl drew my dagger from my belt and cried: "Kill me this victim, so that I may cook it for thee."

I took the curved blade from her hand and set the frightened lamb free to skip back to the flock. But the maiden looked at me reproachfully.

"All that is needful for sustaining life," I said to her, "thou hast already given to the strangers. Allah is witness, we could not consume a whole lamb. Nor, indeed, can I see any vessel in which its meat could be cooked."

1 [A Bedouin Shepherdess 21 — Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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609 "But here," she said, "is a spit; on it I could roast the kidneys and loin pieces."

Fortunately the girl stood in such horror of killing the animal herself that Faris and I found it easy to convince her that the sacrifice was needless. All she feared was the reproach of her father for not according us Bedouin hospitality in full measure.

Without more words she sat down before the tent and made herself a small fire, that lit up her figure as she bent over it. The flickering light played over her comely face glistening with raindrops. She made a lovely picture of wild, unspoiled beauty and health.

When it became clear to us that the young shepherdess meant to pass the night unsheltered in the open and the rain, I urged her repeatedly not to be afraid and to share the tent with us. I even threatened that if she would not, Faris and I would ride on. But she did not take my threat seriously: she laughed and replied lightly that she could go to her father's tent and come back in the morning.

"Who is thy father?" Faris broke in.

"I am Tuëma, daughter of Sha'il ibn Surhan: and we pitch our tent with the *ashira* (clan) of the Freyje."

000 "Tuëma," said Faris coaxingly, "it is far to thy father's place and it is night. Do thou trust us and repose thyself here at our feet."

"Truly, I am not afraid," the girl said at last; "stay with me and do not ride on." She rose as she spoke, flung a handful of faggots on the fire, and waited for the flames to leap up. Then she straightened her magnificent young body to its full height and, slipping the cloak

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

342 steaming, looked the same; and the women's quarters in the tent, with its disarray of saddles, saddlebags, mattresses, cushions and what not, seemed to be just as I had last seen it.

574 On the left of the guest-tent stood a smaller tent.
609 From it presently emerged a young Bedouin, simply clad, but attended by four slaves carrying hunting-hawks, a string of greyhounds beside them. As I went to meet him, I had an absurd sense of unreality. I knew, of course, who he was, but at the moment I simply could not feel that this dignified manly *sheykh* ceremoniously advancing towards me was really the playful little boy of yore, the lovable but dirty gamin we had one night dragged out of a camel saddlebag. Of one thing, however, I was instantly aware: Fuaz did not know me; and my name, as Arabian guest-ceremonial demands, had so far remained unspoken, nor had any news of my coming preceded me.

A Negro slave placed a small *ekim*—a black rug with a coloured border design—at my feet. On this small but sacred emblem the Amir and I exchanged greetings.
[201] With his right hand over his heart he bade me "God's peace." Then he conducted me within the guest-tent.
[352] The four slaves spread the precious tribal rug of state: it covered the whole floor. On the farther side of the hearth, a great pile of sheepskins, rugs, and cushions, buttressed against two camel-saddles, made a luxurious divan—the throne of the desert chieftain. Fuaz slipped off his sandals and motioned to me to seat myself on his right. Notables, slaves, and men of the Amir's bodyguard ranged themselves on the great rug. No one spoke.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

I Meet My Blood Brother Again

All eyes were on the coffee-cook, who raked together 574
the smouldering embers on the hearth and added new 609
dried camel dung. On the silence soon fell the sound of [272]
boiling water bubbling in the capacious long-spouted pot.

The Amir's body-servant, Mnahi—the same who had spread the rug of greeting—took a stick of incense from a fold of his head-cloth, broke off a piece and placed it on a glowing dung-ember. Through the black roof-cloth filtered faintly the sunshine and wove a pattern of lights and shadows on the ground. Courtiers, warriors, and slaves formed a solemn, silent semicircle. Facing these squatting figures, Mnahi alone was on his feet; he had taken his post on his master's left and stood there, erect and motionless, one sinewy black fist on the silver hilt of his sword.

I stole surreptitious glances at my host. His *kaffiyah* framed an effeminate type of face, oval, with regular features and a high-bred, slightly aquiline nose. The dark eyes, brilliant and very large, were set beneath wide thick brows and a rather narrow forehead. When he smiled, dazzling white teeth showed under the small black moustache. The more I looked at this romantic young man, the more I recognized in him that spirited little blood-brother of mine in the long ago. It required an effort of will to restrain my impatience and not to declare myself forthwith; but I had to await the fitting moment. So far, no one had uttered a word. All seemed to be interested exclusively in the cook, still puttering about his hearth. In desert etiquette it is a gross breach [576]
of courtesy to ply a guest with questions about himself.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

At length, however, Fuaz gave me the longed-for opening; he turned to me suddenly and said: "Whencesoever thou comest, O stranger, be thou welcome here!"

"O Amir Fuaz," I replied, "stranger I can hardly be called among thy people. For once upon a time, in this very tent, I knew a boy, then little taller than the sword under thy slave's hand. And it came to pass one afternoon, when that boy and his playmates were shooting with the sling, that I, by the will of God, chanced to walk near; and a pebble flung by that child's hand struck me squarely between the eyes. Now, one might have said that Allah had marked my forehead with the *Nur-ed-Dam* (Seal of Blood). Therefore demanded I a great price for my blood."

Fuaz, who had listened with head inclined and lowered eyes, as if pondering, now raised them impetuously. For a moment he stared at me as in a trance. Then his face lit up; with a shout of joy he leapt to his feet, seized me by the shoulders, and strained me to his breast. "Aziz," he cried, using the Arab name bestowed on me by his tribe in the days of his childhood, "Aziz, thou art returned! *El-hamdu l'illah!*"

Again and again he kissed me on the cheeks and embraced me. "Now," he said, "do I understand the words I learned from my *mu'allim* (teacher): thou who followest with thy eye the flight of a bird or the course of the pebble flung from thy hand, what knowest thou of God's purposes?"

Yes, I had returned!

Once more I was with my Bedouins, to migrate again with their herds, to lie under their humped tent-roofs,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

these Ruala that thou hast actually accorded us thy protection that we might safely reach the grazing grounds of our friends. I shall ask him to permit thee and thy men this evening to camp in peace with the Ruala."

"Truly, thou lightest up my countenance," the Fid'an replied, overjoyed, "and I swear that I have now restored everything." To my amazement, I saw in his extended hand my costly compass, which I had supposed lost.

The Ruala, swaying on the backs of lean *dhaluls*, were drawing nearer. Well ahead of them galloped a horseman on a "red" (bay) mare, obviously their leader, and I cantered to meet him. He had his *kaffiyah* drawn over his face, so that when we met I could see only his eyes, and his voice came muffled: "Who art thou, rider on the 'blue' (grey) mare?"

For answer, I uncovered my face and said: "I yield myself to thee. And all these men"—pointing to Ali and the Fid'an—"I put under thy protection, O *Akid*, in the name of my brother and thy Amir, Fuaz."

The Rueyli drove his heels into his mare so that she plunged wildly and he had great difficulty in controlling her. He pulled down his *kaffiyah* and I was greatly astonished to see that it was Fuaz himself, but beside himself with rage. "Ride away, my brother," he said, "lest thy blood be answerable for my deeds. Like the panther, I winded these dogs of Fid'an that dare to yelp in the grazing grounds of the Ruala."

He was berserk, mad with the fighting frenzy of the Sha'lan. He tossed off his cloak, which caught on his mare's croup; he bared his arms and chest; he shifted his carbine from hand to hand, while his horse curvetted

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

152 609 under him. Argument was useless; I could do only one thing, appeal to his Bedouin sense of honour. "These men whom thou dost behold," I said, "have wholly refrained from shedding blood. And they have accompanied me in the confidence that thou wouldst grant them freedom and safety, for the sake of the friendship between thee and me."

The young *sheykh* had no word of reply for me, but his eyes spoke eloquently enough. They were full of hate and unbridled fury. Spasmodically he wheeled his poor mare in circles around me, himself driven by the pent-up storm within. I cried out to him at last to master his wrath and be his true self. Suddenly, he cantered back to his camel-riders, waiting some distance away. I felt with instinctive certainty that the fit of rage was over, and that my Fid'an wards were safe. In spite of all, I could not help admiring him. Fuaz might have said to [577] me: "Forget, Aziz, that you intended to put these robbers under my protection." But I had uttered the word *dakhil* (protection in the sight of God) in my appeal. No human ears had heard it except Fuaz's and mine, yet God had heard; and that was binding on a Bedouin conscience—even that of a robber chief.

609 I assured the Fid'an that Amir Fuaz had taken them under his protection, and they had immediate confirmation of this when they saw the Ruala riders dismount and proceed to make camp. The Fid'an in their place [576] followed suit. For reasons of ceremony, I remained with them for the time being. Presently Fuaz, accompanied by some of his men, strolled over and sat down by the Fid'an campfire. Nobody could have guessed from his

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey.

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhaluls*. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty.

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory.

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeẓ. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ğlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ğeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣîr lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḫr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḫr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḫr aṛlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḫr ağânib mâ lena w-lahom ğidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šab'ân 'ala-l-ǧê'ân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ǧê'ân w-lâ ta'tîh 'arijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâk bes-sema' w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭa'.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ 'abdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd w-lâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh ja'mal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *'aša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ṛada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 272 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesaḏḏemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

Fig. 22—A water trough, *ḥawḍ*, on a camel (see p. 71).

609 829 261

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellâḥîn* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

251 574 261 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert, *ješarreẓûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣaʿûf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿaššini jâ ḫajje ʿaššini.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 824 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*, bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Ramh alli baʿad habben sahih."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER IX

STRANGERS IN THE CAMP

NEIGHBORS OR ḴUṢARA'

In every Rwala camp there lives a member of another tribe who has left his kin for some reason and who, for a time at least, desires to make his home in a different territory. Such a stranger generally comes to an agreement with some Rwejli that they will be neighbors, *ḳuṣara* (sing., *ḳaṣîr*), and as such will protect each other. A Rwejli cannot be a *ḳaṣîr* to another Rwejli, but may have for a neighbor a member of some other Aneze tribe, whether friendly or hostile.

The Rwejli protects his *ḳaṣîr* against the Rwala and the *ḳaṣîr* does the same for the Rwejli against his own people. A *ḳaṣîr*, a guest, *ẓejf*, and a traveling companion, *ḫawi*, all of whom enjoy special privileges, are not subject to the ordinary regulations of the tribe. *lâ jemšûn al-ḥakk*. Their stick has as much force as another Bedouin's saber, *'aṣâhom sejf*. The *ḳaṣîr* is treated as a man possessed of power, *'azîz*, and justice is always done to him, *ḥakkeh ḥâṣel*. Even in cases where a Rwejli comes in conflict with a neighbor from elsewhere, the latter's Rwejli neighbor obtains, by force if necessary, a fair decision for him, or, as the saying is: "With a drawn saber and a swaying [balance of] justice, *bes-sejf aṭ-ṭâjel w-al-ḥakk l-mâjel*."

When a Rwejli has a claim against a *ḳaṣîr*, he may not make his demand himself but must put it in the hands of the stranger's Rwejli *ḳaṣîr*. If the claim dates back to the time before the stranger became the latter's neighbor, the usual answer is: "And why didst thou not seek thy rights before he was my neighbor? If thou couldst wait till today, wait now till he is my neighbor no more." A Rwejli may not be a *ḳaṣîr*. Yet should he do so and the judge, ignorant that the defendant is a *ḳaṣîr*, decide against him, the judgment never becomes valid. The Rwejli neighbor will say to the plaintiff: "What art thou doing? I am thy opponent, *ana edlmak laṭ-ṭalâjeb*, not my *ḳaṣîr*. Sue me, but my neighbor thou hadst better leave in peace!"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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If anything is stolen from a stranger *ḫaṣîr* by a Rwejli, he reports it at once to his native *ḫaṣîr*, who goes to the guilty person and speaks thus: "Doest thou not see that A is my *ḫaṣîr* and as dear to me as my own kin and all my tribesmen in this camp? *ḫaṣîri bên al-ʿanâja w-aṭ-ṭenâja.* Why didst thou take it from him?" And, seizing the stolen object, by force if necessary, he returns it to his *ḫaṣîr*.

Should a Rwejli assault the woman of a stranger *ḫaṣîr* in her tent, she shouts for the native *ḫaṣîr* to come to her assistance, which he is bound to do. If he kills the assaulter in his *ḫaṣîr's* tent he not only is not exposed to the blood vengeance, but the murdered man's kin, or, if he was not killed, the culprit himself, must pay the blood price for having insulted the tent of a neighbor.

But if the stranger *ḫaṣîr* kills a Rwejli he hastens to his native *ḫaṣîr's* tent with the entreaty: "Help me escape! *hazzemni.*" The latter instantly summons his kin, *ahl*: "I want to help my neighbor to escape," and they all must support him in this. Should the stranger *ḫaṣîr* express his willingness to pay the blood price, his native *ḫaṣîr* protects him until all is settled.

When a Rwala camp is attacked by the enemy and among other things the stranger *ḫaṣîr's* camels or mare are captured, it is the duty of his native *ḫaṣîr* to return to his stranger neighbor all that was stolen from him out of the booty taken by the Rwala in their next successful raid. The reward given to the raider is a she-camel for a mare and two *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80) for a she-camel.

In the same way the native neighbor is protected by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* against the latter's own tribe. Only when both tribes declare war on each other, in the course of which the stranger's property is captured, is the native *ḫaṣîr* absolved from helping him, unless he has made a prior agreement to do so. In this case he declares in the chief's tent:

"O you Rwala all! be my witnesses; thou too, Eben Šaʿlân! I and my neighbor here have bound ourselves by an agreement to protect each other in any event. His tribesmen will not eat from my property and I shall not eat from theirs. *Já rwala eshadû w-eshad ǧâ-ben šaʿlân tarâni maʿâǧifen ḫaṣîri flân al-flâni enni hom mâ ǧâkolîn ḥalâli w-ana mâ âkol ḥalâlhom.*" The same declaration is made by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* either in person or by a message in writing in the tent of the chief

2:Musil S-4,5 (no dat 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of his tribe. If then his tribesmen steal anything from his native *ḫaṣîr* they must return it, and vice versa. 609 572

When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli to herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is attacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to keep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two for milking, *ḫa'ada w-menâjeḥeḥ* or *rukûba w-ḥalûba.* 672

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant called a Kubejsi (pl. Kubejsât), although he does not always hail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hit on the right bank of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two camels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with a Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round white tent, *ḫejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's shirts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other articles of clothing, *bzâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *hejl* (cardamom), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where he boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets nothing at all. 443

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, paying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, presses his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes him. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to lose anything; for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled to do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant dunning unbearable. It is said: 426 452

Mâ ḥamm illa ḥamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeg*, on borrowed money must be paid at once in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧîdijjât* ($9.00), 2½ *meǧîdijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the borrower has to declare that he has borrowed 12½ *meǧîdijjât*, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is 7½ *meǧîdijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

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Verse 1. The wandering dervishes come from China, India, and Persia to Irak, where they join the moving clans or the pilgrims, so that they may reach al-Medîna or Mecca. The Bedouins look after them, passing them on from tribe to tribe, but the pilgrims pay no attention to them. If a dervish is stricken with disease, they leave him lying on the camping ground without any scruples as to his fate, which is usually death. 2. *Walad al-ḥalâl* is an honest, godly man. 4. *Musfehel* has the same meaning as *mukajjef*, in good spirits, happy. 6. *Ṭwârîš* or *'alâjem* are symptoms of disease.

539x 609

RIDDLES

The Rwala love to solve riddles, *ḥabâwa*, clothing them always in poetical garb. The following were told me by Ġwâd al-'Ânî the third one having been known also to Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

539x 524

Anšedk 'an saba' masmijjât
lâ jetîhen w-lâ jebîhen 'atîžât ǧedîdât
kill men miša' miša' bihen alli ḥajj w-alli mât.

I ask thee for seven already named:
They err not, cannot be forgotten, are both old and new,
Whoever walks in them walks in life and in death.

Answer: *Sbû'*, the seven days of the week.

Anšedk 'an ḫamsen ǧill
lâ hen ḥejl w-lâ hen bil
eṭnên bišams w-ṭalâṭen bẓill.

About the important five I ask thee —
It is not horses, not camels;
Two are in the sun and three in the shade.

Answer: *Ṣalawât*, the five prescribed prayers.

Anšedk 'an ši'en salla-l-ḥejl w-an-nûk
w-kill al-bwâdi bil-maḥabbe sallâha
teḍḥak leh al-bîẓ al-'aḏâra
saḥaf rowk jarmi ḫarânîṣ al-ḫafa' min samâha.

For a thing that rejoices mares and she-camels I ask thee —
That cheers the whole desert with love;

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaktolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
● 609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh židdâm rukubteh*."

577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*,
672 *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḫallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḏḫalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

CHAPTER XVIII

HOSPITALITY

SALUTATIONS

A salutation, if returned, is a guarantee of safety in the desert, *as-salâm salâme*. If a stranger travels unaccompanied by a *ḫawi* through the territory of a tribe unknown to him and salutes someone—be it only a little girl—and is saluted in return, he may be reasonably certain that he will be neither attacked nor robbed, for even a little girl with all her kin will protect him. Should the fellow tribesmen of the girl attack and rob him, *mâḫûḏ*, he has only to ask the help of her kinsfolk, who must take his part. The girl is the best witness: "A traveler saluted me at such and such a place, of about such and such an age, dressed thus and so, riding on a she-camel," of which she also gives a description. Frequently even an enemy saves himself in this manner when hotly pursued. Realizing that he cannot escape, he suddenly changes his course, returns by a roundabout way to the camp of his pursuers, salutes a child, and, taking its hand, allows himself to be led to the tent of the parents. The adult Bedouins, being more cautious, do not answer at once when saluted by a man they do not know. Especially if two or three are riding together and approach a camp at night, the guard replies to their salute thus:

"Ye are outlawed; I shall not return your salutation; *tarâkom mwaṣṣedîn w-lâ ʿalejkom radd as-salâm*." For an outlawed one, *mwaṣṣed*, is treated like an enemy to whom a salutation is of no use whatever.

The salutation of the traveling Bedouins consists of many sayings, questions, and answers.

The shortest one is: "Be strong [So-and-So]! *ḳawwi* [*flân*]."

The saluted person replies to this: "Welcome to us! *jâ ḥala*."

The traveler then asks: "How art thou? *čejf ent*," and is answered: "May Allâh salute thee! *allâh jesallimk*."

"I wish success to thee, *al-ʿawâfi*."

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"May Allâh grant success to thee! *allâh je'âfik.*"
"How is thy health? *čejf ḥâlak.*"
"May Allâh preserve thy health! *allâh jesallem ḥâlak.*"
"How are thy little sons? *čejf 'ejâlak.*"

"They are well. May Allâh grant success to thee and preserve all that thou lovest! *bel-'âfi allâh je'âfik w-jesallem ṭâlik.*"

The ordinary part of a salutation being exhausted by the foregoing, more particular questions, which are of great importance in the desert, may be asked:

"Whither bound? *wên ent.*" "Where dost thou come from? *min ên ǧît.*" "From where dost thou bless us? *min ên ḥajjît.*" "Tell us some news of the territory thou hast crossed, *'allemna b'ulûmaha.*" "Give us the reports! *hât al-'ulûm.*"

[203] It takes some time to tell of the raids undertaken and the booty obtained, of pastures, watering places, etc., as these accounts, *'ulûm*, in the desert take the place of newspapers and the welfare of the traveler or even of the whole clan often depends on them. If both the saluting men are riding on camels, they halt and, letting their animals graze at will, press their crossed hands against the front saddle knob, sink their heads, converse, and listen. If on foot, they squat on their heels, support themselves by their staves, and talk. At last one of them puts the question:

"Thou didst not mention to us thy last hosts, *mâ ḏakart lena al-ma'âzîb.*"

"They camp at such and such a place. Ye may be there before evening, *terawwehûnahom.*" "They camp not far from your face," or "on your right (or left) hand."

If the travelers ride close by a camp, there is always someone there who goes out to stop them and learn what they know, so that he can relate it in the chief's tent to the [574] others. A traveling Bedouin will hardly ever conceal the position of his late hosts' camp, but women gathering dry fuel or hay almost always keep the whereabouts of their own camp secret and try to direct the traveler to some other camp. They fear lest the unknown man be a spy of the enemy or a robber, and, even if he is not, they do not care for a guest, who naturally adds to their work. At the same time the inquisitiveness of their sex and the desire to bring news home with them, impels them to call the traveler back on the pretext of pointing out the road better. The rider sits in his

saddle, the woman stands sideways to him, covering her nose with her left hand, and explains but soon begins to put questions, the answering of which keeps the rider busy.

If a traveler rides close by the herds, the herdsmen run to him from all sides, salute, ask questions, and finally beg: "Would you not give a drink to a thirsty one? *mâ teszûn al-ʿaṭšân.*"

As a rule, the travelers say they have no water at all. "We have no water, *mâ ʿendana maʾ*," which means that they will not be delayed. As the water is laden on a camel, it would be necessary first to stop her, to open the bag, pour the water into a pannikin, tie the bag up again, start the camel going, and make sure that the water is not dripping from the bag. Many a thirsty man hardly waits for an answer, but springs to the camel carrying the water, partly opens the bag, drinks, and keeps leaping after the moving animal, with water running down his chin. Having drunk his fill, he holds the bag with his left hand and with his right tries to stop the animal, so that he can tie the bag as it was. The camel, murmuring, resists, the water flows out, and the traveler becomes angry at the loss of water which was to last him for several days. For this reason water is generally refused to the herdsmen unless they bring along fresh camel milk; in this case they are given water in exchange. More pity is shown by the mounted traveler to one on foot. To such he always gives a drink if the next watering place or camp is more than half a day distant.

TRAVELERS' DITTIES

Travelers amuse themselves with the singing of ditties, *taṭwiḥ*, a word which means literally to fill with passion, to cry at the top of one's voice. They are sung in a high voice, *rana' b'âli hesseh*. One of the riders begins to sing, and as soon as he finishes the first half of the verse it is repeated by the second rider or the whole troop, the first continuing in the meantime to sing the second half of the verse. When he has finished, he intones the first half of the second verse, his comrades keeping silent the while and joining in only when it is complete. In this manner a single double verse is often repeated for a half an hour or even longer.

574 sive or that he contradicts himself, he declares: "By Allâh! we do not trust thee. Say who knows thee! *W-allâh mâ ḥenna meṣaddežînak hât alli 'ârefk.*"

●[609] If nobody is found in the camp to vouch for the newcomer, he must leave at once, either on foot or on his animal. The host fears that he may be a robber who will steal from him or his guests at night and then disappear. This caution [672] is due to the fact that the host is responsible for any deed his guest may commit while on his grounds.

A common guest addresses the chief with the title: "O thou long living! O thou who art protected from evil! *jâ ṭwîl al-'omr jâ mḥafûẓ.*"

Sometimes a guest arrives just when there is no flour, wheat, or *tummen* (a kind of rice) in the tent. The owner with his whole family may have been living for weeks on milk alone, but the guest must receive something better. In such a case the wife goes from tent to tent, begging: "We have received a guest and we are out of food. O friends, we have nothing to set before him; lend us something so that we can do our duty. *Ḥenna mežâfîr w-enzefna jâ rab' w-ḥenna-kfarna min aṭ-ṭa'âm ekrezowna šien* [sic] *nesteter beh.*" The neighbors help her to the best of their ability — one lending a little flour, another some *tummen* or some butter, and there are also tents where she is told: "Come to us today and thou wilt get the supper thou needest for thy guest."

574 264 If the guest arrives in the forenoon, he gets both dinner and supper, *ġada w-'aša*. The meals are brought either by the host himself or his son or are served by a slave, with the host urging: "Hasten to thy luck, O guest of the Most Gracious! Eat! May Allâh preserve thee!" A prominent guest either eats alone or invites the host or some chief who is present to eat with him.

A common guest eats with the others, the host, however, deciding the order of those who are to sit together. When the dish is already surrounded by six or eight persons and the host notices one more he wishes to invite, he asks: "If you can find a gap between you, invite also So-and-So! *en čân 'endąkom ṭenijje 'azzemow flân.*"

"The place is large! Come hither, O So-and-So! *al-maṭraḥ wasî' ḳum ǧâj jâ flân.*"

Coughing or sneezing during the meal is to be avoided. He who has finished eating licks his fingers clean, drops his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḥel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḥ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḥ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḥwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḥi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḥa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḥu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdîše*. 14. *Flân meḍhabeh* (pl., *meḍâheb*) *ẓajjeż*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeż*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeż. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ǧlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

● 611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr aṛlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-kurba ḥaḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr aǧânib mâ lena w-lahom ǧidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

601 name given to a group of kindred descended from the same ancestor; a *ferîž* is also wider than an *ahl*.

611 The *ahl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," in a technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individual only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father or son (although all three kins in this case would include many individuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descendants to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the third generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants to the third generation from each. Descent is reckoned through male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collaterals that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to the same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ancestor of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provided not more than five individuals are thus counted between X and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is not separated from either X or Y by more than three generations, X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of the kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfather, whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be absolutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the following explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓeri, who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâleḥ. Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left me, that is Blejhân, Ǧî'ân, and 'Ašwân, while Baṛri's sons were Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named Nedi and Ǧlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḏijâb; Ǧlejdân had Neǧîb and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *ahl*, and nobody else. My father's *ahl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the father of Ẓeri and 'Abdallâh, but the descendants of 'Abdallâh do not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I shall not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew nothing at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (and therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he had a brother, Ma'rûf by name. But how many generations there were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anybody in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as being thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1) his father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'ajle* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeż. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ğlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ğeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr aṛlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍóla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr ağânib mâ lena w-lahom ğidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Maha' married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *meğidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-15
435 *meğidijjât* ($3.60-$13.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *ṣnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
8 614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freği from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aṣi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Ṣkûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents.

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them; *ar-râ'i w-al-mara la tenâkerhom elja tabri tenâkerhom dâššerhom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *kowṭeri tarâč ṭâlež w-ar-raggâl 'âlež*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥazra' mazjî 'alejč ǧalâleč*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin, *elja waṣalti bejt halcč ṭalâžeč jeǧîč jâṣelč ila bejt halcč*," for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin.

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež bet-ṭalât al-ḥawârem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧîr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân*." When a man

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

it will not die but will be sick most of its days and will leave no descendants, and its herds will not multiply. 777

Just as every man and especially his pregnant wife wish that no child be born to them on the twenty-first day of the month, they still more ardently desire that it be born in the night of the fourteenth or twentieth, or on the day of the eighteenth. The night of the fourteenth is called *lejlet al-ḳadr*. A boy who sees the light of this world on that night will bring glory to his whole kin and clan — even to the whole tribe — and is therefore called *baḫît*. The night of the twentieth is known as *al-ḫatma* and is lucky, *zêna*, to any undertaking. He who begins a task on the eighteenth is sure of success, for that date is favorable, *waǧheh zên*.

But it is not enough for the Rwejli to observe time and day; he must also watch his surroundings, as there are favorable and unfavorable qualities both in human beings and in animals. Many a kin, many a clan, bears a good omen, *fâlhom zên*, others again a bad one, *fâlhom šên*. When meeting any of them on an important journey the Bedouin knows at once whether he can proceed farther or must return. A good omen is inherent in the Ḳa'âî'a of the Rwala tribe; in the Malḥûd kin of the Mfelli clan of the Fed'ân tribe; in the Eben Fnejd kin of the Rassâlîn clan of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, as well as in every pretty woman, *ḫurma min al-bwêheǧ*. If raiders approach a camp of some friendly Bedouins known to be possessed of a good omen, the chief or some prominent man from the camp rides out or runs to meet them with the greeting: "Hasten after your luck! *eflehow*." The commander, then, making his camel kneel, *jenawweḥ*, answers: "May it be a good omen to me, which I accept; *fâli w-ḳebilteh*." 777 787 614

Unlucky is the sign of the Bdûr of the Eššâge'a and Freǧe of the Rwala; of the Hwejaân kin of the Rassâlîn clan; of the Mwêns' kin of the 'Ebede division, but especially that of the N'ejm and Ġimlân, who breed goats and sheep in the al-Ḥaṣṣ hills. The Rwala never rest with the members of these kins or clans when going out on a raid but prefer to suffer hunger themselves and let their mares also suffer rather than to eat a mouthful with them. For each bite of food accepted from them brings failure, *'alḳafhom ḫaṣra*; yet on their return they have no objection to refreshing themselves at any camp of these people.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

777 787 ●614 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. The Ṣlejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Ṣlejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

[492]

777 787 825 Fig. 55

Fig. 56

Fig. 55—A horse bridle, *ʿanân*.
Fig. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadîd*.
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥoṣejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḥaṭam ʿala-l-raʿi*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *ṛurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên*." A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḥaṣar* or *rsejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dâbb*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favorable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *aṣ-ṣlejḥijjât*.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳṣāṣa bēḍa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl.* 763

The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits. 628 614 602

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *aḫl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[11]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṯred w-jeṯṯared.* The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥelîl*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *aḫl as-eṯṯwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *fallâḥt ad-dama*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dâmijje.* The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[11] See above, pp. 47–48.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in th
●614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the leas
attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. Thes
three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-damm*
or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avenger
ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones an
their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even a
old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet thei
mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of th
forelegs, *je'ažžerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captive

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for the
he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whol
tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprit
proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerfu
chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of ou
heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *to*
râna blawbak [*bellâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân beḥafâfna w-aṭrâfna*.

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save you
lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahla*
w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whol
kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, load
the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carrie
them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. T
the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according t
ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târa' dûm*
kom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-swâni al-'atîža ḥassekom nafsekom.

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay wit
thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from commi
ting violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powe
ful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefo
wilt not protect culprits forever, *mâ tezebbenhom ha'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's ten
and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Shou
the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pr

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance. 628 614 602

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *waǧhakom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ǧandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words: [622]

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ǧarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognised as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ǧelwijje* or *ǧallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ǧelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chains and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message: 628

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never per-
672 secuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married
562 to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

●614 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject
602 to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâka w-aṭâmika berkubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-šarrha lahalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre ba'id 'an al-ḥejr žerib 'an al-meṣarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâ'anteh*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands com-
683 pensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she
843 miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy,
628 while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *ista'ǧelat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill
628 her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to
562

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *hdîš*. 14. *Flân meḏhabeh* (pl., *meḏâheb*) *ẓajjeẓ*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeẓ*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the
619 hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins
721 and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

nay deadly, enemies for centuries. But the family of 619 ●
Faris had, because of a blood-feud, been living with the 628
Ruala for the past sixteen years. This accounted for the fact that a Shammar could act as my protector in the territory of his tribe's deadly enemies; but the choice also displayed Nuri's wisdom. Being a Shammar, Faris could safeguard me with the enemies of the Ruala, while as Nuri's confidant, he could answer for me before every Rueyli.

Faris was an exceptional man. From the moment of 157
our first meeting, when Nuri introduced him to me, I felt that this must be more than a mere chance acquaintance. The softness of his voice, as he wished me "Peace", and the grip of his strong, manly hand in an instant disclosed to me the open and pure soul of the young Bedouin. Under his hair-cloth cloak beat a heart so affectionate, yet so stout, that I must confess I have never encountered its like among the children of men. To his last breath he was the truest friend I have ever known. Faris was also one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His noble, oval face was unforgettable, with its gentle, dark eyes. His wonderful hair and beard, his flowing shepherd's cloak, made him a striking figure. Tender and gentle as he was, Faris was yet among the boldest and bravest of Ishmaelites. Perhaps he was living two thousand years too late.

After we had left the old suburbs of Damascus be- 487
hind us, our way led through walnut, olive and apricot orchards into the great open spaces. Majestically the snow-capped peaks of the Syrian mountains rose into

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 Our leader slipped from his *dhalul* and called back joyously: "Jirad ibn Jeneyb!" It was one of the *shiyukhs* of the Beni Sakhr, and an old acquaintance of Faris.

726 619 In a trice the Beni Sakhr broke cover and pressed about us. We were deluged with questions as they led us to their camp, a few hours' distant. On the way Faris told them of the capture of a scout of their tribe and of our peaceable journey of inquiry into their grazing-grounds. Ever and again Ibn Jeneyb protested that the Beni Sakhr were at "unclouded peace" with the Ruala and that the captured spy must be a robber and an outcast from the tribe, who wanted to plunder the Ruala on his own account.

4867 When we had dismounted in his camp, Ibn Jeneyb had a camel slaughtered before our eyes. A slave caught its blood in a bowl. He then tore up a bunch of herbs, dipped it in the blood, and with this brush painted the tribal emblem on the necks and flanks of our riding-camels. This was to serve, as it were, as a guarantee of our peaceful intentions and as a safe conduct among the rest of the Beni Sakhr.

A small detachment of them were still pursuing Bedouins of the northwestern lava region, who had broken into the Wadi Sirhan and, the day before, had fallen on Beni Sakhr herders, grazing their camels. The raiders lost one dead—it was his corpse we had found—while the Beni Sakhr had two men wounded.

763 I visited these wounded men and found one of them, with two ghastly bullet wounds in his chest and abdomen, lying at the point of death. I did my best to save him—I had my case of surgical instruments, mor-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 Getting up hastily, he folded the wet, bloody winding-
[764] sheet over the corpse and directed his slaves to dig a grave for him in the sand. Without ceremony or any show of emotion, it was borne away and given into the keeping of the earth.

619 After parting from the Beni Sakhr, we moved back by slow marches toward the hill lands of Bir Hausa, which abound in game.

At the wells we fell in with camel-riders watering a herd. They were Sharrarat, and friendly to the Ruala—luckily, as it turned out. They helped us to draw water from the holes fifty feet deep; and in the evening we withdrew with them into the protecting hills, camping in a rocky hollow, with sentries posted on the black pinnacles. The stars sparkled down on us as we ate sup-
[262] per. It consisted of the roasted flesh of a camel calf, very tender, crisp bread-cakes and fresh camel milk, followed by the customary "dessert" of dates mixed with sour sheep butter. It was after midnight before we rolled up in our cloaks, each man with his loaded carbine under his head. For we did not completely trust the Sharrarat, even though we had eaten and drunk together and they lived under Nuri Sha'lan's "heel." But the night passed peacefully, and on the morrow, after we had exchanged trifling presents, we bade good-bye to our hosts.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

VIII

Panther and Ostrich

SEVERAL DAYS WERE spent by us among the volcanic table-mountains of the Jabal Tubayk. Precipitous cliffs, riven and pinnacled rocks rise some six hundred feet from flower-sprinkled level pastures and valleys strewn with black lava boulders. It is a country of savage beauty, in which gazelles and game birds are numerous.

There Faris and I, out after game, chanced to come on three tents tucked away in a hollow. They belonged to members of that curious folk, the Sulkan (singular: Sleyb)—nomadic hunters and handicraftsmen. In the popular sense they resemble the gypsies. Like them they doctor man and beast, love music, are fortune-tellers, and have a weakness for things occult and superstitious.

As hunters, trackers and scouts the Sulkan surpass the other Bedouins, and they know the desert better than any other nomads. Many a secluded water-hole is known only to them. Their origin is a mystery. They are few in number, but are held together by some sort of tribal organization, under a chief; and they pay tribute—"protection money"—to the Ruala and other Bedouin tribes. In return, each of these appoints from among its own tribesmen a "Brother" to the Sulkan, charged with looking after their interests.

The Chief of the Sulkan was then one Ralib welde Tulihan, and it was to this young man that the little camp we had discovered belonged. Ralib, accompanied

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

•619 [361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

769 [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiyukhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab. 769

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyye was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala. 619 721

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black. [302]

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates. [164]

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my 619 721 576

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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friends on no account to step within the circle of the *shiyukhs* without me.

No word of greeting or otherwise had come from these. Some turned away with ostentatious disdain. Ibn Meheyd, with his back to us, was excitedly whispering into the ear of his black body-servant, who was listening with bent head. The men of the bodyguard stood with eyes fixed on those two, their hands round the butts of the pistols in their belts, ready to draw.

Meanwhile, more by instinct than design, I seated myself close to Ibn Meheyd and motioned Faris and Mijhem to sit down too. (Abd el-Karim and the two slaves were waiting in our motor-car.) Furious ejaculations burst from every mouth at the liberties I was taking. At the sound, Ibn Meheyd turned in surprise; silently he regarded Faris and Mijhem with lowered brows and sinister eyes. I divined, nay, I could feel the murder in his mind. One sign from him, and there was an end of my friends; perhaps of me too.

There was not the fraction of a second to lose. Hailing the despised "coffee-cook" by the hearth, I called out to him: "O boy—strength to thee!" The old Negro looked up, startled, but did not dare to answer me; he only rolled his eyes timidly back and forth between me and his master. Suddenly Ibn Meheyd made a sign and his guardsmen drew their pistols. The last fragments of my courage and self-possession dropped from me and my knees trembled. But—the pistols were not levelled. Faris and Mijhem had been quicker than the guard. With great presence of mind they had whipped out their revolvers and had Ibn Meheyd covered before the black-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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amoors could take aim. And this they dared not do now.

This coolness helped to restore my own composure and I cried to the cook reproachfully:

"Is it forbidden in the house of Ibn Meheyd to present the cup of peace to the guest who has alighted at his sanctuary?" The old Negro dithered, as he reluctantly reached for the small china cup that was placed upside down on the handle of a big coffeepot to dry; he turned his face anxiously towards his chieftain. Unwilling to wait any longer, I jumped up and went quickly to the hearth, helped myself to the cup, took the pot from the bed of glowing embers—it burned my fingers cruelly, but I bit down the pain—and poured out the customary measure. Then I went up to Ibn Meheyd and presented the cup to him with the salutation of peace. He looked at me with bowed head from under lowered lids.

He must obey the Law of the Desert; he must take the proffered cup. Nor could he play with the lives of my friends without forfeiting his own. At the first aggressive move, he would be riddled with bullets, for Faris and Mijhem still had their pistols trained on him. He turned from me, but I put my hand on his shoulder: "Peace!" I said. He turned round again, a fanatic light in his eyes; but, despite the angry face, he now opened his lips to bid me peace and asked me to sit in his own seat.

Then, and not till then, Faris and Mijhem dared to put up their weapons; the word "peace" had been formally pronounced by the host. Slaves heaped cushions for us against the camel-saddle.

Ibn Meheyd himself then took the coffee-cup from

h: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 721 576 the slave's hand and presented it to me with, "Welcome! May it please thee!" Twice he repeated these words, which are a guarantee of peace and safety. Then Faris and Mijhem also drank with him.

000 To us, used to the ways of Western civilization, such a train of events and their result must seem incomprehensible. But after one has lived a length of time with the Bedouins, one learns to understand that the unwritten laws of the Bedouin social code are closely adapted to the conditions of life in the desert and have sufficed, from time immemorial, to meet its manifold circumstances. Without these rules of the game, indeed, all human life in nomad Arabia would have become extinct long since.

619 728 After I had asked, and Ibn Meheyd had granted me, leave to speak, I set forth the object of my mission and exhorted the assembled *shiyukhs*, with what persuasive eloquence I could muster, to make peace with the Ruala, and, as in former years, share the grazing-grounds like [186] brothers. I dwelt on the advantages of unity and the evils of dissension, and drove home my argument by pointing out that by their present policy they were only playing into the hands of foreign powers, who, after all the Bedouin tribes had been weakened individually, would encompass the complete destruction of them all.

My exhortations and arguments were received in cold silence. Most of the chiefs sat with bent heads and tapped the ground with their camel-sticks in apparent boredom. I felt pretty sure, however, that their indifference was assumed, and I would not let myself be dis-

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

couraged. Once more I returned to my task and, mustering all powers of persuasion, I redoubled my effort to bring the benefits of good will and a just peace before their eyes. At length I succeeded in persuading them to abandon their hostile silence and to enter into a sort of discussion with me. But anyone who believes that Bedouins can be persuaded at short order is mistaken. Hours passed. It was close on midnight, when Faris begged to be allowed to speak in the name of Amir Fuaz. Ibn Meheyd nodded. "Peace!" said Faris. "Truly, the Enemy of Life is pressing back the living. The milk from the breast of the desert has turned into dust. Like bitter myrrh does it taste to them that thirst. Our wells are dried up, our pastures are scorched by the sun, our camels are perishing in the land of hunger and thirst, thousands are dying on the paths of the earth. Praise unto God that he still keeps his hand open above your heads, but to the Ruala he has closed his heaven. Far be it from us to come as enemies. We would enter your grassland as your guests."

The words made a deep impression. Faris had spoken as a Bedouin. He had spoken a language they had all understood.

The *shiyukhs* withdrew. For perhaps a half-hour they stood under the stars, among camels, horses and sheep, debating and gesticulating. Then they returned and in silence seated themselves in a circle by the camp-fire. Only Rakan, the Chieftain of the Saba, was missing—an indication that he must have fallen out with Ibn Meheyd and the others with regard to the peace conditions. We knew him to be the wiliest of our enemies

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

and the idea came to me at once that he would try to ambush us on our return journey.

After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn-Milhem (Chief of the Wuld'Ali) and our *shiyukhs*. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the chieftains."

Thereupon Ibn Meheyd offered me his hand. I grasped it and thanked him and the others in the conclave for their willingness to share their grazing-grounds during the coming summer with the Ruala and Wuld'Ali and for allowing the peoples to live side by side in neighbourly amity. I also expressed my hope that the belligerent chieftains would also soon conclude peace among themselves.

It would have been useless to waste more words on the healing of the breach between the *shiyukhs*. If Ibn Meheyd fulfilled their promise of peace between the tribes, I could be more than content with the result of my journey. It would be no less than a miracle.

It was still dark when I was roused from sleep by the clatter of cooking utensils. The cook was just putting his water-pots on the glowing fire. Enveloped in its acrid smoke, by the threshold, stood the old mare that had carried me to this tent after the conference. I stepped into the open. It was still night, but the stars were paling and in the east the greenish-grey of dawn mantled the

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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desert as with a fine veil. Between the tent-ropes lay our host's camels, chewing the cud. Beyond them spread the softly undulating steppe, and a wonderful fragrance exhaled from it. Everywhere was a stillness and a peace which filled me with awe.

But where were the tents and the herds that at midnight had covered the whole neighbourhood?

I ran into the open a little way and looked about. Far and wide no other tent. Our black shelter lay like a derelict ship on the ocean.

A curious feeling of loneliness came on me for the first time in my life among the Arabs. I had been left with a few companions only, where the evening before thousands had camped round us. Silently the Bedouins had broken camp and they—their women, their children, and their animals—had melted away like a mirage; I could not understand it all.

"Faris! Mijhem!" I called and went to wake the sleepers. Sheykh Nauaf-es-Saleh, in whose tent we had slept, also appeared. I took his hand and asked:

"What does this mean?"

"What doth it mean, thou askest?" he replied. "Ibn Meheyd never breaks his word. The promise he made thee last night he fulfils even this morning."

Ibn Meheyd had evacuated his grazing-grounds to make room for the Ruala!

Nauaf pointed to a group of persons some distance away, now visible in the stronger light. They seemed to be resting, just about where Ibn Meheyd's tent had stood the previous evening.

We rode over and found Ibn Meheyd himself, with

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MDH
Bedouins MJ

XXII

Ali, the "Protector"

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AND NOW THOSE wonderful days with the Ruala had come to an end. I had to say good-bye for a time, because I meant to visit the Fid'an and other Bedouin tribes then roaming the deserts of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. Several of their chiefs were inveterate enemies of Amir Fuaz, and at odd moments they also fought among themselves. But I knew some of them from earlier days and for the rest I pinned my faith on the inviolable rules of Bedouin hospitality. On the Euphrates I also hoped to find a suitable *rafiq* (courier) who would be qualified by his knowledge of the country and his friendliness with the tribes to act as both guide and guard to me. To assist me, Amir Fuaz gave me a personal letter to Hajem Pasha, who was then in command of the major part of the Fid'an in the Jesirah between the Tigris and Euphrates, while Ibn Meheyd contented himself with the lordship of the minority west of the Euphrates in Syria. Fuaz was closely related to Hajem Pasha, though these ties did not prevent the two chiefs from indulging in mutual pillage and warfare as opportunity offered.

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000 Amir Fuaz advised me to go first to Aleppo and there get in touch with Hajem Pasha's *wukil* (representative), who would see to the transmission of his letter and secure a trustworthy travelling companion for me; and I acted on his advice. I had not been in Aleppo since 1916.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *ʿarab*, or those who dwell in
101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
829 the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase is used: "*ʿArabna raḥalow, ʿarabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *ʿarab al-ẓebîla* are members of the same tribe. *ʿArab ad-dîra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *ʿorbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *ʿOrbân ʿala ḍmeiṛ* denotes that in the environs of Ḍmeiṛ are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-ʿarab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâḥmîn annak min al-ʿarab mâr min ajj al-ʿorbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḳarâwne*
221 (the individual is known as *ḳarwâni*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *raʿw* (or *raʿijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *raʿw* or *raʿijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *šwâja* (or *šûjân*). The
233 *šwâja* have two things black, *lehom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called
● 619 ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula
614 and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeḳ. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and
[602] Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ġlâs. All the tribes and all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the
602 right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark
609 as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? ***min ḳaddim ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm.***" or: "The Beni Ṣaḫr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḫr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḫr arla' lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḏôle akrab lena min haḏôlak beni ṣaḫr aǧânib mâ lena w-lahom ǧidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbê'ân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Maha' married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbê'ân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the
[628] maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the sons of Ẓbê'ân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥân.
602 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than
827 those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmek alzam min ḫwâleḥ*. Th

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

611 counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle 602 of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

602 The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that 608 somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the 601 wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. 592 The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'aǧîz* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that 619 are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ğebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ad-dîre* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

594 The *'ajle* indicates a family which has a house and hearth of its own, *al-'ajle ahl al-ğdâr w-an-nâr*. Any settler who has a house of his own and in it a wife who cooks for him is said to have his *'ajle*.

601 The word *ḏurrijje*, descendants, is replaced among the Rwala by the word *ẓana*, which designates very distant descendants, irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or the relationship is due to adoption.

CHIEFS

622 The word *ḳowm* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "*Ḳowm eben ša'lân*, he is of the *ḳowm* of Eben Ša'lân"; "the *ḳowm* of Eben Me'ğel are encamped there; the *ḳowm* of Eben Ğandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as: "That is the *ḳowm* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḳowm* of the Freğe" will never be heard. When Prince Eben Ša'lân speaks of *ğemâ'ati* he is thinking of the various tribes who obey his orders and who hasten to his assistance, *jefza'ûn*. *Ğemâ'a* is almost the same as *ḳowm*.

The rank of chief is hereditary in a definite house, *âl*. It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities, nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or 643 prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted either of their own free will or under compulsion and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as *šejḫ el-bâb*, while affairs of war are left to a man renowned for his courage and prudence

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

to the number of their camels. After a certain time an-Nûri or his son would ride out with his slaves to the different chiefs and collect the tax. Those who escaped and did not pay the tax were punished, when caught, with the loss of one camel. The collected tax was punctually conveyed by the prince to the Government, the prince retaining the half by which he had increased it. From this amount he made allotments to members of the ruling house and some chiefs; thus the following amounts were distributed:

to Ḥâled eben Saṭṭâm £T150 ($675);
to ʿAḍûb eben Meǧwel £T20 ($90);
to Fahad eben Mašhûr £T50 ($225).

He himself retained at least £T150 ($675), and in addition to this he sold annually three or four horses and twenty to thirty camels.

For each of his 30 to 35 horses the prince buys 5 loads of barley at £T1 ($4.50) per load: for his guests, slaves, and family, 40 loads of flour at 40 *meǧidijjât* ($36) per load, 20 loads of wheat at 15 *meǧidijjât* ($13.50), 7 loads of *burrul* at £T2½ ($11.25), 3 loads of rice at £T4 ($18), 1½ loads of coffee at 100 *meǧidijjât* ($90), 2 loads of sugar at £T5 ($25), butter for £T55 ($247.50); at least 100 rams or sheep for food at 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70) each; five camels for food at £T10 ($45) each; clothing and coverlets for his family and slaves and for gifts cost £T130 ($585). He has 80 rifles, and every year he requires at least 6000 rounds of ammunition at the equivalent of 10 to 12 cents for each round. The repair of the tents and the upkeep of the tent materials and ropes cost annually £T50 ($225). He must send gifts to the chiefs from time to time and feed an average of twenty people daily.

Insubordinate chiefs are dealt with by the prince where and as he can. Bhejder, a chief from the Freǧe, once departed with his kin when the camels were to be counted for the purpose of estimating how much tax each chief should pay. Prince an-Nûri sent word to him that he was to return immediately, but Bhejder paid no heed. Not until six months later did he come of his own accord on a camel to an-Nûri, and immediately fetters such as are worn by horses on their forefeet were placed upon him. He remained fettered for a whole month.

A weaker tribe has to acknowledge the supremacy of a stronger one and pay it a special tax, which is known as

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 651 *ḫúwa*. The Rwala collect the *ḫúwa* from all the Htejm as well as from the inhabitants of various villages. The stronger the government, the fewer the villages which pay them the *ḫúwa*. Al-Žerjitejn, Tudmor, as-Suḫne, Kowm, and aṭ-Ṭajjibe regularly deliver *ḫúwa*. Every settlement and every tributary tribe has among the Rwala its brother, *aḫ* (or *ḫâwi*), to whom it pays annually about 25 *meǧidijjât*. The *aḫ* is bound to restore to the settlement all the property which his fellow tribesmen have stolen from it. The basis of *ḫúwa* is *ḳúwa*, force. Those who are strong compel the numerous settlements to raise *ḫúwa* for them. Those who have no *aḫ* must rely only on the drawn sword, *sejf ṭâjel*. Those who receive the *ḫúwa* must protect those who give it to them, or, as the Rwala say: "He who eats a young goat must protect its mother, *alli jâkol al-ǧedi jaḥma ummeh*."

2:Musil S-4 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 pray until I get her who warms me in her broad sleeves; then I will pray; *mâni mṣalli lawla' ḥaṣṣ li ṣâfi ar-rdân ṣallejt.*"

LIMITATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF A WIFE

582 In the choice of a wife the Rwejli is considerably limited. He must not marry the divorced wife of his father nor her daughter, not even if she was begotten by another man. He is not allowed to marry the divorced wife of his son or his son's widow, the mother of his wife, the daughter of his brother or sister. Neither may he marry his foster sister. No member of the Eben Ša'lân kin will take to wife a daughter of the Ḥwêṭât or Beni 'Aṭijje tribes nor allow his daughters to marry any of them. Neither the Ḥwêṭât nor Beni 'Aṭijje are by birth equal to the Eben Ša'lân, because they paid, as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, a tax for protection, *ḫuwa*, to the despised Šarârât tribe and camped with them as their *ḫuṣara*, or protected neighbors.

619 554 582 565 No Rwejli dares marry a member of the Ṣlejb, al-Ḥawâzem, al-Fhejḡât, Šarârât, or 'Âzem tribes. All these are also called Htejm. They have their chiefs and their social organization, they live in tents and breed camels just like the other Bedouins, and yet they are not held in esteem. The reason is that they pay a tax for protection, *ḫuwa*; that they are neither able to protect themselves nor gain full independence. Being thus compelled to buy the protection of the more vigorous tribes, they are not allowed to enter into blood relationship with their protectors. They are *ḫuwâs*, they pay *ḫuwa* — and their sons will pay too. Their countenance, or honor, is as white as that of the Rwala, but they are not held in the same esteem. They do not live with the Bedouins as strangers, but as neighbors, *ḫuṣara*. If they serve them, they serve them as *fedawijje*, free servants, which is not considered a disgrace because members of large Bedouin tribes also hire themselves as *fedawijje* to the more powerful chiefs.

582 326 A Rwejli cannot marry the daughter of a blacksmith, *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣuwâ'*) or other mechanic who camps with the Rwala or lives in their settlements. It is said of the *ṣuwâ'*, that they are no *aṣîla* — that is, that they have no recognized genealogy — and even that nothing is known about their true descent, as they marry newcomers from various towns,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

settlements, and tribes regardless of whether they are autonomous, free, dependent, or slaves. 582 326

Marriages with slaves are also forbidden. A man marrying a slave would be killed by his kin, *ahl*. No one dares defile the blood of his kin. 582 567

Moreover there are inequalities even among the free Arab tribes. All those belonging to the 'Aneze group consider themselves aristocrats, hold the other tribes in contempt, and dislike forming matrimonial bonds with them. The children born of such wedlock often hear these ironical remarks: 619 554 582 565

"Thou wilt come to nothing, for thou art only half a Rwejli; blood will not mix well with blood; thou wilt resemble thy mother's kin," etc.

Rights of the Eben al-'Amm

The children of parents descended from the respectable old 'Aneze families are the best. Yet even here the bridegroom is not entirely free in choosing a wife, for according to the ancient custom every girl is to wed the nearest young relative whom it is permissible to marry, *eben al-'amm*. This is, generally, a son of her father's cousin; should this cousin have no sons or if the grandfather had no brothers, the girl falls to the nearest kinsman descended from the great-grandfather's brother. The *eben al-'amm* occasionally claims the girl, *jehağğerha*, exclusively for himself, but, even if he does not, the girl cannot marry without his consent, for it is said: "No one but the nearest kinsman can tie or untie her, *'oḳdha w-ḥallha bjad eben 'ammiha* (sic!)." Only when her father wants to marry again and gives her in exchange for his new wife, *jebaddelha bnafsek*, is the *eben al-'amm*'s claim null and void. On the other hand, if the girl refuses to be wedded to her *eben al-'amm*, he may kill her without becoming liable for compensation. 582

If the *eben al-'amm* knows that the girl will not hear of him, being already in love with someone else, he forbids the marriage and the girl grows old.

If the father of the girl claimed by her *eben al-'amm* dies and the girl loves another, she goes immediately after the father's death to the relative who claims her exclusively for himself, called in this case *ḥağğir*, and asks: "My father has passed away; I want thee to release my neck; I want thee 582 584

539[x] 3. O thou, whose donkeys have trampled down every fountain where they have drunk,
What is destroyed thou must repair with timber and stone.

The Rwejli warns the Ṣlubi not to change his vocation and urges him to return to his people.

[619] Veree 1. The Rwala call every Ṣlubi Abu-l-Ḥala, the father of the desert, i.e. the dweller in the barren desert. *Al-ḥala* is to the Bedouin any region where his camels cannot subsist in a particular year. But the Ṣlubi remains with his asses and a few goats even in such places. In the plural the Ṣlejb are not called Awlâd al-Ḥala, but Awlâd Ṛânem, owing to their belief that they all have the same progenitor, Ṛânem. The Ṣlubi has laid up sorrow in his heart because he will be disappointed. The word *kubb* is used of spilling dirty water or [224] casting aside a useless occupation. *Zanânîḥ* are oval pieces of antelope skin which the Ṣlejb tie over their knees and elbows when crawling after game. They usually cover themselves with the twigs of perennials, giving themselves the appearance of long bushes, and then crawl carefully on their elbows and knees to the herds of gazelles, of antelopes, and even of ostriches. [231] 2. The Ṣlejb keep many common dogs, which guard their flocks [312] against the wolves and hyenas by day and night. 3. They never camp near the large watering places, where they might meet with the Bedouins, whom they avoid as much as possible. However, they know every shallow well in channels filled with coarse sand. In the rainy season the water flows down into the rocky channels, forming after long rains a stream which fills the scorched channel for several days, until the surface water evaporates in the hot sun and only the remainder flows under the coarse sand, filling all the hollows and pits of the rocky bottom. These hollows are known to the Ṣlejb, who shovel away the sand and gravel, wall in the hollow so that it may not sink in, cover it with branches and turf, and then pile on sand, to keep out the sun and hide the water from strangers. When in need of water, they open these hollows, water their donkeys, fill their water bags, and carry them to their tents. The thirsty donkeys frequently trample down the water hole which they have just emptied, compelling the Ṣlubi to repair it before the coming of new rains, if his family and his flock are not to suffer from thirst.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḫâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity than if he had committed murder, *takfi' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi* soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the *ḫawi's* presence that none of his property is missing and to forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet ġa'ra*. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request, *min ṣejr nab' jefekkeh*. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Biḍr and also to all the 'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *leḥom waǧh wâḥed*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jekûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the ever full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important clan; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *maḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

CHAPTER XXI

WAR AND PEACE

721
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The Rwala are ever at war with one tribe or another. Without war a Rwejli could not live. War gives him an opportunity of displaying his cunning, endurance, and courage. He neither loves the shedding of blood, nor craves booty, but is allured by danger and delights in the predatory art. The booty itself he will give away without thinking much about it — even to the wife of the very man he has just robbed. Some tribes, not always entire strangers, hate each other cordially. Between them peace is never of long duration. Despite the greatest efforts of the chiefs to prevent war, their people continue to attack and destroy one another. With the tribes settled along the desert borders and fully subject to the Government, peace is never concluded. If the Government, which is supposed to protect them, is weak, the Rwala despoil them whenever they are so inclined. The more distant the pastures of two tribes are, the longer will the war between them last.

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

721

The causes of war are, as a rule, petty thefts and the capturing of stray animals. The individual tribesmen begin to accuse each other of harboring stolen she-camels, *naḥâjes*. Then they call on their chiefs for help. Couriers ride from tribe to tribe with verbal and written messages. Evidently both tribes desire war. Finally the chief of one tribe sends to the chief of the other a letter worded somewhat as follows:

"To the well-born, highly honored brother, Chief So-and-So! May Allâh preserve his good name! Amen. Extending our greetings and entreating Allâh's mercy and blessing for you, we announce to you that your Arabs are harassing our people and robbing them of their property continually without any effort on your part to put a stop to it. From this we judge that it happens with your assent. We now demand that you return without delay the stolen camels. If you refuse, you are, behold! hereby deprived of your fair name, *mafrûd en-naḳlu'*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejkom*, or wipes, or scrapes, it off, *maǧrûd 'alejkom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, they may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elja' raddejna an-neḳa' naṣîr 'ala waẓha-n-neḳa'*. Their face will remain white. But when they attack without having first wiped off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their honor; *elja' mâ raddejna an-neḳa' hâḍa bowḳen buḳtúna jâ sûdân al-ḥejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳwâme*, also the pillar of fighting, *'amûd al-ḥarâjeb*, and thus signifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 622 643 619 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribes ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renounce their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Weld 'Ali, the Ešâġe'a, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he never declares war in the name of them all but merely of his own Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *ṣâḥeb*, with the Fed'ân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali from making war, *ḳowm*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri declared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a division of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeared before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all the allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declare war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them, *ḳowm 'ala-l-ǧamî'*.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 701 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large and small, begin and often a regular battle, *maṣaḥ*, is also fought. If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men start out for robbery on foot, *jiḥammârûn*. If the camps are at some distance, they ride on camels, *ma'âjir bizkûr ar-rčûb*. When more than twenty men on camels, *ǧejš*, or on horses and camels, *ḥejl w-ǧejš*, gather, then it is a raid, *ġazw*, called *ġaṣîr* when the number of participants is small, and *čebîr* when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leader, *'eḏîd* (pl., *'uḏûd*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe, as every tribe can have its own military leader or war commander, *šejḫ aš-šâḏâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi-

Jâ ḍrajjem laḥa!fat 'alejk
ḥoṭemt w-'aḳabk al-felâḥ
min 'oḳob mâ rišak četir
w-al-jowm mak,ûm al-ǧenâḥ.

O Ḍrajjem! faith, it was measured to thee with the same measure.
A rap on the nose thou hast got, and thy success is gone.
Though many feathers thou hast inherited,
Yet today thy wings are broken for ever.

Faḳḳ al-ǧelam 'ajja jeṣûl
wa' direti ṛadaw baha
ešraw lmarat 'ali zebûn
ḥalawk jalbes ṭawbaha.

He opened his shears, refused to attack.
Ah, they occupied my territory!
They purchased a caftan for 'Ali's wife
And made him wear her dress.

Owing to the lack of good rain, there was no pasture in the Rwala territory at one time and consequently no affluence, *dirt ar-rwala maḥal mâ baha rabi'*, but in the regions inhabited by their enemies, the tribe of Sba'a, the vegetation was luxuriant, *rif*. So they agreed among themselves, *taxâzaw*, to move into the Sba'a territory, *dira*, and said: 721 619

"We shall go there and encamp near our relatives, the 'Aneze; *ehna ntnaǧǧeh ila had-dira wa-nzel ḥawâli žeribna 'aneza* (sic). If they accept our friendship we shall become their friends and conclude peace with them, *elja ḳbalaw ṣuḥebna ṣâḥebnâhom wa-tṣâlehna ma'hom*; if they refuse we will fight them, *w-elja' mâ ḳbalaw aṣ-ṣulḥ willa nḥârebhom*. Either they will take us or we shall take them, drive them out and use the pastures in their territory, and thus save our herds and our own lives; *amma jâḥeḏûna w-amma nâḥeḏhom wa-nhaǧǧeǧhom w-nar'a al-mar'a alli bdirthom wa-nsaḳḳem ḥalâlna wa-n'îš.*"

Remaining steadfast in this resolve, *ṛaṣabaw 'ala harr'j*, they marched into the Sba'a territory and soon reached the settlement of al-Midân, which belongs politically to the administrative district of Ḥoms, *tab' ḥoms*. There the Sba'a and Fed'ân tribes were already encamped and ready to fight. 721 726

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 539A flank. *Dabbûs* is a heavy wooden staff, about 120 centimeters long. *Medâbis* (sing., *medbes*) are youths armed with such staves. They beat the enemy with the staves, pursue those who flee, and if they turn their mares in another direction it is only to save a comrade swept from his saddle. *Ḥarrafaw:* turned their mares about for a new attack, *taḥrîf*. *Ṭarîḥ* is a rider thrown from the saddle. He is usually seriously wounded and calls to his comrades to help him. It is considered dishonorable, a shame, *'ajb*, to give a *ṭarîḥ* the finishing stroke.

539A

Jâ rabb jâ rabb ar-raḥûm
tarmi-l-ḥaja bidijârana
narmi-l-'aša lalli jaḥûm
la'ujûn ǧillen bikârana.

O Lord! our gracious Lord!
Thou wilt pour forth a copious rain on our lands,
Whilst we shall pour forth a supper for the circling birds,
Before the eyes of our big she-camels.

Ḥaja are abundant rains which assure a luxuriant growth of annuals. If the latter cannot thrive, it is because there has been no *ḥaja*, and no affluence, *rabî'*, will follow. *Dire* means territory belonging to one tribe or subject to one emir. Thus Eben Sa'ûd is obeyed by many different tribes, and their territories all form the *dirat eben sa'ûd*. The Rwala eat to satiety only once a day — in the evening — and therefore use the word *'aša*, meaning supper, to express a meal in general. *Jaḥûm*, it circles, is used of a white vulture with reddish wings and yellow beak. It accompanies the warriors on almost all their trips and flies above the battle ground untiringly. *Gill* are strong, big she-camels. The enemy tries to capture them, but their defenders come in time to repel the attack.

Habbî lana ḥbûb ar-rîḥ ḥabbî lana
elja' má tekâmel ḥejlana.

Blow luck to us, O wave of the wind! blow,
Until our riders are assembled.

The first riders on reaching the attacked herds must, together with the herdsmen, repel the first attack of the enemy; therefore they appeal to the breeze to be favorable to them, for, if they have to fight against the wind which

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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6. *aḥûf ḥejl ḥujûḥekom teʿeb aʿâb*
ʿan surbet ar-ribâʿin ḥom w-al-ḥamâmid
7. *abu-d-dhûr muʿawwed jilḥab alhâb*
beʿûf rammâj al-malâbis marʿid
8. *wu' suṭṭak ḥwij al-ḥejl suṭṭat ḥalabláb*
ḥallak tezhar min zemâjelk ferrid
9. *wa' min ṣâḳ less ḥarâbna ḥârebeh ḥâb*
jûṣef ǧwâdek min waro-z-zilm w-jaʿid.

1. O thou who ridest a trotting [she-camel] with a troop of nine thousand!
Their camels near the Ḥasan and Mesâʿîd
2. In midsummer dwell, to be protected from disease of the bowels and from flies,
While at Ṣwêr in autumn thou wilt find camels young and well fed.
3. The camels [of that troop] bear no load but gunpowder in horns,
Sabers of Persian make, and spears with steel blades.
4. They will reach the accursed Čenhâb kin.
The Čenhâb, whose prayers and kin alike be cursed.
5. Say to them: "Your riders on young mares with clipped tails were driven back by the cavalry
From the river Euphrates as far as the creek of 'Erbîd."
6. I seem to see your chiefs' horses as they played
Before the Ribâʿîn and Ḥamâmîd troop.
7. [The Rwala emblem] Abu-d-Dhûr is accustomed to throwing of flames
With the help of the thunderer, defeating men clad in armor.
8. Ah, that true man of strength did thoroughly cuff thy face
And left thee alone of all the pack camels.
9. Ah, of one who has tasted the tickling of our spears the moustache will grow gray,
He will stop his horse and will return home behind the back of other men.

The reciter was 'Awde al-Kwêčbi. 1. *Hoḏḏâb* is a she-camel which trots as fast as a mare. Ḥasan and Mesâʿîd are tribes living in the lowland west and northwest of the Ḥawrân, where, as a rule, the Rwala camp from the end of June to the middle of August.

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CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 619 101 829 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who dwell in permanent houses, and *'arab*, or those who dwell in movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase is used: "*'Arabna raḥalow, 'arabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *'arab al-ṭebîla* are members of the same tribe. *'Arab ad-dîra* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *'orbên* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *'Orbên 'ala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Dmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jê wuled*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-'arab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn enwak min al-'arab mâr min ajj al-'orbên*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 221 342 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḥaḍûrne* (the individual is known as *ḥaḍrawêni*), or those who never leave their permanent dwelling, and *ra'w* (or *ra'ijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *ra'w* or *ra'ijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 233 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *ḥwêja* (or *ḥêjên*). The *ḥwêja* have two things black, *leḥom swêdîn*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ jeḥarreżûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥûm eḍ-ḍîre*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *jeḥarreżûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeġarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *rwʿw* and *ḥwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *ḥwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *ḥwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *beʿîdîn eṣ-ṣaʿwa wâsʿîn eḍ-ḍaʿana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl es-swâd w-el-ʿwâd*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The ḥwâja -- Analyst]

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5. *'al-esrija telḳaṭ lahalka 'arûbi*
w-ḥoms w-ḥama laha mebi' w-meśrâ.

1. O Mehsen, at your wish the Welde have deprived me
Of this bliss to which a broad passage leads.
2. I sent a messenger, but he did not carry out my bidding,
Brought no refreshing news, nor returned at all.
3. O Lord, withhold gain from a heedless liar,
Who takes messages but delivers them not to those
for whom they are destined!
4. I could not eat even if they laid before me, on rice
boiled in sour milk,
Pieces of warm roast from this year's lamb.
5. At Esrija she used to gather fuel for her kins[illegible]le,
And Ḥoms and Ḥama' were her market towns.

The poet hailed from the as-Sba'a tribe. He loved a daughter of Mehsen Raḥiṣarrûḥ, the chief of the 'Ebede, who refused her to the poet and sent her to his sister, who was married to a chief of the Welde encamped on the left bank of the Euphrates. The poet camped with his Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a west of Palmyra, longing in vain to meet again his sweetheart. I took down his poem as it was recited to me by my companion, Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

[621 342]

Verse 1. A *ṭenijje* (pl., *ṭenâja'*) is a passage between two rows of tents. The clans engaged chiefly in breeding goats and sheep arrange their tents in the form of an ellipse. The side ropes of the different tents meet, only two wide openings, by which the camp is entered, being left on the two narrow sides of the ellipse. In contrast to this, the Rwala, who breed only camels, usually put up their tents in parallel lines. The space from end to end between these tents is also called *ṭenijje*. The wider such an opening or space, the more room for the guests; hence the saying *wasi' ṭenâjâh* has the same meaning as *bâleh wasi'* or *ḥalkeh wasi'*, his heart, his nature, his solicitude is wide, he is generous. *Ḥzûz* are expressions of bliss or love, *ḥazz*. 2. *Kazzejt* has the same meaning as *be'aṭt*; *nowbi* (or *nebâi*), my commission. *'Elem* is a detailed report, a long message. 3. *Ḥaṭât* or *ḥaṭwa* means many a one, someone, or anyone. *Melfa'* is the person for whom the message is intended. *Melfâk 'ala flân* means "thou wilt go to this or that one"; *min hw melfâh*, "to whom shall I deliver this?" 4. *Śetei* or *tummen* is the rice grown on the lower Euphrates and Tigris.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *wabri nehanŭel* or *we'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *nimedd bel-waghet az-zĕne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl aẓ-ẓulma' zĕne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanŭel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabi'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd razzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *chdû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

I

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

622 THE SETTING SUN painted in delicate tints the naked hills of the Jabal Ruak.

In the southwest, black tents and fawn-coloured camel-herds covered the close-cropped plain of Tueyf. Armed men on nimble mares galloped towards us, as I, accompanied by a few horsemen, for the first time in my life approached the woven goat-hair "houses", a camp of the Ruala Bedouins.

The mounted sentries, who had come to meet us, conducted us to the smoke-blackened tent of an old slave. It was here I was received by Amir Nuri Sha'lan, the grey-bearded prince of the tribe.

643 628 The aged Nuri had lately (it was two years before the outbreak of the Great War) exchanged, not without reason, his own comfortable tent for the mean shelter of one of his slaves. He was in hiding. He had been warned of the activity of blood-avengers, men of his own kith and kin. For in the struggle for the headship of the tribe, he had shot one of his brothers with his own hand, and his slaves had killed another. Their sons, now grown to manhood, were not only seeking to avenge the murder of their fathers, but also to wrest the position of chieftain from Nuri Sha'lan.

000 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his

. l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 M.04 Rwala MD4

643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
●622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khenjar* in the boy's cradle. The

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

VIII

Panther and Ostrich

SEVERAL DAYS WERE spent by us among the volcanic table-mountains of the Jabal Tubayk. Precipitous cliffs, riven and pinnacled rocks rise some six hundred feet from flower-sprinkled level pastures and valleys strewn with black lava boulders. It is a country of savage beauty, in which gazelles and game birds are numerous. There Faris and I, out after game, chanced to come on three tents tucked away in a hollow. They belonged to members of that curious folk, the Sulkan (singular: Sleyb)—nomadic hunters and handicraftsmen. In the popular sense they resemble the gypsies. Like them they doctor man and beast, love music, are fortune-tellers, and have a weakness for things occult and superstitious.

As hunters, trackers and scouts the Sulkan surpass the other Bedouins, and they know the desert better than any other nomads. Many a secluded water-hole is known only to them. Their origin is a mystery. They are few in number, but are held together by some sort of tribal organization, under a chief; and they pay tribute—"protection money"—to the Ruala and other Bedouin tribes. In return, each of these appoints from among its own tribesmen a "Brother" to the Sulkan, charged with looking after their interests.

The Chief of the Sulkan was then one Ralib welde Tulihan, and it was to this young man that the little camp we had discovered belonged. Ralib, accompanied

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

by his wife and children, and two brothers and their families, was on his way north to the Ruala (five or six hundred miles mean nothing to these people) to treat with his "Brother" there for the recovery of some thirty Sulkan camels which, he said, a band of unidentified Ruala had driven off.

One of the tents of these Arab gypsies was made of sewn gazelle skins. For tent-pegs they used oryx horns. I observed that these people had no vessels made of wood; all I saw were of leather. In place of rugs and cushions they used the skins of asses, ostriches, panthers, and antelopes. Their clothing, too, excepting the shepherd's cloaks, was made of pelts and hides.

Faris proposed to Ralib that he should guide us into the Nufud and promised to charge himself with the matter of the camels and round them up as soon as he returned to the tribe; Ralib's family, meanwhile, were to wander northward without him. Ralib accepted; and soon thereafter we departed from the wild Jabal Tubayk.

We had followed Ralib's lead for several uneventful days when, on reaching a *wadi*, he pointed out the fresh tracks of a panther. Leaving our camels behind under guard, we followed the trail on horseback for some distance, when suddenly our mares snorted through wide-open nostrils; they had winded the beast of prey. We dismounted and crept cautiously towards an escarpment, where Ralib surmised the panther was in hiding. It had been there, in fact, but its tracks led farther: Ralib, the Sleyb, made sure that the panther had struck down a gazelle in that very place and had dragged it off. The

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

the herders, the shrieking of women and the whining of children. Scattered here and there among the ever-widening lines of advancing camels rode armed men, convoying their families. Thus out of apparent chaos arose the disciplined order of a general tribal migration, pushing forward into the uncertain wilderness.

As Amir Fuaz rode forward with me, past the marching columns, we were greeted from all sides. Tribesmen trotted across to cry hail and good fortune to their war lord. Slaves dismounted and kissed his feet or pressed their faces against them with a blessing. Women and girls shouted shrilly their "Zaraghrit!" or cried ecstatically: "Allah strengthen thee! Go thou before the countenance of our Lord! Ya el-'Adi—O dispenser of bounty. Long life to thee, our Prince! God grant thy wishes!"

●622
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Amir Faur Ibn Nouaf An-Nuri, Mounted on His War-Mare, Shiha

(following p. 128 (b).)

2: Musil
622, 643

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For accounts of the rise and fall of various chiefs and their leadership of the tribe in war and peace-making, see the narratives in category 116, pp. 574-661. For traditions concerning the Rwala head chief see category 116, pp. 51-58.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ǧebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ed-dîre* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

594 The *'ajle* indicates a family which has a house and hearth of its own, *al-'ajle ahl al-ǧdâr w-en-nâr*. Any settler who has a house of his own and in it a wife who cooks for him is said to have his *'ajle*.

601 The word *ḏurrijje*, descendants, is replaced among the Rwala by the word *ṣana*, which designates very distant descendants, irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or the relationship is due to adoption.

CHIEFS

622 The word *ḳoum* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "*Ḳoum eben Šaʿlân*, he is of the *ḳoum* of Eben Šaʿlân"; "the *ḳoum* of Eben Meʿgel are encamped there; the *ḳoum* of Eben Ǧandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as: "That is the *ḳoum* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḳoum* of the Freǧe" will never be heard. When Prince Eben Šaʿlân speaks of *ǧemâʿati* he is thinking of the various tribes who obey his orders and who hasten to his assistance, *jefzaʿûn*. *Ǧemâʿa* is almost the same as *ḳoum*.

The rank of chief is hereditary in a definite house, *âl*. It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities, nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or 643 prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted either of their own free will or under compulsion and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as *šejḫ al-bâb*, while affairs of war are left to a man renowned for his courage and prudence

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to the number of their camels. After a certain time an-Nûri or his son would ride out with his slaves to the different chiefs and collect the tax. Those who escaped and did not pay the tax were punished, when caught, with the loss of one camel. The collected tax was punctually conveyed by the prince to the Government, the prince retaining the half by which he had increased it. From this amount he made allotments to members of the ruling house and some chiefs; thus the following amounts were distributed:

to Ḥâled eben Saṭṭâm £T150 ($675);
to ʿAḍûb eben Meǧwel £T20 ($90);
to Fahad eben Maṧhûr £T50 ($225).

He himself retained at least £T150 ($675), and in addition to this he sold annually three or four horses and twenty to thirty camels.

For each of his 30 to 35 horses the prince buys 5 loads of barley at £T1 ($4.50) per load; for his guests, slaves, and family, 40 loads of flour at 40 *meǧidijjât* ($36) per load, 20 loads of wheat at 15 *meǧidijjât* ($13.50), 7 loads of *burṛul* at £T2½ ($11.25), 3 loads of rice at £T4 ($18), 1½ loads of coffee at 100 *meǧidijjât* ($90), 2 loads of sugar at £T5 ($25), butter for £T55 ($247.50); at least 100 rams or sheep for food at 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70) each; five camels for food at £T10 ($45) each; clothing and coverlets for his family and slaves and for gifts cost £T130 ($585). He has 8 rifles, and every year he requires at least 6000 rounds of ammunition at the equivalent of 10 to 12 cents for each round. The repair of the tents and the upkeep of the tent materials and ropes cost annually £T50 ($225). He must send gifts to the chiefs from time to time and feed an average of twenty people daily.

Insubordinate chiefs are dealt with by the prince where and as he can. Bhejder, a chief from the Freǧe, once departed with his kin when the camels were to be counted for the purpose of estimating how much tax each chief should pay. Prince an-Nûri sent word to him that he was to return immediately, but Bhejder paid no heed. Not until six months later did he come of his own accord on a camel to an-Nûri, and immediately fetters such as are worn by horses on their forefeet were placed upon him. He remained fettered for a whole month.

A weaker tribe has to acknowledge the supremacy of a stronger one and pay it a special tax, which is known as

231 night! They would tear him to pieces were he to go out unaccompanied by the master or someone they know.

342 If the camp is to be moved and the tents struck, the
484 mistress of the tent issues the order: "Take out the tent pegs,
492 *emaww* (or *empa'ú*) *al-erted*." The tent falls down. "Take out the tent poles, *ḫuṣṣú al-'umed*; spread the tent out, *eṣṣeṣú al-bejt*; fold it lengthwise, so that it forms a strip [about one meter broad], *ejwú al-bejt*." With the large tents the ropes, which are as long as thirty meters, are unfastened and tied up separately, but with smaller tents they are laid inside. The tent, folded up to a breadth of one meter, is rolled up symmetrically from both ends, making two bundles. When these have been rolled, *daruḫow*, to within two meters of each other, a tent pole is placed across beneath each bundle, which is then rolled once more, so that the poles are on top; the *ḥvḍ* rope is wound round one bundle, passed over, and wound round the other. A strong camel with a *mesdme* saddle is now brought up and made to kneel down, *neserreḫow al-beʿīr*, and the women or the slaves seize both poles, lift the two bundles of the tent, load them on the camel, make sure that the tent has been loaded quite symmetrically, take the weight of the bundles so that the camel can stand up, *ḫarwarow al-beʿīr*, and set out on the march (Figs. 25, 26). The tent poles and ropes are loaded upon the *ḥindib* saddle (Fig. 27), which is provided on both sides, in front and behind, with strong pegs, upon which the poles are supported.

484 The troops of camels carrying the property of the in-
492 dividual families are called *maṣḥir* (pl., *maṣāḥir*) (Figs. 28–31). At the head the chief always rides with his picked warriors, *salaf*. The warriors ride on camels, but saddled mares are tied to the camels or are ridden by boys. If the guard reports the presence of an enemy, the warriors jump from the camels on to the mares, and set off in pursuit. An ordinary march, *ruḥala*, lasts from eight or nine in the morning till two or three in the afternoon; a forced march, *ruḥala ḥajjeda*, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

CAMPING GROUNDS

484 The camping place is always selected by the chief. His tent
622 is pitched at the spot where he halts his camel and throws down his saddle. Around him are grouped his slaves and his

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

insfolk. The remainder assemble together likewise according to kinship. The camping place is called *manzel*. The chief leaves the camping place last, rides ahead of all the others, and is the first in the new camping place. The herds are brought

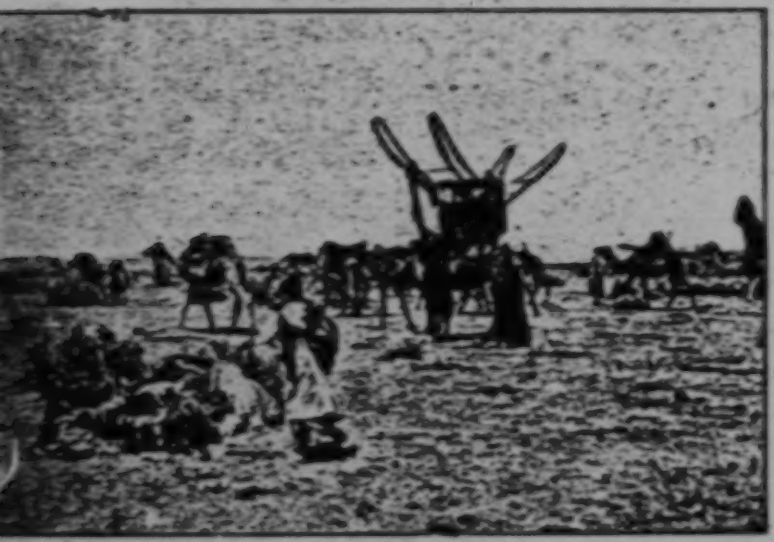

FIG. 18—*Ṭetab* litters.

to a standstill, and the herdsmen are told to let the camels have their evening pasture, *ma'allfoor*.

The Rwala do not pitch camps in the shape of an ellipse as do some other tribes. Each one may pitch his tent where he likes, for his tribe is strong and can withstand any enemy. A camp with less than ten tents is called *ferīḳ*, one with more than ten but less than thirty tents, *neṣṣ'*, and one with more than thirty, *nezel*.

Before changing camps the chief sends out one or two men, usually of the Ṣlejb tribe, to inspect the pastures and watering places in the region where he would like to encamp. The phrase is: "He has sent some one of his men to inspect the region, *ballaṭ leh ḥallīṭen min zilmeh*."

If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons. The best winter pastures, *mašāṭ* (pl., *mašāṭi*), are found in the environs of al-Ḥōr, of the Ḥabra 'Anḳa, as well as of 'Lāba. If

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562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move,
593 the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near
his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with
the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture,
and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the
rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to
the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors,
salaf, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On
arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for
his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against
the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch
the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all
this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make
his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with
the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
574 says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not
at home, *tarákom já zujúf rá'i-l-bejt má kw hâze*." Then she
brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel
and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee
beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the
women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready,
if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she
calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be
the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to
carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests,
she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and
amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent
it, *en ṭalleṯha 'als kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can
do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him
on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason
himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce
her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
622

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents. 586 557 62a

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them: *us-sā'i u-al-mara la teuāḳerhom elja tubṛi-teuāḳerhom dżżarhom*." When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Ṭarḳeṭi tarūḥ ṭâlež u-ar-raǧǧâl 'âleš*." Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥażra' mażṭi 'alejḥ ǧalâleḥ*." This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin. *Elja waṣalti bejt haleḥ ṭalâżeḥ jeǧiḥ jâżelḥ ila bejt haleḥ*." for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin. 586 591 602 614

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež beṭ-ṭalâṭ al-ḥawâ-rem*." The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧîr*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh*." Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân*." When a man 586

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ṣîta's mother, Turkijje was the daughter of the head chief of the Fed'ân. Ṣîta's father, Saṭṭâm, usually selected a place for his camping ground where his clans were exposed to the greatest danger. Such a place is called *sâḥa*. His wife's father was a hero of renown whom no troop of riders could resist. 852 539x

Ġazâlen dašûchom	A gazelle ran in amongst you
má ḫâb	And feared not.
já bint muḫaṭṭa'	O thou daughter of him who chopped off
al-arḥâb.	Heads!

Ṣîta was not frightened even when the enemy succeeded in entering the camp. She inherited her father's character.

Já ṣîta bintena-r-razze
čefir al-mâl jašrîha
želîl al-mâl wa' ḥaznah.

O Ṣîta, our cold-blooded daughter!
Only a rich man could buy her,
While a poor one would, alas, grieve vainly for her.

Ṣîta was both astute and cool-tempered. At times when an-Nûri trembled for his life Ṣîta watched over him day and night to prevent his being poisoned or assassinated in his own tent. Such a woman can be bought only by a rich man.

Ahal ṣîta jiḥellûn
sukkâra mâ jiḥellûn
'ala-s-sâḥât ju'ajjûn
w-hal paḥnes jiḥoṭṭûn.

Ṣîta's kinsmen fall upon the enemy as if on sheep for sacrifice,
Like drunken men, nothing can frighten them;
Careless they are of the most dangerous spots,
And their diahes they constantly fill.

The warriors act in the battle just as if they were merely slaughtering sheep, *jiḥellûn*. *Sâḥât* are places exposed to the direct attack of the enemy and therefore highly dangerous. A chief of renown not only ignores this danger but even selects localities of that kind in order to avert the danger from his people and to destroy the enemy himself. Thus praise is given [726 622]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share.

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave.

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire.

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*'amm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command.

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and

CHAPTER XVII

PROTECTION OF THE OPPRESSED

COUNTENANCE OR *WAĞH*

572 486 Protection granted by a man against his tribesmen or allies to a person regardless whether present or not is called a countenance, *waǧh*. Before the countenance of some Rwejli it is possible to travel through the whole Rwala territory without fear of an attack or of violence. Before the countenance of Prince an-Nūri one may cross not only the Rwala territory but also that of all other tribes which acknowledge his sovereignty. It is said of the prince that he resembles a long branch to which smaller twigs are attached.

486 ●622 576 Whoever wishes to travel through the territory of a powerful chief goes first to him with the following request:

"I desire to ride through the pastures of thy tribe, so grant me the protection of thy countenance." If the chief answers:

"Undertake thy journey in peace! Behold, I give thee my countenance, *midd ma' as-salāme tarāni s'ūk waǧhi*," he may start as tranquilly as if accompanied by the chief himself.

If a man wishes to visit the territory of a strange tribe and has no comrade, *ǧasri*, of that tribe to go with him, he declares in the presence of some respected men of the neighboring tribe: "Behold, I go on a lengthy journey before the countenance, under the protection, of Chief So-and-So whose territory I shall soon enter." Then he continues his journey. When he meets the first members of the tribe in question, he shouts at them from afar:

"Behold! I travel under the protection of your chief." Should they disbelieve and rob him, he still tries to reach their chief, to whom he complains:

"I undertook this journey before thy face! *maddejt bwaǧhak*."

The chief, disliking complications, replies: "That is a lie, *kiǧeb*." But the plundered man continues:

"I undertook this journey before thy face, as So-and-So from the Such-and-Such tribe, whose word is believed, *raǧūlen ma'ǧūǧen kalāmahem*, will testify."

:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him. 486 622 576

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-wuǧh naẓíf má jarbáh ed-danas*. 577

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abbes had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry: 572 593

"Já fhejd já ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw maáfet šahr zemánen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥán depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom- 572 486 685

CHAPTER XIX

PERSONAL QUALITIES

A chief who is commonly spoken of as a *ṣâḥeb al-marʿa* stands in high esteem among the Rwala. Such a one has a brave, strong heart, *ḳalbeh ḳawi*; knows how to wrestle with the greatest danger, *maʿeh fetel*; has a broad outlook, *maʿeh ʿerf*; thinks of the future, *šôfteh baʿide*; and never acts hastily, *leh ṣabr*. He who is merely a daring fighter, *ṣâḥeb al-farse*, is not fit to be either a chief or a leader in time of war. He, too, has a strong heart but lacks calm consideration, *mâ leh ṣabr*, therefore he throws himself into danger recklessly, unmindful of victory or death; *ʿirmi ḥâleh jâ jiḳtel žebîleh jâ jinḳatel*.

But the most popular among the chiefs is the *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa*. He is kind, *kerîm*; truthful, *ḥabîb allâh*; disregards trifles, *saḫi*; and knows no distinction between great and small. Of such the proverb says: "A wolf does not suffer hunger with him, neither do his sheep perish; *lâ jiǧûʿ aḏ-ḏîb w-lâ tifna-l-ṛanam*." As examples of such a *ṣâḥeb al-mruwwa* Ḳufṭân eben Ḥâmed of the Beni Ṣaḫr and Haǧer eben Megwel of the Rwala were named to me.

A generous man is universally esteemed, as he is often visited by guests who then carry his fame far and wide. They say that it is easy for a wealthy man to be generous, because the word generosity is derived from what a man possesses, *al-ǧûd min al-mawǧûd*. According to others generosity must be inborn. He that does not inherit generosity from his parents will always be a miser, even if he has more wealth than he knows what to do with, *al-ǧûd min al-ǧdûd*.

Aš-šime is among the most prominent qualities of a famous man. It is but rarely found, and the man possessing it excels all others in the same way as the head projects above the body. He who has *aš-šime* will not always insist on his rights, gladly yielding to one weaker than himself and sometimes giving up his claim to a thing which clearly belongs to him. *Jetaṡajjam ʿan aš-ši* means "he gave up a thing," or "he did not take a thing although evidently his." Without *aš-šime* no *râʿ al-mruwwa* is perfect.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance. 628 614 602

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *wağhahom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ğandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words: [622]

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ğarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognized as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ğelwijje* or *ğallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ğelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chai.. , and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message: 628

721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejkom*, or wipes, or scrapes, off, *maǧrûd 'alejkom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, the may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elj raddejna an-neḳa' naṣir 'ala waẓha-n-neḳa'*. Their face wi remain white. But when they attack without having first wipe off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their hono *elja' mâ raddejna an-neḳa' hâḍa bowḳen buḳtûna jâ sûdân a ḥejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳwâm* also the pillar of fighting, *'amûd al-ḥarâjeb*, and thus sig nifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribe ● 622 ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renounc 643 their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nûr 619 eben Ša'lân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Wel 'Ali, the Ešâǧe'a, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he neve declares war in the name of them all but merely of his ow Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *sâḥel* with the Fed'ân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali fro making war, *ḳowm*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri de clared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a divisio of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeare before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all th allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declar war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them *ḳowm 'ala-l-ǧamî'*.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large an 701 small, begin and often a regular battle, *manah*, is also fought If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men star out for robbery on foot, *jiḥanšelûn*. If the camps are at som distance, they ride on camels, *ma'âjir bigḥûr ar-rčûb*. Whe more than twenty men on camels, *ǧejš*, or on horses an camels, *ḥejl w-ǧejš*, gather, then it is a raid, *razw*, calle *ṣayîr* when the number of participants is small, and *čebî* when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leade *'aḳîd* (pl., *'uḳda'*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe as every tribe can have its own military leader or war com mander, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* undisturbed for two whole months, as the enemy did not dare to make a new attack. It was during this time that this ditty was composed.

[701 ●622] *Sulṭa* signifies a war leader who in times of the greatest danger also takes over the functions of the head chief. Saṭṭâm, who succeeded in terrifying the herdsmen allied with Muḥammad eben Smejr, is meant here by the word *sulṭa* and also by *ḏiḇ*, wolf.

Jâ-hl-as-sebâja ẓhûrehen
nâda-l-munâdi bel-felâḥ
lâǧ aṭ-ṭariḥ benḥûrehen
šerbi naḳa' 'oḳb al-melâḥ.

O ye plunderers! mount on their backs,
The call has gone forth for success.
He who is thrown from the saddle will slide down their throats,
And this will be to me a sweet drink after salt water.

The enemy had long been harassing the herds but was never seen in time, so that help always came too late. At last the guard sighted him before he found the herds. As soon as it was reported in the camp, the rescuing troop hastened against him, fondly hoping to surround him and take all his horses and she-camels, in this manner tasting a sweet drink.

Jâ-lli tlowbed beš-še'ib
mâ 'endana illa sab'akom
narmi-l-'aša laḏ-ḏiḇ al-aṭwaḳ
w-naṭraḥ ža'idet rab'akom.

O ye who creep through the valley!
We have nothing for you but terror.
We shall throw you for supper to a wolf with a neck streaked with gray
And shall cast down him who guards your clothes and camels.

The thieves leave their clothes and camels—if they have any—under the guard of one of their comrades called *ža'ide* and crawl on their bellies to the tents. *Ḏiḇ aṭwaḳ* is an old dog or wolf whose neck is growing gray.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

619 [361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

769 • [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiyukhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

couraged. Once more I returned to my task and, mustering all powers of persuasion, I redoubled my effort to bring the benefits of good will and a just peace before their eyes. At length I succeeded in persuading them to abandon their hostile silence and to enter into a sort of discussion with me. But anyone who believes that Bedouins can be persuaded at short order is mistaken. Hours passed. It was close on midnight, when Faris begged to be allowed to speak in the name of Amir Fuaz. Ibn Meheyd nodded. "Peace!" said Faris. "Truly, the Enemy of Life is pressing back the living. The milk from the breast of the desert has turned into dust. Like bitter myrrh does it taste to them that thirst. Our wells are dried up, our pastures are scorched by the sun, our camels are perishing in the land of hunger and thirst, thousands are dying on the paths of the earth. Praise unto God that he still keeps his hand open above your heads, but to the Ruala he has closed his heaven. Far be it from us to come as enemies. We would enter your grassland as your guests."

The words made a deep impression. Faris had spoken as a Bedouin. He had spoken a language they had all understood.

The *shiyukhs* withdrew. For perhaps a half-hour they stood under the stars, among camels, horses and sheep, debating and gesticulating. Then they returned and in silence seated themselves in a circle by the camp-fire. Only Rakan, the Chieftain of the Saba, was missing—an indication that he must have fallen out with Ibn Meheyd and the others with regard to the peace conditions. We knew him to be the wiliest of our enemies

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

623 728 619 and the idea came to me at once that he would try to ambush us on our return journey.

After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn-Milhem (Chief of the Wuld'Ali) and our *shiyukhs*. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the chieftains."

Thereupon Ibn Meheyd offered me his hand. I grasped it and thanked him and the others in the conclave for their willingness to share their grazing-grounds during the coming summer with the Ruala and Wuld'Ali and for allowing the peoples to live side by side in neighbourly amity. I also expressed my hope that the belligerent chieftains would also soon conclude peace among themselves.

It would have been useless to waste more words on the healing of the breach between the *shiyukhs*. If Ibn Meheyd fulfilled their promise of peace between the tribes, I could be more than content with the result of my journey. It would be no less than a miracle.

619 728 577 It was still dark when I was roused from sleep by the clatter of cooking utensils. The cook was just putting his water-pots on the glowing fire. Enveloped in its acrid smoke, by the threshold, stood the old mare that had carried me to this tent after the conference. I stepped into the open. It was still night, but the stars were paling and in the east the greenish-grey of dawn mantled the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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The Mejlis, Council of Men. Here, as Always, the Ever-Present Black Coffee Is Served

following page 144(a)

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

els squandered all his property in a short time, as he did not take care of the things he purchased. In his old age he sat in a corner of Prince Saṭṭâm's tent and had to be satisfied with eating what was left from the meals there. The recjter was 'Awde al-Kwêčbi.

Verse 2. *'Afen* is an egoist devoid of all virtue. *Ḥešet*, for *ḥešedt* or *ḥešett*, thou hast gathered or saved. 5. *Elja 'âd* has the same meaning as *en čân enneh*, should it happen that he. 6. *Min dûn* is equivalent to *min ṛejr*, without. Without the consent of the assembly the chief can do nothing. 7. *Ğibb* is a deep well. *Ṭall* is the dew or a drop of it. 8. *Ṣa'nûn* is a deep well without water; these are found when there has been no rain for three or four years. *Jinḳaṭen* or *jinḳeṭûn* means: "they stay long on the same camping ground." 10. *Ṭerbîl* is a man with a crushed sexual organ.

Advice to a Friend

1. *Jâ dmejm efham wâredi bâṛi-waṣṣîk*
   čân ent min alli lil-waṣâja-jḥafẓûn
2. *elja' ğâk wâḥeden 'âjelen min dwânîk*
   ešči̇k lalli min al-ğemâ'a j'arfûn
3. *en entaha' hw wudd 'ajnak wa-mrâẓik*
   w-en mâ-ntaha' ma'ak ṭabb alli-j'ilûn
4. *uz-ẓejf lâ tleẓẓik menčeb 'alâbîk*
   w-as-somt jowmen en al-meğâles jeḥiẓûn.

1. O Dmejm! understand my speech, for I wish to give
   thee the last warning,
   If, of course, thou art one of those who pay attention
   to the last warning.
2. Shouldst thou meet one of thy fellow tribesmen who
   wrongs thee,
   Complain of him to those who judge the comrades.
3. If he ceases harming thee, let him be a favorite of
   thine eye and thy friend.
   If he does not cease harming thee, thou carriest with
   thee a cure against those who commit wrong.
4. To the guest show not thy shoulder blades or nape of
   thy neck,
   And take care not to be rash when the visitors slander
   each other.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

586 wants to marry a second time the woman whom he has divorced, her kin may ask a new *sijâḳ*, dowry, for her, provided he has had no children by her and she is not pregnant. If the man divorces the wife of his own accord, he is not entitled to compensation, but if the wife asks her husband: "Let me go! *ṭalležni*," he may reply: "Bring what I have paid for thee! *hâti-lli warâč*."

593 578 626 No quarreling, words of abuse, or lamentations of married couples are ever heard in the Rwala camps. A man ought never to be seen beating his wife or vice versa, as by doing so they would disgrace, *'ajb čebîr*, themselves and their respective kins for all time. Woe to them, therefore, should they do so — for then the husband's kin and the woman's kin as well as all the neighbors would come over and expel them from both the camp and the tribe. This is the reason why a man never quarrels aloud with his wife, although he may often and thoroughly beat her, *jeḳtelha* (or *jedebbaha*), being careful, however, that nobody shall see him. In the daytime he does so in a corner of the tent, at night in bed. The punishment is applied with the stick used in driving his camel, and that unsparingly. The wife generally covers her face with the bedquilts or presses it into the pillows to prevent even the least sound of her crying from being heard. Otherwise the man might keep on beating her still longer, and any other man might come in, on hearing her, to assist the husband. If the ill-used woman complains to her relatives, she has to return to her husband without getting any satisfaction.

593 582 Mišref eben Kurdi once beat his young wife, a daughter of Prince an-Nûri, for more than an hour not only over her back but over the head as well, so that it was swollen for ten days. On complaining to her father, the only satisfaction she received was that she would get still more if she did not behave herself. She was known to torment Mišref in a hundred ways, while he repaid her with sound beatings. For no sooner was she born, than Mišref, her second cousin, claimed her for his future wife, *ḥaǧǧarha*. When she grew up she could not bear the sight of her bridegroom-to-be, but the more she scoffed at him, the more he insisted on marrying her. Prince an-Nûri himself and his son Nawwâf also begged Mišref to give the girl her freedom, but, appealing to his privilege as her nearest relative whom it is permissible for her to marry, *eben al-'amm*, he maintained that he would not do so before she had

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Witre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

[1] [illegible]

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaktolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *kaṣîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh ḥiddâm ruḳubteh*."

577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
● 626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*,
672 *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḏa bawwâḳ lâ tḫallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḏḫalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

They are of the Šlejb and Šarârât tribes. Such a pauper, *ṣa'îf*, comes to the women's compartment in the tent and whimpers: 735

"O mistress of this tent! behold, I am, by Allâh himself, naked and my family hungera. Therefore I come to Allâh and to this tent; *w-ana ǧâj jamm allâh w-jamm hal-bejt.*"

If there is want in the tent, too, or if they are not willing to give anything, they simply say:

"Run along, we have nothing to give! *kawṭer mâ 'endana šieu.*"

A chief could not, of course, let a beggar go away in that manner, and other Rwala also try to do as much as they can for him. They do it, partly from love of Allâh, *lâhijje*, partly because they like to hear the beggar's thanks and hope that their charity may be extolled elsewhere, *ješkor jeḏkor.*

To conceal a lost article is not considered dishonest as long as nobody calls for it. The finder is not required to search for its owner; he must search for his own property. 425 626●

Many things get lost during the migrations. The camels laden with tents, furniture, rugs, garments, etc., rub against each other or against bushes, roll in the sand, start trotting suddenly, and lose one parcel after another of their load all along the route. Many of these lost things can be easily hidden and appropriated for the finder's own use, as the dress and personal effects of the Rwala and the furnishings of their tents are almost without exception similar in their appearance. It is hard to prove that this or that article does not belong to the person in possession. A dishonest person or one who has no fear of Allâh will not return what he has found even when asked to do so by the owner himself. The latter usually either hires a public crier or, mounting a horse or camel, himself rides slowly through the camp in the evening when all the people are in their tents, shouting: "Oh, thou who hast seen such and such a thing and esteemest Allâh more than that which thou hast concealed! O thou who wilt keep quiet about a thing of no value, be careful that thou takest it not for that which is dear to thee, that the place where thy camels rest at night will not be left empty; and that thou mayest not call for help with no man willing to hear thee! *Já min 'ajjan aḏ-ḏi al-flâni w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṛaba' já čâmen al-bâli ta'awwaṣteh bel-ṛâli jaṣbaḥ mrâḥak ḫâli tṣiḥ w-lâ lak wâli.*"

425 626 "Whoever has seen such and such a thing or heard or received news of it, or knows anything of it, let him remember God and not hide it; *já min 'ajjan al-ṭaraz al-flâni aw ḫebber aw 'allem w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṭaba'*."

When a man happens to know something of the lost article and hears the shouting, he says: "Come hither and take thy thing!"

If anything belonging to a traveling merchant, Kubejsi, is lost, he too rides through the camp shouting at the top of his voice:

"O ye who hear this voice, praise the Prophet! He is for you the first, 'Ali is the second, and Fâṭma, the prophet's daughter, is the third. Who has seen this and that?"

The finder of the lost article, if willing to return it, shouts back to the crier: "O thou owner of that thing, come hither! *já râ'i-l-ṭaraz elḥâḳ elḥâḳ*."

But if a lost article which has been proclaimed publicly and which has evidently been concealed with the intention of keeping it, is found, the culprit is reviled by the whole camp and soundly thrashed by his kinsfolk, *jenakkelúneh temkîl*, because he has disgraced them.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MJ4

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,
B 312 415 where our camels and horses were watered. One of the Fid'ans scraped a shallow hole in the soil and spread the saddle leather from one of the camels over it. Into this simple but practical trough we poured the stale water from the well.

R 721 After we had watered our animals, we travelled onward in the dry bed of the Al-Hajal *wadi*. We were crossing a flat between two branches of it when suddenly shots rang out and bullets whistled over our heads.

The Fid'an wheeled instantly to gallop out of range, but they did not get far. Our assailants, imperfectly visible but obviously numerous, followed up their warning volley with a raking fire that in as many seconds unhorsed four of the fugitives. Seeing that to escape was impossible, and to fight hopeless, they all stopped and signalled their surrender to the advancing force of camel-riders. More than a hundred of these had grown out of the ground, as it were, before my astonished eyes. The Fid'an had walked into a trap. They had been too
R reckless even to send scouts ahead.

[493] I knew instantly that the newcomers were Ruala. The Saba have as intimate a knowledge of that region, but only the Ruala take the field with so many fine racing-camels; the Saba, like the Fid'an, favour horses.

"The Lord be with us!" exclaimed Matan, the leader
R of the Fid'an freebooters, now thoroughly frightened.
•[627] He clearly thought himself lost; and he had every reason to believe that I should use the opportunity of paying him back in kind. But I reassured him. "We have made peace with thee," I said, "and I shall tell the leader of

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

manner that there had been any trouble. He was perfectly calm and thanked his enemies for their companionship and protection of me on my journey. 609

Only after coffee had made the rounds was there any mention of the Fid'an losses. The Ruala fire had cost them two mares and two *dhaluls*. Fuaz at once declared they should be recompensed by six of his best racing-camels. He was under no obligation to make any restitution; but the magnanimity of an Arab *sheykh* demands such acts of bounty. 627 577

When the two strangely assorted companies separated on the following morning, Fuaz took the precaution of attaching one of his body-slaves to the Fid'an. He was to see them to the first rise of the Abu Rijmeyn, well beyond the Ruala territory. 609 [486]

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

work. If they deserve it they are spanked with a stick, not only by their mother or father, but by the slaves both male and female. The Rwala believe that the rod originated in Paradise, *al-'aṣa azharat min al-ǧenna*, and that it also leads man back to it. The older boys attend to the mares, guard them on the pasture grounds, take them to water, and ride on them while migrating; they also bring fuel to the men's quarters, serve the guests with water, etc. They squat with the men around the fire listening to the conversation and learn also to recite poems and songs, in this manner acquainting themselves with all public affairs. Boys learn to shoot before they are fourteen and take part in at least one raid before they are sixteen. At this period the father would not think of punishing the disobedience of his son simply with a stick but uses a saber or a dagger instead. By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life. In the opinion of the Bedouins the son who disobeys is guilty of rebellion, for which the proper punishment is the saber, *as-sejf lemin 'aṣa'*.

BOYS' GAMES

The boys are never idle. When they are not helping their parents, they play. Some of their games are dangerous; all, however, tend to harden them and sharpen their faculties.

In playing *ramḥa* two lines are formed. The members of each side, holding their companions by the hand, take position and advance against the other side, kicking their opponents till one whole side rolls down, *jetarâmaḥûn*. Many leave the game with their bellies black and blue, but will stand up as long as they can bear the pain.

A very dangerous game is *šâra*. The boys bring their slings, *miẓla'* (pl., *maẓâli'*), gather a supply of pebbles, separate into two hostile groups, and, declaring war on each other, throw stones from their slings, *jetašârûn*. Blood always flows. Often a boy loses an eye, gets a broken head or a split bone in his hand or leg, or even falls down dead; and yet the parents never forbid the game. For a dead boy the kin of the player who killed him must pay the blood price; for other serious hurts half of that. If the guilty party cannot be found, the relatives of all the boys participating in the game must pay, compensation of this kind being called *medda' ṛẓejje*.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share. 567

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave. 855 567

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire. 622 567

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*semm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command. 601 567

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and 567 627

murder they avenge not only among themselves, but on the free Bedouins as well. The master who kills his slave exposes himself to the vengeance of the latter's kin and must pay the blood price. Should he refuse, the avengers place themselves under the protection of a more powerful slave, generally the head slave of a chief, who soon compels the Bedouins to assist him in humbling the guilty person. A slave can pursue or protect, *leh waǧh je'addi jesaddi*, in the same manner as his master. Whoever hurts his protégé gains the enmity not only of the slave but of his whole kin, and of the slave's master as well, who must support the slave in order to have peace in the tent and his usual comforts.

Yet, no matter how powerful, a slave can never marry the daughter of even the poorest Bedouin; and, on the other hand, the least of the herdsmen would not think of marrying a slave's daughter. For even the poorest Bedouin is independent, *ḥorr*, while the slave remains subject, *'abd*, for ever. Not even the members of the most despised tribes, like the Ṣlejb, Šarârât, Htejm, etc., would marry a slave. In a certain manner they all are *ḥorr*, despite the low esteem in which they are held, and a slave remains *'abd*, no matter what power he wields. Only the sons and daughters of white blacksmiths, *ṣunnâ'*, enter into blood relations with slaves. If a black slave marries a white girl, the daughter of a *ṣâne'*, and their son also marries a daughter of a *ṣâne'* again, the third and fourth generations are quite white, and yet they do not become free, *ḥorr*, but always remain slaves, *'abîd*. In the settlements — especially in the cultivated regions — the origin of such whites is sometimes forgotten, but never among the Bedouins of the desert.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND THEIR AGENTS, THE 'AḲEJL

As the Rwala are occupied almost exclusively in camel breeding, it is only in exchange for camels that they can get grain, clothing, arms, saddles, and other necessities of life. The camels they sell either in the inner desert or in the settled territory, nearly always to the same wholesale merchants who live in the larger towns on the borders of Arabia as well as in Egypt and India. The most prominent among these is the Eben Bassâm family, from the settlement of Bassâm in al-Ḳaṣîm. Its members own large business houses at al-Baṣra, Bombay, aṭ-Ṭâjef, Cairo, and Damascus. They export camels

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XVI

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

SETTLEMENT OF MINOR DISPUTES; JUDGES

627 Slight disputes and quarrels between members of the same tribe are settled by friendly intercession. A respected Bedouin comes with one or two companions to the tent of the more powerful opponent and says to him:

"O So-and-So, stay! Thou knowest well that we all honor thee, and we also know that So-and-So has, in fact, harmed thee and that therefore thou hast every reason to be angry with him; but if thou lovest me, if thou lovest us, do not persecute him any more! *lâ teğîh.*" The man thus addressed, recognizing that he will gain more in public esteem if he abandons his claims, answers:

"For the love I bear thee and all of you, but for this reason only, I give up all my claims."

"We know that thou speakest the truth, but still we beg of thee to swear by Allâh."

"I call Allâh to witness that I will persecute him no more."

"May thy love for us increase and give us power to appoint a guardian who is to see that thou persecutest thy opponent no more!"

"I give you full power, *ana mheddikom*, to appoint any guardians you desire."

"We shall go to So-and-So."

"Go at once! *kowterû.*" Then they go to a powerful Bedouin and say: "Behold, X has promised that he will not quarrel with Y any more. Behold, we place the latter before thy countenance. Have a care that X actually ceases to persecute him."

Answering "I guarantee that," he sends word to the stronger opponent: "Beware of persecuting Y any longer. For, beware, he has put himself under my protection, *tarâh daḫal 'alejje.*"

692 627 More serious differences are settled among the Rwala by the hereditary native judge, *'árefa* (pl., *'awâref*). Judicial

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

dignity is hereditary in certain kins and passes as a rule from father to son. If the latter lacks the necessary intelligence, *boṣr*, the litigants turn to his uncle, *jinḥarûn ʿammeh*, or to some other member of his kin. Furthermore, every chief may pass sentence but may not interfere in any way with the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges; he must submit when the contending parties appeal from his verdict to the hereditary judge. When acting as a judge, a chief is never called *ʿârefa*, not being recognized as such. When a chief adjudicates disputes he does so because he wields power which it is not always possible to resist and because he can support his judgment or his will by force.

Eben Ğandal is the greatest judge of the Âl Ğlâs group; Âl Ṭajjâr holds the same position with the Beni Wahab.

In all matters pertaining to blood vengeance the decision lies with the *ʿawâref ad-damm*, namely: Âl Kwêčeb in the Âl Ğlâs group and Eben Smejr, otherwise known as Eben Baṭṭâḥ, in the Beni Wahab group.

Other disputes are decided by Eben Ğandal, al-Ḳaʿâḳaʿ, and Eben Ḍurmi of the Âl Ğlâs group.

On questions of war and peace Eben Šaʿlân is called upon to decide.

Special rights are to be considered when either the plaintiff or the defendant happens to be a neighbor, *al-ḳaṣîr*; a guest, *aẓ-ẓejf*; or a traveling companion, *al-ḥawi*.

In the Ḳmuṣa division of the as-Sbaʿa tribe the recognized judges are the chiefs of the ar-Rḥama clan (Barṛaš, Mḥammad, Meṭḳâl, and ʿAwejnân of the Saʿîd kin) as well as the chiefs of the Bṭejnât clan (ʿAzîz and Fallâğ of the Štêwi kin). Among the ʿEbede division it is the al-Mwâjğe clan from which the judges are selected from the kins: Eben ʿAllûš, Eben Ğazzâʿ, Eben Rabîṭ, Âl Ağdaʿ, and Âl Rğêl.

LAWSUITS

A lawsuit is called *sâlfa* or *ṭlâb*, and may be decided either by witnesses or by black oaths, *as-sâlfa ʿalejha umma šhûd walla' dijânen sûd*. An oath is black because it disgraces a man, blackens his countenance or his honor, implying that his mere word is not believed. Besides, the swearer is always in danger of God's anger, as he can never explain things as they really happened.

2:Musil S-4/5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

its validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to try to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a disgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, of a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked for. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith announce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps around: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye that he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms him will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal into the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a handful of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter case the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in which the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized it by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares to touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Ẓeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa men, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much water in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep and goats, *ṛanameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought his flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away. Enraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him, *allah beh*, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung only by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the hair of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our tent, that is of the Eben Ẓeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from the face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḏahna 'alejhom*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked for our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our camels, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped them strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory, *ṛarrabna*, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*, and encamped in al-Ǧezîre. Some time later the wounded man, *alli mosṭijen beh*, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw a relative of the assailant, *as-sâṭi*, who, as it was the time of

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577 627 the greatest heat of the day, was just resting with his flock, *mžajjel bṛanameh*. Suddenly Belhân seized his heavy club, *maḏrûb*, jumped at this relative of Medbaṛ, and beat him till he fell down insensible. When it was reported to us, we at once rode to the river and took Belhân to task:

'Thou knowest that he is under our protection. Why dost thou insult our face? Why dost thou beat thy cousin?'

"He replied: 'O brothers, his fate has overtaken him, *amreh ṣâr*.' But we went straight to his kin, *naḥarna haleh*, compelled them to come with us, and took all their tents and flocks just as if they were enemies as compensation for our lost face, *w-aḥaḍnâḥom aḥḍ al-ḳowmâni ḥaḳḳ waǧhana ḥelâlhom w-bujûthom*. Then, lodging them, in our tents for the time being, we gave them this advice, *w-ašarna ʿalejhom šowren*:

'If you make up the quarrel, behold! we shall give you these flocks; if not, we shall keep all as the price of our face and shall return nothing to you, *mâ nanṭîh*.' We had them all assembled, *lajjemnâhom*, in our chief's tent. Medbaṛ and Belhân also appeared, each with his surety:

'Medbaṛ, wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will, *žâbleh*.'

'Turn to, *anhed*, thy surety!'

'I turn to ʿAbṭân.'

'Wilt thou be reconciled, ʿAbṭân?'

'I will.'

'Dost thou vouch for the reconciliation?'

'I do.'

"Next we asked Belhân: 'Wilt thou be reconciled with thy cousin?'

'I will.'

'Who is thy surety?'

'Ṛâzi.'

'Will Ṛâzi guarantee that Belhân will keep peace?'

'I do.'

'Lay aside your arms, then embrace and kiss!' This they did and became reconciled, and we now could give back to Belhân's kin all that we had taken from them as the price of our face."

Zaʿal eben Ṛâzi of the Ḥmuṣa subdivision of the Sbaʿa tribe had a son; Nejtûl eben Ǧdejjân was the father of a daughter. Zaʿal and Nejtûl were the sons of two different fathers but of the same mother. Zaʿal reserved Nejtûl's daughter for his

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son, claiming the cousin's right to his cousin. Nejtûl denied that the cousin's right was involved in this case, and his daughter declared that she would never marry Za'al's son. Za'al then began to persecute Nejtûl in such a hostile manner that the latter had to seek refuge in Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed's tent and to ask his protection. Ṛaṭwân, sending for Za'al, said to him:

"Count thine ancestors till thou findest one who is both thine and Nejtûl's. Then ask for his daughter, and I myself will bring her to thee, if necessary, with a saber in my hand, *atakaffaha jammak bes-sejf ṛaṣban.*"

Za'al began to count: "Ṛâzi, the son of Ṣabr, the son of Sâjer, the son of Farağ, the son of Murabbeṭ — and Murabbeṭ is the fifth ancestor of Nejtûl." After this Za'al brought five pack camels: a five-year-old, *rubâ'*, a four-year-old, *ṭeni*, a three-year-old, *ǧed'*, a two-year-old, *ḥeżż*, and a yearling, *mafrûd*, and, making them kneel before Ṛatwân's tent, spoke thus:

"O Ḳmuṣa, here ye see five ancestors connecting me with Nejtûl. I call you as witnesses. *Jâ ḳmuṣa tarâkom šâhedîn 'ala 'adad al-ǧdûd tarâhen nâjeḥât.*" Here Nejtûl, turning to Ṛaṭwân, interposed:

"Za'al's son does not belong to my kin; he is not a cousin of my daughter and therefore cannot have her for five camels. Behold, I, thy protégé, demand such gifts as, according to ancient custom, are given in such cases, *al-muḳalledât*. Make Za'al bring also earrings valued at eight pounds, *ṭarâči bṭamân nêrât*, a necklace, *ṭowḳ*, the pendants to the necklace, *ma'âneż*, and also enough silk and cotton stuffs, so that I could walk on them from thy tent to mine."

When Ṛaṭwân repeated Nejtûl's demands to Za'al, he refused them indignantly, saying that *al-muḳalledât* gifts had long been out of fashion.

"I let thee know my protégé's demands and ask thee to comply with them. If thou thinkest that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts are no longer given, bring me thine opinion confirmed by the judge Eben Ṛubejn and I shall believe thee. But if Eben Ṛubejn decides that thou must give what Nejtûl demands, then bring a surety that thou wilt do it; otherwise Nejtûl will marry his daughter to whomsoever he sees fit."

"Well, then, let Eben Ṛubejn decide according to the law. Snejdân is my surety. Come, Snejdân, grasp my moustache

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577 627 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give all that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in his fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demanded, if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-muḳalledât* were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon returned with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl nor Ṛatwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al gave up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards married another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarreled over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unable to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from her tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ǧel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in a matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should be helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its well trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, and, accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber of the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the camel with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarmed by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right galloped up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protégé and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect thy camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil thou causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 627 577 695 The parents of a married woman who had no other heirs died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished to get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relatives of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to return to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḥaǧlâna 'ala bejtha*. Not long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, and while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' camels passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two young she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, and,

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making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât 'ajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent 'amjân haḍôlen mdaḫḫalât 'alejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḫoḍhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *'ârefa* judge, 'Awejnân eben Sa'îd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O 'Awejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš 'endak bel-ḥurma maḳṭû'at aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, 'Awejnân eben Sa'îd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi tḫâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḍi mâ hi jetîme alḥîn hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

'Awejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt into Ršejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.* Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father. Ršejd, though he was

679 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḥmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *kaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.
681 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sâni-*
609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh ẓiddâm ruḳubteh*."

577 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor
626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*, *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent.
672 Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḏa bawwâḳ lâ tḥallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḏḥalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

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making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, [illegible] right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

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aid him in obtaining his rights, *jimašši-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehîra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi râje sowda' flân eben flân daḫalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizḳi bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *rab'i jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' waǧhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arzûn 'endeh w-jentaḫûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.

627 When he has complied with every demand, the powerful man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *ṣowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kazeyna lâzem*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh wağheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-akbalat al-menijje fakk ar-rukubat al-mâlijje.*"

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêẓa al-mabnijje.*"

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh.*"

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

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I

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

THE SETTING SUN painted in delicate tints the naked hills of the Jabal Ruak.

In the southwest, black tents and fawn-coloured camel-herds covered the close-cropped plain of Tueyf. Armed men on nimble mares galloped towards us, as I, accompanied by a few horsemen, for the first time in my life approached the woven goat-hair "houses", a camp of the Ruala Bedouins.

The mounted sentries, who had come to meet us, conducted us to the smoke-blackened tent of an old slave. It was here I was received by Amir Nuri Sha'lan, the grey-bearded prince of the tribe.

The aged Nuri had lately (it was two years before the outbreak of the Great War) exchanged, not without reason, his own comfortable tent for the mean shelter of one of his slaves. He was in hiding. He had been warned of the activity of blood-avengers, men of his own kith and kin. For in the struggle for the headship of the tribe, he had shot one of his brothers with his own hand, and his slaves had killed another. Their sons, now grown to manhood, were not only seeking to avenge the murder of their fathers, but also to wrest the position of chieftain from Nuri Sha'lan.

While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his

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643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

353 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

181 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys
157 seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given
628 me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

nay deadly, enemies for centuries. But the family of Faris had, because of a blood-feud, been living with the Ruala for the past sixteen years. This accounted for the fact that a Shammar could act as my protector in the territory of his tribe's deadly enemies; but the choice also displayed Nuri's wisdom. Being a Shammar, Faris could safeguard me with the enemies of the Ruala, while as Nuri's confidant, he could answer for me before every Rueyli.

Faris was an exceptional man. From the moment of our first meeting, when Nuri introduced him to me, I felt that this must be more than a mere chance acquaintance. The softness of his voice, as he wished me "Peace", and the grip of his strong, manly hand in an instant disclosed to me the open and pure soul of the young Bedouin. Under his hair-cloth cloak beat a heart so affectionate, yet so stout, that I must confess I have never encountered its like among the children of men. To his last breath he was the truest friend I have ever known. Faris was also one of the handsomest men I have ever met. His noble, oval face was unforgettable, with its gentle, dark eyes. His wonderful hair and beard, his flowing shepherd's cloak, made him a striking figure. Tender and gentle as he was, Faris was yet among the boldest and bravest of Ishmaelites. Perhaps he was living two thousand years too late.

After we had left the old suburbs of Damascus behind us, our way led through walnut, olive and apricot orchards into the great open spaces. Majestically the snow-capped peaks of the Syrian mountains rose into

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XV

Famine and War

587 TARFA, SISTER OF Amir Fuaz, who had married Mij-
628 hem ibn Meheyd, the Chief of the Fid'an, died suddenly. Thereupon, what must the fifty-five-year-old widower do but forthwith sue for the hand of another sister of the Ruala Prince, Fuwasa, who was seventeen. Fuaz refused, and declared publicly, before the men in assembly, that he considered Ibn Meheyd too old for his young sister. Thereupon the vain Fid'an chief flew into a towering rage and swore that he would take vengeance, not only on his brother-in-law, Amir Fuaz, but also on the whole Ruala tribe, and the Sha'lan family in particular. All this ultimately came to pass.

628 During the last few months, Ibn Meheyd had matured
731 his plans for revenge. He had stirred up the neighbour-
731x ing tribes of the Fid'an into joining him in war on the Ruala. It seemed as if the famine, threatened by the failure of rain in the Hamad and other grazing regions, would now become an additional formidable ally of Amir Fuaz's foes. Thirty-five thousand Ruala, with seven thousand tents and about three hundred and fifty thousand camels would be forced to invade the grazing territory of enemies, unless sufficient rain fell in the Hamad within the next few days.

000 As yet, life ran its familiar round. But over all hovered the spectres of thirst, hunger, and death.

The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong

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BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳahaṭân and Muntifeẓ. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and [602] Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ǧlâs. All the tribes and all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddim ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣir lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḫr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḫr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḫr arlaʾ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḫr aǧânib mâ lena w-lahom ǧidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the [628] sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni. 602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

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former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs; *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḥwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ 'alejh arrbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ.* The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beni'am* (or *ḥakk al-ben'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-ben'ame ṣwât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ẓeji*, or fellow traveler, *ḥawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teglih al-ḥači min ẓeju manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb.* If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm.* 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *'ašîrt*) *ar-rwala*, *'ašire* having the same meaning as *bedîde* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Feriž* is the 101 601

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-ernam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak 'al-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an independent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for
[576 pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more
181] disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭa'ab al-ḥorr murr*."

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak 'arâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*)
685 or mounted (*mu'ajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *ḳowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana mu'težk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥḥak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as
302 bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭa' râsak*. It is much easier
628 for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *naḳiṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

was indemnified, *jeddûn 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they

FIG. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḫûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḫûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḫûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Ješûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣla'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *aḳra'*.

A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with

herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥoḏ lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḥûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭî'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḥûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

her husband's tent, she herself marking the latter's face with the animal's blood. 782

Ṛaṭjân walad ʿAwwâẓ, a member of the Eben Mehîr kin of the Sbaʿa tribe, lost his brother. He had been killed by a Bedouin, who offered to pay the blood price. But Ṛaṭjân refused this, desiring to avenge blood with blood, and vowed to Allâh a camel if he would help him exact vengeance. When the guilty man sought refuge, *ʿannaz ḥâleh*, in another territory, Ṛaṭjân was unable to find him for some time. He had given up hope of seeing him again, when suddenly while on a raid he met a strange troop, among which was his fugitive, riding a mare. Dismounting, he seized his revolver, *ridnijje*, and with two shots killed both the guilty man and his mare. On returning home he sacrificed a camel. 628● 782

A brother of Eben Faẓîl of the ʿEbede division of the Sbaʿa tribe was killed by a member of a powerful kin, who at once took the part of the slayer. The latter was so universally known and esteemed for his generosity and readiness to serve, that everybody in the clan helped to save both him and his kin from the avengers. They conducted him to a place of refuge, *ʿannazow al-ḳâtel*, returned to the camp, and tried to persuade Eben Faẓîl to be satisfied with the blood price. They continued to press him more and more, until he replied: "You are mistaken. It is not the slayer, but myself whom you should have brought to a place of refuge, for I am threatened with danger, not he. The blood price you can keep. I swear by Allâh that I will not touch my wife until my brother is avenged." Afterwards he removed with his whole kin to Eben Hdejb, told him why he had left his clan, and made him the guardian of his family, should he not return. Then he went at once in search of his brother's slayer. Three months later he found and attacked him, but he was himself seriously wounded and only escaped with his life through the assistance of some Bedouins. With them he lay nearly two months before he recovered sufficiently to be taken on a camel to Eben Hdejb. But, as the use of his right hand was gone, he was unable to avenge his brother. Yet there still remained a twelve-year-old son of the brother, who, on hearing of what had happened to his uncle, instantly declared: "Uncle, I myself will go after my father's blood." It was in vain that they tried to hold him back. Mounting a camel, he rode to the Arabs among whom the slayer was hiding, stopped

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 his animal before the chief's tent, and, entering, sat down among the guests and visitors. They conversed on all possible 782 topics, *an-nâs tesowlef min ʿarẓ al-ḥači*, as is usually the case, the boy listening eagerly. Suddenly he heard one of the visitors say: "Our blood-stained one, *dammawi*, mentioned that he had found at such and such a place a hole filled with rain water; but look, he has just come back with his water bag full." Great was the joy of the young avenger on finding the culprit so soon, and he took good notice of the tent into which the guilty man carried the water. Crawling in at night, he found him sunk in deep slumber. Shaking him with all the force at his command the boy said:

"Art thou asleep or awake? *ent nâjem walla' žâʿed.*"

"I am awake, *ana žâʿed.*"

"How canst thou sleep with my father in thy belly? *čejf tnâm w-abûj bebaṭnak.*"

"Not thy father alone but thou too wilt be in my belly," replied the culprit, jumping up and grasping his weapon. But at the same moment the boy fired a shot at him from his revolver, *ṭawwar beh ar-ridnijje šamâm*, killing him instantly.

On his return he simply said: "Uncle, I have avenged my father; *jâ ʿammi aḫaḍt ṭâr abûj.*" But the uncle was not to be comforted, thinking that he had not fulfilled his vow. "I vowed not to sleep with my wife before bringing back the blood of my brother. Thou hast now brought it. What am I to do?" Then the more experienced men advised him to dismiss his present wife and to marry anew. This he did.

782 In 1898, when cholera was ravaging the country, the Bed-[164] ouins fled to the desert to escape the contagion, *waḫmen čebîr*, which threatened them. Ever since they have called that year *sanat abu faksa*, cholera year. At that time Blejhân eben Meṣreb became seriously ill, and his relatives were convinced that he could not recover, *mâ beh rabeḥ*. When his brother, who was pasturing camels at some place far from the water, heard the news, he left his herd and hastened home, *rawwaḥ min al-ʿazîb*. The sight of Blejhân filled him with terror, for he looked more wretched than any one would have wished to see even his worst enemy appear, *w-allâh aš-šowfat al-kaṯra tamannâha l'aduwwak*. Weeping bitterly, the brother lifted his eyes to heaven and exclaimed:

"O God, a camel I vow to thee at once, if my brother shall again walk full of health and vigor, *ʿadîden w-ṣedîden.*"

572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḥâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
685 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *takṭi' al-waǧh aṣ'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
● 628] is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
619 a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet ṣu'ra*. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request, *min rejr nab' jefekkeh*. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Bišr and also to all the 'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

577 572 696 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *ʿatab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh taʿteb ʿala daḫîli ent ʿajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem ʿendana ʿâdaten sânijjaten mâ had jaḳṭaʿha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." [685] Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâʿ al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgracing the tent. [628] If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal ʿalejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ hi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

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When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowla-na mâ akwa' 'alejhom enhaǧ ila' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ǧamî'.*"

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḫejl tehmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aẓ-ẓa'îf jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeẓâm ẓa'îf w-ben-nâs ḳawi.*"

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwejli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

763 The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳṣâṣa bêṣa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl.*

628 614 602 The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits.

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *ahl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[11]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṭred w-jenṭared*. The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥeẓẓ*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *ahl as-saṭwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *ṭallâbt addamm*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dûmijje*. The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[11] See above, pp. 47—58.

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628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in the
614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However,
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the least attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. These three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-damm*, or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avengers ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones and their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even an old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet their mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of the forelegs, *je'ažžerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captive.

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for then he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whole tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprits proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerful chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries:

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of our heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *tarâna blawbak* [*bellâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân behafâfna w-aṭrâfna*."

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save your lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahlan w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom*."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whole kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, loads the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carries them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. To the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according to ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târa' dûmîkom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-swâni al-'atîža ḥassekom nafsekom*."

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay with thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from committing violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powerful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefore wilt not protect culprits forever, *mâ tezebbenhom ha'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's tents and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Should the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pro-

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tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance.

[622]

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *waǧhahom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ǧandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words:

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ǧarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirhân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognized as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ǧelwijje* or *ǧallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ǧelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chains and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

628

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message:

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628

"Your fellow tribesmen, *beni 'ammekom*, dwell among us. Accept the blood price, *medde!*"

If the blood price is refused by the avengers, the guilty parties can only remain abroad, *jeǧâwerûn dâjem al-awḳât.* But if the avengers say: "We will accept the blood price," the chief asks them to name their sureties of peace, or arbitrators, *čefil ad-dafa'*, while the culprits name their sureties for the payment, *čefil al-wafa'*. Then both parties agree on the chief before whom they will meet to settle the matter. When the culprits with their tents and herds, accompanied by their sureties for payment, arrive there, they send word to the avengers, *jedfa'ûn lehom*:

"Here we are with our surety. Make haste to come here too; we wish to pay you the blood price. *Ha' ḥenna ma' čefilna elḥaḳow ǧâj nabṛi neddi 'alejkom.*"

The avenger proper then sets forth with his surety of peace to the chief with whom the guilty party is camping, and in his tent the chief asks the avenger in the presence of all:

"What dost thou ask from thy fellow tribesman?"

"I want this or that mare!"

The surety rises, brings the mare, and, handing her over to the avenger, says: "Thy fellow tribesman gives thee this mare."

The next question is: "What else dost thou ask of thy fellow tribesman?"

"I ask fifty she-camels; a complete armament of a rider — that is, a rifle, a saber, a dagger, a camel saddlebag, a hunting falcon, and a greyhound bitch, *sluḳe* [sic]." If the culprits object, pleading their inability to pay so much, the chief threatens to have them escorted to the camp where they sought refuge; *en čân mâ entom žâbelîn neraǧǧe'kom 'ala meǧlâkom.* This makes the guilty party declare their willingness in these words:

"We came here to agree to pay the blood price and will fetch every animal demanded, *ḥenna mâ ǧîna kowd žâbelîn bel-medda aili jabṛîh eben 'ammena nesûḳeh.*"

One third of the blood price is paid by them at once, the rest as soon as possible, the avengers not being permitted to trouble them on that account, *w-al-'asr mâ je'asserûnahom.* Should they find out later that they cannot pay all that was demanded, they visit one of the prominent, *ḳâdemîn*, chiefs, with the entreaty:

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"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *ḥenna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛûn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsanc*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [677]

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zarârit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rḳaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

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The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmîha berḳubt ar-raḡol ḫejrah w-šarrha lahalha.* The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿîd ʿan al-ḫejr žerîb ʿan al-meẓarra.*" If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh,* she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

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Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat,* before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat,* and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

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The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death *siḳtha wa-štarajtha šra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏîr* or *haddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zelema žabl al-wahama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *mašja-l-'arṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

513 A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and
628 his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bedouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot
[764] replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

628 On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the
682 corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the
672 deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *istaddow ṭârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

685 For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

628 In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the ʿEbede between al-Ṛurâb and at-Tinf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *ʿajjar ʿala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the ʿEbede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *ẓarab beh lenâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwašow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *maḏrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realized what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Msike, ran inside, and begged:

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"People, behold, here I am, guiltless. I ask Allâh's and your protection for the hair of our heads and for our herds. *Jâ rab' ana balâš w-dâḫel 'ala-llâh w-'alejkom 'ala ḥafâfna w-aṭrâfna.*" 628

Eben Msejjeb replied: "He that has asked for protection is saved, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*"

Then he assembled all his relatives both on his father's and mother's side and rode with sixty men to the tents of Mnezzel eben Nims' kin, loaded and carried them away, driving also his herds to the tents of his kinsfolk in order to be there before Ḥarrâs' kin could learn of the latter's death. The Arabs with whom Mnezzel and his relatives were camping ran about, *râǧow*, wondering why he had left them so suddenly, but received no positive information until all the relatives of the imperiled man were in safety with Eben Msejjeb, who immediately marched off with them to Eben Ḳardûš of the 'Ebede. Arriving there, he stopped his camels in front of the tent, stepped inside, saluted, and quietly sat down. When fresh coffee was made for him, he refused it. To Eben Ḳardûš's question why he would not drink coffee with him he replied:

"Because I desire, Eben Ḳardûš, something else of thee first!"

"Well, and what is it?"

"We demand the old custom of you, *eḥna nabi minkom as-swâni al-'atîža.*"

"Tell us! *sowlef.*"

Here Eben Msejjeb told what had happened, Eben Ḳardûš, who was related to Ḥarrâs, listening with the greatest attention. When Eben Msejjeb had finished, Eben Ḳardûš said:

"The matter about which thou hast come to me will receive our attention. Drink thy coffee. *Wušu ent ǧâjen leh ṣuraṣak tekża ḫoḏ al-ḳahwe.*"

"Grant us a truce of some time!"

"I will grant you a truce of ten days."

Eben Msejjeb drank his coffee, left the tent, and at once rode on with Mnezzel's relatives to Raṭwân eben Merîed and from him to Eben Štêwi. The latter then took the culprits to the Mwazzerîn kin of the Rwala, who had camped for the last few years with the Sirḥân, and handed them over to their chief with the words:

"These men are seeking a place of refuge, so I pass them from my countenance on to thine; *har-rab' ḥaḏowla ǧallâje min wağhi ana biwağhak.*"

628 The chief of the Mwasserîn replied obligingly: "Whatever comes to us, comes to its goal; *má waṣalna wâṣel.*"

Mnezzel's kin stayed with the Mwasserîn a whole year. After that time the Mwasserîn herdsmen sighted a strange Bedouin. They pursued, caught, and brought him before Mnezzel, who recognised him at once as the avenger of Ḥarrâs. The Rwala therefore fettered his feet with a chain as they fetter a mare. On the fourth day they said to Mnezzel:

"Mnezzel, we do not wish to kill the avenger, but, if he refuses to accept the blood price, we will take thee to the Beni Ṣaḫr; there thou wilt be safer than with us; *já mnezzel ḍabḥ má ehna ḍâbeḥineh čán inneh má hw žâbel al-medda newaṣṣelak 'a'a aḥl aš-šemâl 'ala miğlâk.*"

Their next step was to visit the avenger and ask him whether he would accept the blood price. The man said:

"I am willing, but there are besides me other brothers and relatives whom I must consult first. Allow me to return, and I will send you a report."

So they let him go and soon received news that the avengers were willing to accept the blood price and had named at the same time Eben Ḳardûš as their arbitrator. The Rwala therefore conducted Mnezzel with all his kin to Raṭwân eben Meršed, who sent the avengers the following message, *dafa' 'alejhom*:

"Mnezzel eben Nims is staying with me. If you want the blood price, come. I guarantee its payment."

Finally Eben Ḳardûš arrived. Raṭwân brought Mnezzel's mare and asked Eben Ḳardûš:

"Will ye accept Mnezzel eben Nims?"

The answer being in the affirmative, Raṭwân delivered to him one mare, four she-camels, and a rider's equipment. The rest of the she-camels were to be given to Ḥarrâs' kin in the next few years. And when the rainy season began Mnezzel once again migrated and camped with the 'Ebede — they were reconciled.

628 593 682 A Bedouin of the Eben Mhejd kin of the Fed'ân struck his wife with a pestle, *mihwa'*, from a big mortar, breaking her head so that she died shortly afterward. He was sued by her kin, but all the judges, *'axêref*, declared that he had struck her in anger with no intention of killing and, as he

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had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

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Me'ǧel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammîṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ǧel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammîṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ǧel.

As soon as the head chief Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ǧel's and Sammîṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Ṛaṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥîdi.*"

Ṛaṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ǧel.

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A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ǧubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍîn. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

628 that the guilty camel, but nothing else, belonged to the dead
672 man's father.
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In the camp of Meǧwel eben Meṣreb, who was married to a French woman, there lived with the Bedouin 'Âfet a youth named Meṭṭâl, a native of Irak, working for hire. Suddenly he disappeared. 'Âfet made a search for him but without success. At last he was found by a strange wayfarer with his head shot through, the corners of the mouth slit, and his ears stuck into his mouth. This showed it to be the deed of an avenger who was in the camp as a guest at the time and soon made himself known. Having proved that it was his duty to kill Meṭṭâl, he was allowed to go back to Irak in peace.

Ġrejd eben Mowzân tracked, *tehajjer*, a guilty man with his relatives for a whole year. He knew that by doing so he exposed himself to great dangers and might even lose his life, should the Arabs sheltering the culprits catch him; but this did not deter him from his purpose. Learning finally that the guilty men were living with the Sirḥân, he entered the service as *fedâwi*, free servant, of a member of this tribe in order to discover the tent occupied by the culprit proper. At last he succeeded. One morning creeping to the tent he saw the culprit milking a camel. Foaming with rage he leaped at him, *'adlâh 'alejh*, and with a dagger stabbed him to the heart. Having thus done his duty, he sought protection in a tent, *zeben 'ala bejten*, and found it, because the murdered culprit's relatives were able to testify that he was the avenger proper, *meṭṭâri*, who had avenged his relative, *teṭâreh*.

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Song of a Culprit Longing to Return to His Fellow Tribesmen

1. *Ḳum jâ nedimi w-e'teli fowḳ ma'fa'*
   taśda rafîf aṭ-ṭejr bel-'aġrumijje
2. *maftûlt aḍ-ḍer'ân billah mwazze'*
   elja-'tertah taḳṭa' ba'îd ad-dwijje
3. *telfi 'ala hâk er-rbâ' al-mebenna'*
   bimdâḫal al-wudjân barṣen 'aḍijje
4. *telfi 'ala ǧezzâ' w-aš-šejḫ melfâh*
   elja' ḫaṣar bel-kown ǧlîb as-serijje

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5. *jâ šejḫama jeṭreb al-ḳalb membâh*
wa-ṣhûnakom dubb al-lejâli melijje
6. *al-'aǧrafi min aṣ-ṣejm al-jowm jenḫa'*
min šân ḥamlen ṭeṭîlen 'alijje
7. *'ala-r-refâḳa ḳilt ana-l-jowm waǧdah*
'id as-salâm w-ḫabbereh lil-ḳaẓijje
8. *mašjen ma' al-aǧnâb lel-'adw temanna*
w-alli ma' al-aǧnâb mâ beh ḥamijje
9. *abu faḥad ḥabîb alli jet'annah*
jefoẓẓ al-mešâčel w-ad-da'âwi-l-ḳawijje
10. *aš-šejḫ eben turki w-lâ beh mrâwa'*
zejzûm ḥarb w-lâ jeḳaṭṭe' niwijje
11. *sallem 'ala ẓâri zebûn al-mu'anna*
ṛejr aṣ-ṣafer baṭ-ṭîb w-al-marḥabijje
12. *šejḫen 'adîm w-teṭ'an al-ḫejl jimna'h*
hom mâḳa'en laṭ-ṭîb w-ahl al-ḥamijje
13. *sallem 'ala mašʿân ajjâk tensa'*
haḏâk aḫw ǧaḥla zebûn ar-radijje
14. *jâ lâbeti lâ jâ zebûn al-mǧella'*
jeḫallûn ẓejžât al-meḏâheb faẓijje
15. *aṭrâfahom jedleh bihen kill men ǧâ'*
swâlfen dubb al-lejâli 'aḏijje
16. *anḫa'-r-refâḳa kill abûhom 'ala-fla'*
alli wara-l-ǧeddejn bed-dahmašijje.

1. Rise, comrade, and mount a rested she-camel
Resembling a heron in the 'Aǧrumijje swamps,
2. With forelegs muscular, symmetrically built,
Who, when thou needest her, will cross vast plains.
3. She will reach yon tent for men only, pitched
On the borders of al-Wudijân, that wholesome land;
4. Will reach also Chief Ǧezzâ', for whom this poem was written
And who, when in battle engaging, is like a wolf among the riders.
5. O chief of ours, at whose message the heart rejoices!
Your platters remain full all the night through.
6. From bondage al-'Aǧrafi today utters his battle cry
For bitter distress has come upon him.
7. Against my traveling companions today I cried: "O woe!"
Repeat [O messenger] the salute and tell what has happened.

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8. Thou mayst wish that thine enemy should walk with strangers,
For he that dwells with strangers lacks protection.
9. Fahad's father is dear to each suppliant;
He solves problems and disputes, be they ever so difficult.
10. The chief, Eben Turki, has no defect,
In war he is a shield never changing his views.
11. Greet for me Ẓâri, the protector of the violated,
Who is jealous of the victor in contest and hospitality,
12. He is a chief all-destroying, for his right hand pierces both rider and horse.
These are supporters and sure protectors in battle.
13. Greet Maš'ân! Woe to thee shouldst thou forget!
He is a brother of Ġaḥla, a shield even of a common mare.
14. O relatives of mine, let not the protectors of him who seeks refuge desert me,
And let the anger in their breasts dissolve.
15. For he who once reaches their lines can untroubled
Amuse himself by telling stories the whole healthful nights through.
16. I ask help of my traveling comrades, who have with me a common ancestor
Removed by two generations; I call on them with the war cry of the Dahâmše tribe.

Al-'Aġrafi, a member of the tribe of ad-Dahâmše, subject, *min ḳowm*, to Chief Hâjes eben Meġlâd, killed his relative during a quarrel while journeying with him and some comrades to as-Samâwa and then sought protection from the blood vengeance, *ǧala'*, with Prince an-Nûri. The avenger refused the blood price, and al-'Aġrafi was pining away. Having killed his own kinsman and being without brothers — the father had fallen in war —, he fled alone and, friendless as he was, felt utterly abandoned and powerless. After two years he composed this poem and sent it to the most respected men of his kin. The reciter was my traveling comrade Ṭâreš eben Melfi, another Dahmaši, although he was not intelligent enough to explain every detail in the poem.

Verse 1. *Nedîmi*, a poetical expression for *aḫi*, *rafiži*, or *ḫawi*, meaning comrade. *E'teli*, instead of the colloquial *erčab*, ascend or mount. *Ma'fa'* is a she-camel whom the owner re-

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serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Čezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreſa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğahla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ğaḫla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḫla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *kdîše*. 14. *Flân meḏhaḇeh* (pl., *meḏâheb*) *ẓajjeż*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeż*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittaḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḏa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâkni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḥoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḥ w-ḥâṭer.*"

266 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḥat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-ḥâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *ṯasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

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avenge thy father, the fire of hell will be thy punishment; *daḫîlak bên abûk w-an-nâr*," or: "Higher than thy hand is the hand of Allâh, who is sure to prevent blood flowing from this neck of mine." If the one who is challenged does not feel guilty, he corrects the other: "O thou, suspect me not! Seek him not with me at any hour of the day or of the night; for it was not I who cut his skin and made his son an orphan! *Jâ flân lâ-tâhem mâ leh ʿendi medâr w-lâ sâʿat al-lejl w-lâ sâʿat an-nahâr w-anni mâ šaḳḳejt leh ǧild w-lâ ajtamt leh wild.*" Then, when the avenger looks at him more closely, he may answer: "And I do, by Allâh, believe it; *w-ana ballâh žanaʿat.*"

He who sees certain death before him asks for pardon in these words: "Give pardon, O rider! *emnaʿ emnaʿ jâ ḫajjâl.*"

The man addressed will answer: "Come hither and thou wilt save thy neck. Come hither, Allâh lies on thee," or: "Dismount before the face of So-and-So" — naming himself. The suppliant, coming nearer, says: "'*Aṭni allâh*, give me Allâh," or "*Ḥoṭṭ ʿalejji allâh*, lay on me Allâh!" When this is done, the pardoned man says: "'*Aṭâni allâh w-ʿaṭajteh allâh ʿan al-bowḳ*, he assured me by Allâh and I assured him by Allâh against treachery."

He then surrenders his arms and most of his clothing and receives from his captor either a kerchief or head rope, accompanied by the words: "Here, take my kerchief (or my rope) and tell any one who approaches thee that thou hast been pardoned by So-and-So, *hâk ḳzâẓti* (*ʿaṣâbti*) *w-alli jeǧîk ḫabbereh ana manîʿ flân.*"

His mare or she-camel is taken by the victor, *mâneʿeh*, or the latter lets some comrade keep her for him a while and returns to the fight. The pardoned one waves the kerchief or the rope, crying: "I am the *manîʿ* of So-and-So." If both himself and his animal are wounded, his pardoner, *mâneʿ*, conducts him to his own party where assistance will be given him, or else the *mâneʿ* will allow him to return home at once. Should he live too far away, he is furnished with a she-camel, water bag, food, and a reliable guide, but must give his word of honor to return everything or to give compensation.

When a comrade of the victor is about to return home, *jenḳeṣ*, the victor says to him: "The man who stands before thee was pardoned by me. Conduct him to my relatives!"

He who asks no pardon while in danger is generally killed, *eljaʿ mâ mâneʿ endabaḥ*. There are many who hide, concealing

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I

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

622 THE SETTING SUN painted in delicate tints the naked hills of the Jabal Ruak.

In the southwest, black tents and fawn-coloured camel-herds covered the close-cropped plain of Tueyf. Armed men on nimble mares galloped towards us, as I, accompanied by a few horsemen, for the first time in my life approached the woven goat-hair "houses", a camp of the Ruala Bedouins.

The mounted sentries, who had come to meet us, conducted us to the smoke-blackened tent of an old slave. It was here I was received by Amir Nuri Sha'lan, the grey-bearded prince of the tribe.

●643 628 The aged Nuri had lately (it was two years before the outbreak of the Great War) exchanged, not without reason, his own comfortable tent for the mean shelter of one of his slaves. He was in hiding. He had been warned of the activity of blood-avengers, men of his own kith and kin. For in the struggle for the headship of the tribe, he had shot one of his brothers with his own hand, and his slaves had killed another. Their sons, now grown to manhood, were not only seeking to avenge the murder of their fathers, but also to wrest the position of chieftain from Nuri Sha'lan.

000 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his

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643 721 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his own tribe, his eldest son, Nauaf, was charged with leading the Ruala against their external enemies. Nuri was the father of a large family and was in fact credited with eighty-two children, of whom thirty-seven were sons, nearly all of whom died violent deaths.

A few days after this first meeting with Nuri Sha'lan, I paid a visit to Nauaf, whose tents were pitched a day's ride away, by the rain-water pools of Rukuban, one hundred and twenty odd miles east of Damascus.

Nauaf differed greatly from his father. He lacked the old *Sheykh's* strong personality. Nor had he the talent 101 to organize for warfare a tribe so vast as the Ruala, with 162 its seven thousand tents, thirty-five thousand souls, and over three hundred thousand camels.

721 He had just mustered another small camel-troop to strengthen his forces operating against Jauf, the oasis at the southeastern end of the wide, fertile depression of the Wadi Sirhan. They had already taken a few lesser fortified outposts. But these successes had brought Nauaf little credit: neither from his own tribesmen nor from the subjugated settlers could he win the respect which would have consolidated his position. Moreover, [438] this attack on Jauf was a reversal of tribal policy. From of old the Ruala had peacefully traded with that oasis, bartering their camels, wool, cheese, and butter for dates, barley, salt, coffee, tent fittings, camel-saddles, and textiles. Suddenly, and quite against the old *Sheykh's* intentions, Nauaf conceived the scheme of monopolizing that trade for himself and occupying the oasis as a strategic stronghold from which to dominate Northern Arabia and the caravan routes to Nejd.

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The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

Within sight of Jauf opens out the great, red-sand desert of the Nufud, which extends more than three hundred miles from east to west and nearly two hundred miles from north to south. Its northern half, called El-Labbe, forms the proper grazing ground of the Ruala. Their real home is there. The southern part is held by the Shammar Bedouins, who have made Hayil, on the southern edge of the Nufud, their trading centre.

Until after the Great War, the Shammar were ruled by Ibn Rashid, a renegade governor of the Ibn Sa'ûd family, who, with his Negro bodyguard, had rebelled against his masters and had taken Hayil. Ibn Sa'ûd, however, succeeded in recovering that dominant position, which secured him undisputed power in Central Arabia (Nejd, Kasim, and Hejaz).

The efforts Ibn Sa'ûd made to weld all the tribes into one national unit, his subjugation, in campaign after campaign, of all *Shiyukhs* (*Sheykhs*) who resisted him, are well known. Now, at the time of my first sojourn in the land of the Bedouins, this Ibn Rashid, the traitor governor, had still the greater part of Inner Arabia under his power. He became so completely sovereign that his former masters, the Ibn Sa'ûd family, had to live for decades in exile, while the "Black Princes" held sway over the towns and oases as well as the many Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. In the history of Arabia there are few bolder achievements than Ibn Sa'ûd's recovery, with a mere handful of men, of his capital, Riyadh, his subjugation of Hayil and the Shammar, until he, adding success to success, became at length the

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643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

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authorities did not want me there, and instead sent me 114
to Russia, where I spent eighteen months at Prisoners' Clearing Camps. The Armistice found me in the Ukraine, with Germany in collapse and Poland in revolution. Much of all that I had hoped for was lost. Europe held no future for me, and the Near East was closed to Germans. I set out for California and arrived there with one dollar and fifty cents in my pocket, after I had sold my camera and two lenses (faithful companions in many lands) in New York, in order to raise money for the fare to Santa Anna. And here, in this land of milk and honey, of fruit and sunshine, I could look forward to a happy and healthy new life. Living on a ranch, I spent eight or more hours each day on horseback. Thus I recovered my health and my blood was renewed. By the year 1926 I was indeed a new man, and my thoughts began to wander again to Arabia. The yearning grew and grew—this yearning for my Bedouins. Was Amir Fuaz still alive? How were the Ruala doing? And old Nuri? The day came when the yearning could no longer be resisted.

Indeed, four weeks later I celebrated my reunion with 643●
Nuri Sha'lan in Damascus, where he had lived since the end of the Great War. At eighty years of age he was still head of his tribe, although he dwelt in a palace in a city and drew an ample revenue from the French. Lately he became a deputy in the Syrian Parliament. The leadership of his tribe in its desert home he had entrusted to no other than Amir Fuaz, his grandson. The latter's father, Nauaf, and two other sons of Nuri, who were

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643 still living at the time of my last stay with the Ruala, had died.

353 Nuri was very astonished, but very happy, to see me again, well and in high spirits. He led me to his private room, which he had furnished according to his Bedouin taste. It was just like the interior of a Bedouin tent, with its coffee-hearth, its heap of white ashes, its mattresses and a profusion of cushions, which, propped against camel-saddles, were a positive incentive to indolence.

231 A broad-shouldered hunting-falcon stood on a foot-high perch, one powerful talon hidden under its plumage, ready to strike. Nuri removed its leather hood. Great black eyes glared at us and the bird crooned. Then old Nuri called for a pigeon and threw it into the air. With a movement swift as lightning, too swift for the eye to follow, the falcon pounced upon its prey and ripped it open.

181 157 Cruelty is inseparable from the Bedouin. He enjoys seeing blood flow. Old Nuri seemed to renew his youthful ardour as he played thus with his falcon. In this world the strong do not always fight with the strong; the weak are so often victims of sheer brutality. In Arabia, in particular, this can never be forgotten.

619 628 A week later I resumed my journey. Nuri had given me, as travelling companion and guard, Faris ibn Naif es-Sa'bi, a young Shammar Bedouin, so that I might make my way unmolested to the old chief's great tribe in the neighbourhood of Wadi Sirhan and the red sand of the far-off Nufud desert.

It was curious that a Shammar should act as my conductor to the Ruala, for these tribes have been bitter,

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Amir Nuri Sha'lan, Supreme Chief of the Rwala

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sidering his position, should contemplate such action seemed to me on the face of it unlikely, and the show of evidence was not good enough; it was too much like rumour.

The matter was discussed at length in council. The Amir's half-brother, Mijhem, expressed his conviction that there was grave danger of a trap, and urged the utmost wariness. His plan was that Fuaz should set out with a single chosen attendant skilled in spying, and stop a safe distance this side of Rutbah. There Fuaz should keep in hiding while his companion made his way unobtrusively into the fortress in order to ascertain the truth of the situation. My advice was different. I suggested to Fuaz that he should leave Rutbah severely alone and go right on to Baghdad, to negotiate with the British high authorities directly. Mijhem [illegible] my counsel, and Amir Fuaz rejected it.

The upshot of it all was the adoption of Mijhem's plan. Fuaz started by motor-car for Rutbah immediately after the council, taking with him Mijhem himself. For the time of his absence, the Amir transferred the command of the tribe to his uncle, Tra'd ibn Sattam. The same day word came from our rear that the tail of the Ruala had also crossed the border, so that the whole nomad nation was now in Syria.

Every day the whole tribe must shift camp. When I got up at the first rays of the sun, this was already in progress. The camel-herd was gone from my tent row. The spacious abodes of our temporary leader, Tra'd ibn Sattam, and his three sons had been taken down, slaves

[For accounts of the rise and fall of various chiefs and their leadership of the tribe in war and peace-making, see the narratives in category 116, pp. 574-661. For traditions concerning the Rwala head chief see category 116, pp. 51-58.]

619 possible to speak of the Ahl al-Ğebel, by which are understood the various tribes of diverse origin that encamp in the eastern and southern parts of the Ḥawrân mountain range. *Ahl ad-dire* are the inhabitants of various villages who never leave their territory, Ahâli-l-Kerak are the various tribes forming the population of the town of Kerak, and so on.

594 The *'ajle* indicates a family which has a house and hearth of its own, *al-'ajle ahl al-ğdâr w-an-nâr*. Any settler who has a house of his own and in it a wife who cooks for him is said to have his *'ajle*.

601 The word *ḏurrijje*, descendants, is replaced among the Rwala by the word *ẓana*, which designates very distant descendants, irrespective of whether they have actually sprung from a common ancestor or the relationship is due to adoption.

CHIEFS

622 The word *ḳowm* indicates the Bedouins ruled by a chief. Thus it is possible to say: "*Ḳowm eben Ša'lân*, he is of the *ḳowm* of Eben Ša'lân"; "the *ḳowm* of Eben Me'ğel are encamped there; the *ḳowm* of Eben Ğandal also took part in the raid"; but such a phrase as: "That is the *ḳowm* of the Rwala" or "He is descended from the *ḳowm* of the Freğe" will never be heard. When Prince Eben Ša'lân speaks of *ğemâ'ati* he is thinking of the various tribes who obey his orders and who [illegible] as *ḳowm*.

The rank of chief is hereditary in a definite house, *âl*. It is usual to recognize as chief that member who is most suitable by reason of his mental and physical qualities, nor need he be the oldest in the ruling house. Among the clans and tribes ruling houses persist as such until they die out, although their power may have become extremely weak and many families may have deserted them. A head chief or 643 prince to whom the other chiefs have submitted either of their own free will or under compulsion and who represents a whole tribe or group of tribes is overthrown more frequently than an ordinary chief, and his rank passes to another kin. This most frequently happens if the hereditary head chief is not distinguished by warlike ability. He then directs the external affairs of his tribe as *šejḫ al-bâb*, while affairs of war are left to a man renowned for his courage and prudence

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even though he may be descended from a different kin. Such a leader is known as *šejḫ aš-šdâd* or *šejḫ al-ḥarb*. If he succeeds in overcoming the enemy and concluding a favorable peace, several clans become attached to him. They obey him in peace, and there ensue wars in which the hereditary head chief generally succumbs and his house acknowledges the supremacy of the previous military commander, who then becomes *šejḫ al-bâb* as well.

Traditions Concerning the Rwala Chiefs

According to tradition the head chief of all the Rwala was originally descended from the kin of the Ḳa'ḳa'a. Ša'lân was the son of worthy parents. Although he had no property of his own, he had charge of the camel herdsmen of the Âl Mur'aẓ kin in the capacity of a *fedâwi*, free-born servant. The herds grazed in the environs of a certain settlement in Neǧd. The Ḳa'ḳa'a once stole flocks of sheep and goats from the settlers and drove their camels into their fields. The settlers rushed out, captured the herds of camels, and hid them in the enclosed palm gardens. The Rwala surrounded the settlement, but they could not break down the defenses, and the settlers threatened that the captured camels would die of hunger if they did not abandon the blockade. Accordingly the head chief of the Rwala made an offer of peace to the elder of the settlers. The elder declared that he would not negotiate except with his acquaintance Ša'lân and that he would not give up the camels except to him. The head chief called Ša'lân to him and said:

"Thy friend, *ṣiddîž*, the elder of the settlers, will give up the camels but only to thee. Hasten to him and come to terms with him in my name."

"Thou art the head chief; it is for thee to command, it is for thee to advise."

"Hasten to him. Come to terms in my name."

"You will not fulfil the terms I make."

"We will."

"Will you restore the captured sheep and goats to the settlers?"

"We will."

"Let representatives of the Freǧe and Ribšân clans go surety for that."

alliance with the Weld ʿAli. But Fejṣal forestalled them and in 1859 killed their leader, Barǧas eben Mašhûr, with his own hand and soon afterwards defeated all the allies of Muḥammad near the settlement of Boṣra. Fejṣal waged war successfully and continually, becoming the supreme lord of northern Arabia, but on January 14, 1864, he was murdered in his tent by the avengers of Barǧas, his brother Nahâr and his nephew Hamdân.[2]

The head chief was now Ṭalâl, the son of Fejṣal. The military leader was Ḥamad eben Bnejje. Among the warriors special distinction was attained by Saṭṭâm eben Ḥamad eben Šaʿlân and Hazzâʿ, the seventh and last son of Nâjef. Hazzâʿ's wife was Ṭaḳla, the daughter of Chief Fâjez eben Ġandal, who bore his sons an-Nûri and Muḥammad. His sons Fahad and and Miʿal were born of another mother.[3]

Saṭṭâm eben Ḥamad made a love marriage with Turkijje of the house of Eben Mhejd, from whom the head chief of the Fedʿân is descended. She bore his sons Ḫâled and Mamdûḥ. By the winter of 1877—1878 Saṭṭâm had already become head chief.[4] Saṭṭâm died in 1904 and his successor was Fahad eben Hazzâʿ, who, however, was murdered at the instigation of his brother an-Nûri.[5]

An-Nûri eben Šaʿlân

The Rwala give the name of *sejḫ*, and also *šujuḫ*, to their head chief or prince. One may hear the remark: "I came to the prince, but he was asleep; *ṭabbejt ʿala-š-šujûḫ w-hu čân nâjem.*"

The head chief an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân declares war and concludes peace. Under the Turkish régime he provided surety for the taxes which the Government demanded from the Rwala during their annual stay in an-Nuḳra. In 1907 he paid £T 3500 ($ 15,750), in 1908 only £T 2000 ($ 9000), because many clans of the Kwâčbe tribe migrated to Irak. An-Nûri used to increase the tax by one half and allot it among the different chiefs, who in their turn would likewise increase it and collect from the owners of separate tents their allotment according

[2] Carlo Guarmani, *Il Naged settentrionale*, Jerusalem, 1864, pp. 196—198.

[3] W. S. Blunt, *A Visit to Jebal Shammar (Nejd). New Routes through Northern and Central Arabia*, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, New Monthly Series*, Vol. 2, London, 1880, p. 81.

[4] Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 238—243.

[5] [Errata. See p. 712, col. 116 for correction of lines 12-15 -- Analyst]

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to the number of their camels. After a certain time an-Nûri or his son would ride out with his slaves to the different chiefs and collect the tax. Those who escaped and did not pay the tax were punished, when caught, with the loss of one camel. The collected tax was punctually conveyed by the prince to the Government, the prince retaining the half by which he had increased it. From this amount he made allotments to members of the ruling house and some chiefs; thus the following amounts were distributed:

to Ḥâled eben Saṭṭâm £T150 ($675);
to 'Aḍûb eben Meǧwel £T20 ($90);
to Fahad eben Mašhûr £T50 ($225).

He himself retained at least £T150 ($675), and in addition to this he sold annually three or four horses and twenty to thirty camels.

For each of his 30 to 35 horses the prince buys 5 loads of barley at £T1 ($4.50) per load; for his guests, slaves, and family, 40 loads of flour at 40 *meǧîdijjât* ($36) per load, 20 loads of wheat at 15 *meǧîdijjât* ($13.50), 7 loads of *burrul* at £T2½ ($11.25), 3 loads of rice at £T4 ($18), 1½ loads of coffee at 100 *meǧîdijjât* ($90), 2 loads of sugar at £T5 ($25), butter for £T55 ($247.50); at least 100 rams or sheep for food ($45) each; clothing and coverlets for his family and slaves and for gifts cost £T130 ($585). He has 8 rifles, and every year he requires at least 6000 rounds of ammunition at the equivalent of 10 to 12 cents for each round. The repair of the tents and the upkeep of the tent materials and ropes cost annually £T50 ($225). He must send gifts to the chiefs from time to time and feed an average of twenty people daily.

Insubordinate chiefs are dealt with by the prince where and as he can. Bhejder, a chief from the Freǧe, once departed with his kin when the camels were to be counted for the purpose of estimating how much tax each chief should pay. Prince an-Nûri sent word to him that he was to return immediately, but Bhejder paid no heed. Not until six months later did he come of his own accord on a camel to an-Nûri, and immediately fetters such as are worn by horses on their forefeet were placed upon him. He remained fettered for a whole month.

A weaker tribe has to acknowledge the supremacy of a stronger one and pay it a special tax, which is known as

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721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejkom*, or wipes, or scrapes, it off, *maǧrûd 'alejkom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, they may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elja' raddejna an-neḳa' naṣîr 'ala waẓha-n-neḳa'*. Their face will remain white. But when they attack without having first wiped off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their honor; *elja' mâ raddejna an-neḳa' hâḍa bowḳen buḳtúna jâ sûdân al-ḥejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳwâme*, also the pillar of fighting, *'amûd al-ḥarájeb*, and thus signifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribes
622 ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renounce
● 643 their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nûri
619 eben Šaʿlân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Weld 'Ali, the Eššâǧe'a, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he never declares war in the name of them all but merely of his own Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *ṣâḥeb*, with the Fed'ân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali from making war, *ḳowm*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri declared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a division of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeared before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all the allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declare war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them, *ḳowm 'ala-l-ǧami'*.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large and
701 small, begin and often a regular battle, *maqûb*, is also fought. If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men start out for robbery on foot, *jiḥanželûn*. If the camps are at some distance, they ride on camels, *maʿâjir biẓhûr ar-rčâb*. When more than twenty men on camels, *ǧejš*, or on horses and camels, *ḫejl w-ǧejš*, gather, then it is a raid, *ġazw*, called *ṣaṣîr* when the number of participants is small, and *čebîr* when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leader, *'aḳîd* (pl., *'uḳda'*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe, as every tribe can have its own military leader or war commander, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of Eben Fâjez near Žerjet Abu Ğâber and remained there for thirty nights. One fat she-camel was killed in his honor every day. The peace treaty ends with the words: "Interred and buried, *ḥafâr w-defân*," or: "Interred and buried under a steep bank, *damdûm w-ğurfen mahdûm*; a steep river bank has fallen upon its shadow, *ğurfen inhadam 'ala ẓelleh*; no wolf will hurt the sheep any more, *mâ ḏiben ja'di 'ala-š-ša'*."

The chiefs then grasp each other's right hands and say: "I give thee Allâh and the peace of Allâh. And whoever would deceive thee, may Allâh deceive him! I give thee Allâh against all instigation and calumny. *A'ṭajtak allâh w-amân al'âh w-min bâḳak jebûḳeh allâh a'ṭajtak 'an al-mesmesijje w-al-maḥâči-r-radijje.*"

THE TRIBAL EMBLEM, ABU-D-DHÛR

The Rwala have no flag of their own. They go on raids without any special device; but when waging war, whether of aggression or defense, that endangers the whole tribe, they take with them a special kind of a litter, called Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab. This is perhaps the old decorated litter 'Aṭfa destined originally for the prettiest girl, who used to lead the tribe to the decisive battle. But there is nobody now who can remember that a girl has ever sat in it. The Markab litter (Fig. 59) is constructed of stout poles, the frame being about 90 centimeters high, 270 centimeters long at the top, and 190 centimeters long and about 50 centimeters wide at the bottom. All the poles are wrapped round with ostrich feathers; to the upper poles are tied 12 short pegs, *zerâniž*, with plumes of bent ostrich feathers, *ṣalab*. To be loaded, the Markab is placed in the litter called *ḥaraǧ*, and this is tied to a camel with ropes, *meḥârib*. The *ḥaḳab* rope is drawn through under the breast, the *bṭâne* under the belly, the *ṭafar* under the tail, and the *lebab*, twisted from variegated camel's hair threads, under the neck. The single parts of the Markab litter (Fig. 58) are called: *ḥaraǧ* (*a*), *'idân al-ḥaraǧ* (*b*), *bdâd* (this because they rest on the cushion, *bedd* (*c*), *ḥoṣra* (*d*), *mibṭâḥ* (*e*), *ǧenâb* (*f*), *ǧerâjed* (*g*), *zerâniž* (*h*), and *ṣalab* (*j*).

The Rwala believe that the litter is called Abu-d-Dhûr, Father of Indefinite Periods of Time, because it is inherited from generation to generation, from age to age, *min ǧîlen ila ǧîl*, and that it will last forever. Al-Markab forms the visible

2:Musil S-4, 3 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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token of princely power, and therefore this litter remains i
the prince's tent all the time, in the part of the tent reserve
for the women; here it is guarded, day and night, both b
the prince himself and by his slaves, against everybody an

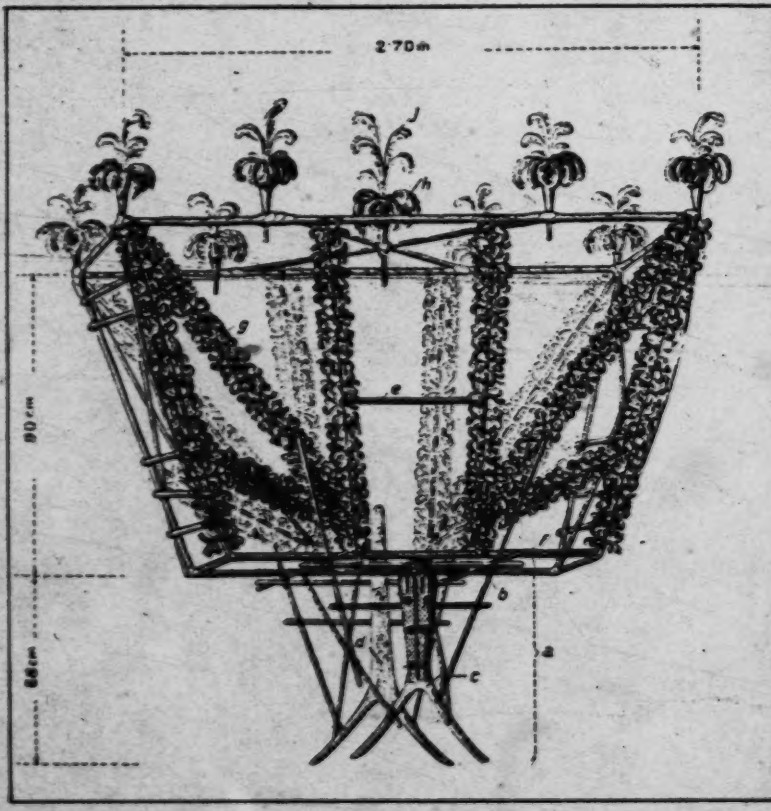

FIG. 58—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

especially against the prince's nearest kinsmen. For, if a revol
breaks out in the reigning kin against the prince, his opponent
attempt first of all to snatch the Abu-d-Dhûr away fro
him, as he who has this emblem of the whole tribe in hi
possession must be recognized as their prince. Should th
enemy at war with the Rwala succeed in capturing the Abu
d-Dhûr, the respect for it would be entirely lost, and the Rwal
would not use it again. To carry this litter when the trib
migrates, an especially strong and docile camel, usually on

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of white color, is selected. The animal then, as a rule, walks between the laden camels and the herds, thus forming the center of all the migrating families.

When attacked by an enemy in force on the march, the

FIG. 59—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

best fighters at once surround the Abu-d-Dhûr to protect it. If it seems that the enemy will push back the fighters resisting his attack and that he will break through to the pack camels, the commander of the chosen troop of fighters (called *ṣanam*) who defend the Markab will take the camel carrying this symbol by the rein and lead her at the head of his troop against the enemy. The *ṣanam* are accompanied by girls seated on she-camels, who encourage the men to persevere, and behind them follow women who threaten to beat to death any one who deserts the Abu-d-Dhûr and flees. So far no enemy has succeeded in defeating the Rwala sufficiently to take the Abu-d-Dhûr away from them. The prince, it must be said, is very

484 221 539 726 enemy is sighted, the main troop advances to meet them. If the enemy is stronger, they are usually scattered, thus leaving the women and the laden camels without protection. The enemy then lead away the camels and search for what is most valuable, thus uncovering what the fair women have concealed. This was prevented by an-Nûri, who remained at the side of the deserted women. 7. *Lejṯ ṣarmân*, an angry, irritated lion, is another poetical expression. Like a bloodthirsty wolf, *ḏib aṣ-ṣawâri*, did an-Nûri crush the attacking enemy, who were unable to resist him. 8. *Hafat* is said of a mare either utterly exhausted or with a dislocated foot which hinders her moving. 9. The fight took place between al-Ḫšejbi and Fejḥân, therefore the wolves there were howling with joy at the feast prepared for them. A hyena is called *'arǧa'*, lame, because it cannot run fast or for very long. 10. *Afṭar bkownênen* means that he breakfasted on two fights, because the Rwala with an-Nûri at their head first repulsed at Fejḥân the raid made on them by Ṯâmer, the son of Sa'dûn, then attacked Eben Meǧlâd, a protégé of Sa'dûn, near al-'Êweǧ northwest of Line, and finally defeated Sa'dûn himself in the encounters at al-Ḫšejbi and al-Mḥaṭa. 11. *Al-ḥejl emtellât* are mares, which, being too exhausted to run any farther, are left behind. *Al-ḥalîb elja ṯǧaḏḏat ḥṯûha*, long-tailed mares whose pace grew slow, are mares with long tail hair and with their legs hurt in the fight; they are too slow to avoid the blows. 12. *Jaḥḏi* or *ja'ṭi*: he distributes gifts. Nawwâf does not keep the booty himself but distributes it among those whom he likes. 13. *Ṣḥûn* are large trays on which meat is set before the guests. Both Prince an-Nûri and his son Nawwâf entertain guests continually; meat is always being cooked, and therefore their trays are full of fat drops resembling drops of dew. 14. The chiefs an-Nûri and Nawwâf are descended from a house which has given to the Rwala from ancient times chiefs and conquerors of riders. 15. *Mîḥân* signifies success, favorable result. *Mulûk*, for *malâjika*, angels. *Bǧâh*, or *b'awne*: with the help, under the protection of. 17. *Ḳoḥûm* is a horse afraid of nothing. 18. *Wa' ṣejjûr* is a poetical term for *lâ budd*, absolutely certain, necessary. 19. *Nâbi ḳarâha* is a fat camel whose hump resembles a bulging knoll, a cone. 20. The poet longs for a present so that he can return to his Šlejb soon. *Tafziz rabda* is the fastest gait of an ostrich, during which it flaps its wings. The bird runs in this manner

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7. Order all the burdens to be taken up when ye resolve to go on,
   And load the camels with everything that in the desert is needed and that is ready.
8. Keep the North Star on your right, so ye may not lose the way,
   And watch the seven stars of the Great Bear that are visible.
9. Greet also those who went away from me and deserted me,
   Sejf and Šwardi, the light of my eye, my healing.
10. Thus to them speak: "Your father swears that ye must return,
    And if ye come not to him, he swears that he must come to you.
11. If thou toilest because thou art poor or to gain treasures
    [Know that] wealth does not lengthen a short life;
12. The world thou livest in lasted forever neither for al-Âjde nor Sa'dûn,
    So it is best to spit on a world beyond which there is death."

A certain Šammari had two sons, Sejf and Šwardi, who went to the Ḥawrân to earn money. This is done every year by many people from the settlements of inner Arabia. They generally join the Rwala in their march to Syria, which takes place in the latter part of June. In the Ḥawrân they help as shepherds, reapers, or threshers, receive grain or clothing for their work; and return home again with the Rwala. Some stay abroad only two months, others several years. As the sons of our Šammari had been a long time away, their anxious father composed this poem, which was recited to me by Ṭrâd eben Saṭṭâm. When a chief sends out a mission he takes care that all ride camels of the same color. The prince of the Rwala sends out an embassy of this kind to the Ḥawrân every year, before he comes there himself. He sends letters and verbal messages to the elders of various settlements, to certain officials, and to his confidants, in order to assure himself of an undisturbed sojourn and of plenty of supplies. Our Šammari happened to see this party, consisting of ten youths on ten pale-gray she-camels, this color being the most favored in these animals. They resembled each other like sisters.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

sidering his position, should contemplate such action seemed to me on the face of it unlikely, and the show of evidence was not good enough; it was too much like rumour.

The matter was discussed at length in council. The Amir's half-brother, Mijhem, expressed his conviction that there was grave danger of a trap, and urged the utmost wariness. His plan was that Fuaz should set out with a single chosen attendant skilled in spying, and stop a safe distance this side of Rutbah. There Fuaz should keep in hiding while his companion made his way unobtrusively into the fortress in order to ascertain the truth of the situation. My advice was different. I suggested to Fuaz that he should leave Rutbah severely alone and go right on to Baghdad, to negotiate with the British high authorities directly. Mijhem spoke against my counsel, and Amir Fuaz rejected it.

The upshot of it all was the adoption of Mijhem's plan. Fuaz started by motor-car for Rutbah immediately after the council, taking with him Mijhem himself. For the time of his absence, the Amir transferred the command of the tribe to his uncle, Tra'd ibn Sattam. The same day word came from our rear that the tail of the Ruala had also crossed the border, so that the whole nomad nation was now in Syria.

Every day the whole tribe must shift camp. When I got up at the first rays of the sun, this was already in progress. The camel-herd was gone from my tent row. The spacious abodes of our temporary leader, Tra'd ibn Sattam, and his three sons had been taken down, slaves

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

bade asking direct questions of a stranger. A Rueyli called out: "Khalati—it is a great prince who comes, O blessed daughter, to honour thee."

"And where is his *dira* (pasture) that I may send Hamar, our old slave, to proclaim him to our neighbour?"

"His name is 'The Young Falcon', and his *dira* extends as far as his eyes rove. It is thy son, O mother of Amir Fuaz."

In this foray, Rasheyd, the leader, had his right hand severed by a sword cut. He fainted from loss of blood. Our slaves then plunged the mutilated arm in boiling fat—a desperate remedy but successful, for Rasheyd recovered. He carried his amputated hand from that day forward in the saddle of his racing-camel. It dried up completely, like the hand of a mummy.

When we reached Bahr Saigal, not far from Dumeyr, the first Turkish fortress in Syria, its Commandant sent a cavalry detachment to our camp. He had been informed by telegraph of our illicit operations in the vicinity of the cultivated lands of Mesopotamia. His troopers were seeking Rasheyd, who was to be made answerable. But Rasheyd could not reconcile himself to the prospect of a Turkish dungeon. He placed his withered hand in a leather bag and dictated to Nauaf's *katib* (scribe) the following letter addressed to the Commandant at Dumeyr:

"In the name of the Benevolent and Compassionate! As *askar* (soldier) I cannot serve thy *Padishah* (Sultan), for I have but a stump of an arm. As thy prisoner I could do no work for thee; nay, as a friend I could not

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even grasp thy hand. What use then being with thee? As a token of my everlasting surrender, however, I offer to thee my hand, since thou art wont to cut off the hand of a thief. Be sure it is my own hand—the hand of Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, the robber. May God be forbearing with us."

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

731x 221x on unconcerned, without a check. The man remaining behind would cut up the camel in a few minutes, then hurry on to catch up with the tribe, leaving only the entrails, the head and legs, on the trampled ground.

The losses in the camel herds increased day by day. From some hundreds a day they had risen to sinister figures. According to Fuaz, two thousand camels died or had to be killed daily.

[721] Onward, ever onward; though hostile tribes made some attempt to stem this tide of hungry men and beasts, and the Saba and the Fid'an drove off a few of the smaller herds, the main body of the Ruala was as yet safe from attack. But isolated skirmishes and small raids grew in number the farther the Ruala drew away from the independent domain of Ibn Sa'ûd, and passing through Transjordania, penetrated into Syria. There indeed the situation threatened to become serious. French aeroplanes droned over the restless sea of men and beasts, but so far only scouting planes were out, seeking to ascertain the strength of the invading Ruala host.

731x 648 721 The "Fransawi" could not, without some protest, permit a whole nation of warlike Bedouins to roam so far beyond its own ground and invade Syria. The settlers in the French mandated territory were already shaking for fear of war among the Bedouin tribes, and were making preparations for the defence of their villages and fields. The Druses, on the contrary, warlike people of the Hauran Mountains, were perhaps rejoicing in anticipation of a new turmoil in Syria, from which they might hope to gain more than they had from the last. In that quarrel the Ruala, hereditary enemies of the Druses, did

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

not take sides against the French. The French authorities immediately realized the danger, and promptly gave orders that the ancient caravan route from Damascus to Tudmur (Palmyra) and Deyr-ez-Zor (which passes south of the hills of the Abu Rijmeyn and branches off near Tudmur towards Baghdad) was to form the most northerly boundary beyond which the Ruala might not seek pasture. None must cross this line if armed or mounted.

Now the foes of the Ruala could triumph!

The Saba, the Muwali, Hadediyyin and all the others had the law of the land and the power of the French Government on their side—and they were confederates of Ibn Meheyd! What did they care for the misery of the Ruala? They only saw at hand a long-desired opportunity to fall upon and destroy this hated Ruala nation and take possession of their vast herds.

It was a day in April, when our distress seemed to have reached the last extremity beyond which endurance could not go—when death stared every man and animal in the face—that I entered the tent of Faris, which was pitched on a hillock a little apart. The tent was empty. The mother and sister of the young man were probably searching for truffles, roots and dry herbs for fuel. As I flung myself down by the glowing ashes inside the tent, I heard the voice of Faris ibn Naif-behind the tent. It was loud and excited, which was an unusual thing for him, for the calm and self-control of my friend had always been exemplary. He was neither a Philistine nor a bigot, but a man of a moral purity such as I never found surpassed, even among the Bedouins. I

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"No longer sad, for Allah will no longer shut us out from the blessings of His heaven."

At this moment we saw Amir Fuaz with his mounted bodyguard ride past. They saw us also and came over and sat down in the tent.

In the course of the conversation, Faris said to the young Amir: "Let Aziz and me travel to thy enemies and treat with them. If they give in and share their pastureland with us, the French will then make no objections."

With some anger the young Amir fixed his eyes on Faris and cried: "We shall act, but no longer treat with them. We shall take what we want of our enemy's pasturage. Without forage there can be no camels, and without camels no life for us. Hast thou not perceived that?"

"I understand," said Faris, in his gentle way. "Is it then no longer a custom with us that one may beg his life, even of the enemy when compelled by need? Truly the path of peace is shorter than the long road on which lurks destruction."

Fuaz did not answer—and all the others in the tent held their peace. Suddenly, however, the young Prince got up, strode over to the slave who was watering his mare from a goatskin, mounted and rode away.

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A New Lease of Life

●648 A NEW DEVELOPMENT BROUGHT a glint of hope that extreme measures might be avoided. A message arrived from the Commandant at Rutbah, in British territory, Muhammed Yassin Bey, inviting Amir Fuaz to a conference in that town; he, Yassin Bey, was ready to treat with the Head of the Ruala concerning their admission to pastures and wells in Iraq.

Fuaz decided to accept the invitation. If he could reach an agreement with Yassin Bey, and this was approved by the British authorities—who otherwise must disavow their own official—it would mean that the whole tribe could pass the summer securely near the Euphrates. So he would go to Rutbah. It would be a last attempt to save his people from their desperate plight by peaceable means.

Further news, however, clouded this prospect. An emissary, actually a spy, of the Ruala returned to our camp with the intelligence that Yassin Bey meant treachery, that his invitation was a trap; once in Rutbah Amir Fuaz would be taken prisoner or quietly assassinated. This account was confirmed by a letter from a devoted confidant of the Ruala in Rutbah, who was a soldier in the Camel Corps there. He claimed to possess knowledge of secret instructions issued by the Commandant, and his statements generally squared with the spy's. I could not, however, quite believe it. That Yassin Bey, con-

—l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

sidering his position, should contemplate such action seemed to me on the face of it unlikely, and the show of evidence was not good enough; it was too much like rumour.

The matter was discussed at length in council. The Amir's half-brother, Mijhem, expressed his conviction that there was grave danger of a trap, and urged the utmost wariness. His plan was that Fuaz should set out with a single chosen attendant skilled in spying, and stop a safe distance this side of Rutbah. There Fuaz should keep in hiding while his companion made his way unobtrusively into the fortress in order to ascertain the truth of the situation. My advice was different. I suggested to Fuaz that he should leave Rutbah severely alone and go right on to Baghdad, to negotiate with the British high authorities directly. Mijhem spoke against my counsel, and Amir Fuaz rejected it.

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000 I, and two slaves—had consequences which we did not then anticipate.

[487] We held a straight northerly course until we crossed
• [648] the old Tudmur-Baghdad caravan route—"The Road of Death", as the Ruala had come to call it since the French Administration had forbidden them to cross it. Their camps were already within thirty-odd miles of it.

The scenery changed after we had passed beyond this "boundary." With a hardly perceptible gradient, the wide plain rose toward distant hills. White clouds sailed in the blue sky—a long-missed and promising sight, for it was the first sign of rain we had seen for weeks. Herbage was visibly thriving here, thicker and much taller, and there were flowers. The farther we advanced into the North and the uplands, the richer became the vegetation; and many wild fowl and also some gazelles started up at our approach.

We pushed on through the virgin grasslands without stopping at a speed of twenty-five to forty miles an hour, in spite of mounds and hills rising in close succession, until we had travelled perhaps a hundred and twenty-five miles from our base—not, however, in a straight line, for I (who had the wheel) had made many a wide detour to avoid the enemy's tents. Now and then we had sighted enemy bands, sometimes appearing with startling suddenness, and had been fired at. But we were always out of range, and without being harmed or having to answer the fire, we reached, in the afternoon, the pastures of Nethel in the upland steppe among the northern hills of the Abu Rijmeyn.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

coming and going, when a well-known voice called for coffee. Unnoticed by any of us, Amir Fuaz had entered and sat down. "Thank Heaven you are back," I exclaimed. "I'll gladly surrender my position to you"; and I offered him the place of honour. 731x 221x

Fuaz had returned from Rutbah empty-handed. The suspicion of treachery on the part of Yassin Bey had indeed proved groundless; but the French insisted on their previous decision and the English expressed lack of interest. Nothing had been gained. [648]

At this juncture I proposed to Fuaz to let me try to bring about an understanding with his Bedouin enemies, but it was only with much difficulty that he could be moved to give his assent—not that he had anything against my personal interference in the affairs of his tribe, but because he feared that such a step towards conciliation would be interpreted by the enemy as a sign of weakness. It was only after I had talked to him for a long time, trying to ease his mind, that he said quite suddenly: "Well then, in the name of God, go to Ibn Meheyd. Was not my brother-in-law always thy friend?" He sent for Mijhem (his half-brother) and Faris, and instructed them to accompany me on my mission. For our bodyguards he detailed Mnahi and a friend of Faris, one Abd el-Karim, a Wuld'Ali chieftain from Syria, and the latter's slave, Sleyman.

We used Nuri Sha'lan's open car for our trip, and we avoided all camel-riders, especially when they had horses with them.

Early in the afternoon we sought out a secluded wind-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

right hand he holds his staff or a rifle, to which he ties his kerchief for a flag, and points it in the direction of the threatening danger. *Ḥṣân* always means a stallion, *faras* a mare, *ḫejl* horses in general. The *ḥṣân* is, as a rule, more enduring than the mare. *Al-ḥṣân balad* means "the stallion became tired," implying that he stopped moving owing to oversweating or because he was so weakened by heat and thirst that he could not escape from the enemy hard in pursuit of him. *Zaban*, he protected, took his part. He that is threatened with death or is in fear of an avenger asks the protection of one more powerful, who will then shield and bring him to a place where he can live in peace, *zabaneh*.

Jâ 'ejâl dukḳû-l-barûd
lel-moṛrebi muḫḫ al-ḥadîd
lâ budd min jowmen ja'ûd
jafroḳ wadîden 'an wadîd.

My sons, pound the powder;
For al-Moṛrebi we need steel,
And the day is sure to come
Which will take the lover
from his sweetheart.

A Turkish officer, known to the Rwala only by the name of al-Moṛrebi, was in command of the regular troops who drove back the Bedouins whenever they tried to encamp in the settled territory. This happened in the seventies of the last century, when it was the policy of the Turkish Government to protect the *fellâḥîn* from the Bedouins. The Rwala, who had lost many men, thirsted for revenge and as they could go neither to Syria nor to Irak they manufactured their powder themselves. *Muḫḫ al-ḥadîd* is steel. They wished to shoot al-Moṛrebi with a steel bullet, thinking that an ordinary one of lead would not kill him.

Narmi-l-'aḍa benḥûrhen laṭ-ṭejr
w-en kunkubb al-adnas wara'
bemdenḍelîten ṣan'ahen bed-dejr
berḥab 'adlât al-ḫeṣa'.

Before the throats [of the she-camels] we shall throw
their supper to the birds of prey,
Though the base one still lingers behind;
With spears adorned with chains made at ad-Dejr
[Driven] into the necks of mares fed from the new crop.

Benḥûrhen means the confusion of galloping camels and also their throats. Our riders are loath to retreat; they want

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-ḍire*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *razw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫáwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeṛarrcbûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'w* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'îdîn aṣ-ṣa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The Šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 alliance with the Weld 'Ali. But Fejṣal forestalled them and
173 in 1859 killed their leader, Barġas eben Mašhûr, with his own hand and soon afterwards defeated all the allies of Muḥammad near the settlement of Boṣra. Fejṣal waged war successfully and continually, becoming the supreme lord of northern Arabia, but on January 14, 1864, he was murdered in his tent by the avengers of Barġas, his brother Nahâr and his nephew Hamdân.[2]

The head chief was now Ṭalâl, the son of Fejṣal. The military leader was Ḥamad eben Bnejje. Among the warriors special distinction was attained by Saṭṭâm eben Ḥamad eben Ša'lân and Hazzâ', the seventh and last son of Nâjef. Hazzâ''s wife was Ṭaḳla, the daughter of Chief Fâjez eben Ǧândal, who bore his sons an-Nûri and Muḥammad. His sons Faḥad and and Miš'al were born of another mother.[1]

Saṭṭâm eben Ḥamad made a love marriage with Turkijje of the house of Eben Mhejd, from whom the head chief of the Fed'ân is descended. She bore his sons Ḥâled and Mamdûḥ. By the winter of 1877—1878 Saṭṭâm had already become head chief.[3] Saṭṭâm died in 1904 and his successor was Fahad eben Hazzâ', who, however, was murdered at the instigation of his brother an-Nûri.[4]

An-Nûri eben Ša'lân

643 The Rwala give the name of *šejḫ*, and also *šujûḫ*, to their head chief or prince. One may hear the remark: "I came to the prince, but he was asleep: *ṭabbejt 'ala-š-šujûḫ w-hu ċân nâjem.*"

643 The head chief an-Nûri eben Ša'lân declares war and con-
651 cludes peace. Under the Turkish régime he provided surety for the taxes which the Government demanded from the Rwala during their annual stay in an-Nuḳra. In 1907 he paid £T 3500 ($ 15,750), in 1908 only £T 2000 ($ 9000), because many clans of the Ḥwâčbe tribe migrated to Irak. An-Nûri used to increase the tax by one half and allot it among the different chiefs, who in their turn would likewise increase it and collect from the owners of separate tents their allotment according

[2] Carlo Guarmani, *Il Nejed settentrionale*, Jerusalem, 1866, pp. 196—198.

[3] W. S. Blunt, *A Visit to Jebal Shammar (Nejd). New Routes through Northern and Central Arabia*, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Monthly Series, Vol. 2, London, 1880, p. 81.

[4] Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 226—242.

1 [Errata. See p. 712, col. 116 for correction of lines 12-15 -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

to the number of their camels. After a certain time an-Nûri or his son would ride out with his slaves to the different chiefs and collect the tax. Those who escaped and did not pay the tax were punished, when caught, with the loss of one camel. The collected tax was punctually conveyed by the prince to the Government, the prince retaining the half by which he had increased it. From this amount he made allotments to members of the ruling house and some chiefs; thus the following amounts were distributed:

to Ḥâled eben Saṭṭâm £T150 ($675);
to ʿAḍûb eben Meǧwel £T20 ($90);
to Fahad eben Mashûr £T50 ($225).

He himself retained at least £T150 ($675), and in addition to this he sold annually three or four horses and twenty to thirty camels.

For each of his 30 to 35 horses the prince buys 5 loads of barley at £T1 ($4.50) per load; for his guests, slaves, and family, 40 loads of flour at 40 *meǧidijjât* ($36) per load, 20 loads of wheat at 15 *meǧidijjât* ($13.50), 7 loads of *burrul* at £T2½ ($11.25), 3 loads of rice at £T4 ($18), 1½ loads of coffee at 100 *meǧidijjât* ($90), 2 loads of sugar at £T5 ($25), butter for £T55 ($247.50); at least 100 rams or sheep for food at 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70) each; five camels for food at £T10 ($45) each; clothing and coverlets for his family and slaves and for gifts cost £T130 ($585). He has 8 rifles, and every year he requires at least 6000 rounds of ammunition at the equivalent of 10 to 12 cents for each round. The repair of the tents and the upkeep of the tent materials and ropes cost annually £T50 ($225). He must send gifts to the chiefs from time to time and feed an average of twenty people daily.

Insubordinate chiefs are dealt with by the prince where and as he can. Bhejder, a chief from the Freǧe, once departed with his kin when the camels were to be counted for the purpose of estimating how much tax each chief should pay. Prince an-Nûri sent word to him that he was to return immediately, but Bhejder paid no heed. Not until six months later did he come of his own accord on a camel to an-Nûri, and immediately fetters such as are worn by horses on their forefeet were placed upon him. He remained fettered for a whole month.

A weaker tribe has to acknowledge the supremacy of a stronger one and pay it a special tax, which is known as

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 651 *ḫûwa*. The Rwala collect the *ḫûwa* from all the Htejm as well as from the inhabitants of various villages. The stronger the government, the fewer the villages which pay them the *ḫûwa*. Al-Žerjitejn, Tudmor, as-Suḫne, Kowm, and aṭ-Ṭajjibe regularly deliver *ḫûwa*. Every settlement and every tributary tribe has among the Rwala its brother, *aḫ* (or *ḫâwi*), to whom it pays annually about 25 *meğidijjât*. The *aḫ* is bound to restore to the settlement all the property which his fellow tribesmen have stolen from it. The basis of *ḫûwa* is *ḳûwa*, force. Those who are strong compel the numerous settlements to raise *ḫûwa* for them. Those who have no *aḫ* must rely only on the drawn sword, *sejf ṭâjel*. Those who receive the *ḫûwa* must protect those who give it to them, or, as the Rwala say: "He who eats a young goat must protect its mother, *alli jâkol al-ğedi jaḥma ummeh*."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *mâ ješarrežûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥm aḍ-dîre*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *ješarrežûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeġarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'ı̂* and *šwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *šwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *šwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'îdîn aẓ-ẓa'na wâsi'în aṭ-ṭa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-snân w-al-e'nân*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The šwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi nchanšel* or *ne'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *nimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl aẓ-ẓalma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanšel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd ṛazzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *chdû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Young Prince of the Ruala, Amir Fuaz

Within sight of Jauf opens out the great, red-sand desert of the Nufud, which extends more than three hundred miles from east to west and nearly two hundred miles from north to south. Its northern half, called El-Labbe, forms the proper grazing ground of the Ruala. Their real home is there. The southern part is held by the Shammar Bedouins, who have made Hayil, on the southern edge of the Nufud, their trading centre.

Until after the Great War, the Shammar were ruled by Ibn Rashid, a renegade governor of the Ibn Sa'ûd family, who, with his Negro bodyguard, had rebelled against his masters and had taken Hayil. Ibn Sa'ûd, however, succeeded in recovering that dominant position, which secured him undisputed power in Central Arabia (Nejd, Kasim, and Hejaz).

The efforts Ibn Sa'ûd made to weld all the tribes into one national unit, his subjugation, in campaign after campaign, of all *Shiyukhs* (*Sheykhs*) who resisted him, are well known. Now, at the time of my first sojourn in the land of the Bedouins, this Ibn Rashid, the traitor governor, had still the greater part of Inner Arabia under his power. He became so completely sovereign that his former masters, the Ibn Sa'ûd family, had to live for decades in exile, while the "Black Princes" held sway over the towns and oases as well as the many Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia. In the history of Arabia there are few bolder achievements than Ibn Sa'ûd's recovery, with a mere handful of men, of his capital, Riyadh, his subjugation of Hayil and the Shammar, until he, adding success to success, became at length the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

employed with them. *Ana daḫil hal-'amûd mâ 'anni sdûd bnûr allâh wa-bḥaḳḳ allâh bhal-menzel w-ana dâḫel 'alejk balli ḫafijen 'alejje w-bajjenen 'alejk w-ana dâḫel 'ala ḥzâmak w-mâ ḳafâk w-židdâmak w-al-ḥalâl as-sâreḥ w-al-walad al-fâleḥ.*" Saṭṭâm was sitting by the wall dividing the men's compartment from the women's; behind him — hence behind the wall — were his wife and his children; before him — hence in front of the tent — stood his mare and his she-camels about to start for pasture under the care of a young relative of his. 695

Judicial Decisions 671 ●

After hearing the witnesses or administering the oath the judge issues his decision or verdict, *ma'rûẓ*. If one of the parties is not satisfied he says to the judge: 695

"Here, take the wages for thy tongue and let me depart to another judge; *hâk ḥaḳḳ lisânak w-asnedni 'ala-l-'ârefat aṭ-ṭâni.*"

"I will let thee go to So-and-So." Both parties now go to the judge mentioned and relate what has happened thus far. But, whatever the verdict of the second judge may be, the party dissatisfied with the first cannot reject it, for then the judge would say:

"Thou art an old liar. Sit still and accept my judgment. This dispute is decided irrevocably. *Ent čeḏûb eḳ'ed w-eḳbel ma'rûẓi has-sâlfa mabtûra.*" An appeal is out of the question, but sometimes the judge says to the dissatisfied party:

"Go wherever thou wilt; find a case like thine and prove to me by witnesses how it was decided." The dissatisfied man then mounts his camel and rides from one judge to another and from chief to chief inquiring for a case similar to his and for the court's finding in it. If he happens to find such a case, *weradha*, and proves by witnesses that it had been decided long before and is therefore an old dispute, *sâlfaten mâzje or ma'rûẓen mâẓi*, then the judge adapts his verdict to the old one. But if the judgment discovered is not at least five years old, its validity is not yet recognized — as it is still a so-called blind case, *has-sâlfa hâḏi 'amja'*. The opposing side at once declares: "This case must not be used against me, *mâ tfattaḥ 'alejje*," and the finding of the second judge remains in force.

183, 486, 572, 577, 609, 627, 672, 696

[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER IX

STRANGERS IN THE CAMP

NEIGHBORS OR ḴUṢARA'

In every Rwala camp there lives a member of another tribe who has left his kin for some reason and who, for a time at least, desires to make his home in a different territory. Such a stranger generally comes to an agreement with some Rwejli that they will be neighbors, *ḳuṣara* (sing., *ḳaṣir*), and as such will protect each other. A Rwejli cannot be a *ḳaṣir* to another Rwejli, but may have for a neighbor a member of some other 'Anene tribe, whether friendly or hostile.

The Rwejli protects his *ḳaṣir* against the Rwala and the *ḳaṣir* does the same for the Rwejli against his own people. A *ḳaṣir*, a guest, *zejf*, and a traveling companion, *ḥawi*, all of whom enjoy special privileges, are not subject to the ordinary regulations of the tribe, *lâ jemšûn al-ḥakk*. Their stick has as much force as another Bedouin's saber, *'aṣâkom sejf*. The *ḳaṣir* is treated as a man possessed of power, *'aziz*, and justice is always done to him, *ḥakkek ḥâṣel*. Even in cases where a Rwejli comes in conflict with a neighbor from elsewhere, the latter's Rwejli neighbor obtains, by force if necessary, a fair decision for him, or, as the saying is: "With a drawn saber and a swaying [balance of] justice, *bes-sejf aṭ-ṭâjel w-al-ḥakk al-mâjel*."

When a Rwejli has a claim against a *ḳaṣir*, he may not make his demand himself but must put it in the hands of the stranger's Rwejli *ḳâ'ir*. If the claim dates back to the time before the stranger became the latter's neighbor, the usual answer is: "And why didst thou not seek thy rights before he was my neighbor? If thou couldst wait till today, wait now till *he* is my neighbor no more." A Rwejli may not sue a *ḳaṣir*. Yet should he do so and the judge, ignorant that the defendant is a *ḳaṣir*, decide against him, the judgment never becomes valid. The Rwejli neighbor will say to the plaintiff: "What art thou doing? I am thy opponent, *ana šedîmak laṭ-ṭaldjeb*, not my *ḳaṣir*. Sue me, but my neighbor thou hadst better leave in peace!"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

609 572 ●672 If anything is stolen from a stranger *ḫaṣîr* by a Rwejli, he reports it at once to his native *ḫaṣîr*, who goes to the guilty person and speaks thus: "Doest thou not see that A is my *ḫaṣîr* and as dear to me as my own kin and all my tribesmen in this camp? *ḫaṣîri bên al-ʿanâja w-aṭ-ṭenâja.* Why didst thou take it from him?" And, seizing the stolen object, by force if necessary, he returns it to his *ḫaṣîr*.

Should a Rwejli assault the woman of a stranger *ḫaṣîr* in her tent, she shouts for the native *ḫaṣîr* to come to her assistance, which he is bound to do. If he kills the assaulter in his *ḫaṣîr's* tent he not only is not exposed to the blood vengeance, but the murdered man's kin, or, if he was not killed, the culprit himself, must pay the blood price for having insulted the tent of a neighbor.

But if the stranger *ḫaṣîr* kills a Rwejli he hastens to his native *ḫaṣîr's* tent with the entreaty: "Help me escape! *hazzemni.*" The latter instantly summons his kin, *ahl*: "I want to help my neighbor to escape," and they all must support him in this. Should the stranger *ḫaṣîr* express his willingness to pay the blood price, his native *ḫaṣîr* protects him until all is settled.

When a Rwala camp is attacked by the enemy and among other things the stranger *ḫaṣîr's* camels or mare are captured, it is the duty of his native *ḫaṣîr* to return to his stranger neighbor all that was stolen from him out of the booty taken by the Rwala in their next successful raid. The reward given to the raider is a she-camel for a mare and two *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80) for a she-camel.

In the same way the native neighbor is protected by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* against the latter's own tribe. Only when both tribes declare war on each other, in the course of which the stranger's property is captured, is the native *ḫaṣîr* absolved from helping him, unless he has made a prior agreement to do so. In this case he declares in the chief's tent:

"O you Rwala all! be my witnesses; thou too, Eben Šaʿlân! I and my neighbor here have bound ourselves by an agreement to protect each other in any event. His tribesmen will not eat from my property and I shall not eat from theirs. *Jâ rwala eššahâd w-eššad jâ-ben šaʿlân tarâni maʿâjifen ḫaṣîri flân al-flâni enni hom mâ jâkolûn ḫalâli w-ana mâ âkol ḫalâlhom.*" The same declaration is made by the stranger *ḫaṣîr* either in person or by a message in writing in the tent of the chief

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no dat 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

f his tribe. If then his tribesmen steal anything from his ative *ḫaṣîr* they must return it, and vice versa.

When a member of a hostile tribe is hired by a Rwejli o herd his camels and the herd entrusted to his care is ttacked by his tribesmen, he is allowed by the raiders to eep for the Rwejli three she-camels, one for riding and two or milking, *ḳa'ada w-menâjeḥeḥ* or *rukûba w-ḥalûba*.

WANDERING PETTY MERCHANTS OR KUBEJSÂT

In almost every camp there lives a wandering merchant alled a Kubejsi (pl. Kubejsât), although he does not always ail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, near Hît on the right ank of the middle Euphrates. He comes with one or two amels laden with his goods, quarters himself as a guest with Bedouin, pitches beside the black tent of his host his round white tent, *ḫejme*, and begins to sell cheap kerchiefs, men's hirts, material for women's shirts, shoes, and numerous other rticles of clothing, *bẓâ'*, and also tobacco, coffee, *hejl* (cardaom), and some drugs. He pays the owner of the tent where e boards with cloth enough to make one suit. The chief gets othing at all.

Few Bedouins buy for cash, but nearly all buy on credit, aying 25 per cent interest in five months. The creditor, *dajjân*, reases his debtor, *madjûn*, all the time to pay what he owes im. He seizes his camels and often even his mare so as not to ose anything; for no Bedouin would ever pay if not compelled o do so; yet there are times when he, too, finds constant unning unbearable. It is said:

Mâ ḥamm illa ḥamm ad-dên
w-lâ waǧa' illa waǧa' al-'ên.

Nothing causes more torment than a debt,
And nothing greater pain than the eye.

The interest, *fâjeẓ*, on borrowed money must be paid at nce in cash. For instance, on borrowing 10 *meǧîdijjât* ($9.00), $^{2}/_{2}$ *meǧîdijjât* interest is paid for a year in advance and the orrower has to declare that he has borrowed $12^{1}/_{2}$ *meǧîdijjât*, when as a matter of fact all that is left to him is $^{2}/_{2}$ *meǧîdijjât*. Both the debt and interest must be paid at the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

camels into his own herd and waits till some 'Aḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the 'Aḳejl even during their absence, *'ajneh warâhom*. 442 676

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâ'* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-'amm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâ'*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâ'* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâ'*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith. 564 326 [602] 326 572 672 564

The *ṣâne'* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *ḥeǧîṣ*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then 326 564

679 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jasaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaṣîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

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626 is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*, *neṭṭâl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent.
672 Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḫallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow
627 tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḍḫalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

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574 sive or that he contradicts himself, he declares: "By Allâh! we do not trust thee. Say who knows thee! *W-allâh mâ ḥenna meṣaddeẓinak hât alli 'ârefk.*"

[609] If nobody is found in the camp to vouch for the newcomer, he must leave at once, either on foot or on his animal. The host fears that he may be a robber who will steal from him or his guests at night and then disappear. This caution •[672] is due to the fact that the host is responsible for any deed his guest may commit while on his grounds.

A common guest addresses the chief with the title: "O thou long living! O thou who art protected from evil! *jâ ṭwîl al-'omr jâ mḥafúẓ.*"

Sometimes a guest arrives just when there is no flour, wheat, or *tummen* (a kind of rice) in the tent. The owner with his whole family may have been living for weeks on milk alone, but the guest must receive something better. In such a case the wife goes from tent to tent, begging: "We have received a guest and we are out of food. O friends, we have nothing to set before him; lend us something so that we can do our duty. *Ḥenna mežâfir w-enzefna jâ rab' w-ḥenna-ḳfarna min aṭ-ṭa'âm ekrezowna šien* [sic] *nesteter beh.*" The neighbors help her to the best of their ability — one lending a little flour, another some *tummen* or some butter, and there are also tents where she is told: "Come to us today and thou wilt get the supper thou needest for thy guest."

574 264 If the guest arrives in the forenoon, he gets both dinner and supper, *ġada w-'aša*. The meals are brought either by the host himself or his son or are served by a slave, with the host urging: "Hasten to thy luck, O guest of the Most Gracious! Eat! May Allâh preserve thee!" A prominent guest either eats alone or invites the host or some chief who is present to eat with him.

A common guest eats with the others, the host, however, deciding the order of those who are to sit together. When the dish is already surrounded by six or eight persons and the host notices one more he wishes to invite, he asks: "If you can find a gap between you, invite also So-and-So! *en čân 'endakom ṭenijje 'azzemow flân.*"

"The place is large! Come hither, O So-and-So! *al-maṭraḥ wasi' ḳum ğâj jâ flân.*"

Coughing or sneezing during the meal is to be avoided. He who has finished eating licks his fingers clean, drops his

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DURATION OF HOSPITALITY AND DEPARTURE OF GUESTS

574 576 The usual or proper hospitality extends to three days and a third of the fourth day. The first day should be devoted to salutations, *salâm*, the second to entertainment, *ṭa'âm*, and the third to discussion, *kalâm*. The third of the fourth day is counted as lasting from sunset to the appearance of the morning star. Between this time and sunrise is the correct time for the guest to depart. But he who prepares to leave only after the dew has evaporated on the fourth day, causes his host a good deal of annoyance, for the latter probably wants to begin the day's march to a new camp site or has to watch his camels while their herdsman is eating his breakfast; hence the proverb: "A spotted snake and a guest who either comes or leaves when the dew has gone are esteemed alike! *al-ḥajje ar-rakṭa' walla-ṣ-ṣejf al-meẓhi.*"

If the guest, on the third day of his stay, inquires which way to take, the host describes it in detail as if he had to ride at night time: "If ye start at midnight when it is completely dark, go through that defile yonder, *elja ǧaḥamtom edrebow ma' haḏâk ar-rî'*." With the Ḥarb tribe alone can the guest leave the tent at any time he likes. Hence the saying: "Whether we leave early in the morning, or when the dew passes, or at noon, in the Ḥarb territory we shall find a road anywhere! *elja ṣbaḥna wa-ṣṭebaḥna w-elja' ṣaḥḥejna w-taṣaddejna dijâr ḥrûb killha drûb.*"

● [672] For three and a third days the host will protect his guest and vouch for him while in his tent. Should he steal anything, the host must give compensation. After his departure the guest remains three and a third days more under the protection or before the countenance of his late host, who will protect him against his fellow tribesmen even to the distance of 150 kilometers. In case the guest is robbed in that time, he returns to his recent host, explains what has happened to him, and the latter, summoning his whole kin, says to them:

"So-and-So was our guest. Our salt and our food are still in his belly, and yet he was wronged by our fellow tribesmen. *Flân ṣâfana w-melḥana w-zâdana bebaṭnoh w-naṣal mis ǧemâ'atna.*" For it is the duty of the host's kin to assist him in recovering all that his guest has been robbed of.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

614 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha wo-aṭâmiha berḳubt ar-raḡol ḫejraḥ w-šarrha laḥalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿîd ʿan al-ḫejr žerîb ʿan al-meṣarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteḥ*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧalat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

683 843 628

682 628 562 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death, *siktha wa-ḥtarajtha ḥra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *nagîr* or *ḥaddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zelema ǯabl al-waḥama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *mašja-l-'arṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

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A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bedouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *istaddow ṯârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the 'Ebede between al-Ṣurâb and at-Tinf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *'ajjar 'ala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the 'Ebede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *ṣarab beh lenâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwaśow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *meḏrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realized what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Mezjjeb of the Msike, ran inside, and begged:

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had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

Me'ǧel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammîṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ǧel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammîṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ǧel.

As soon as the head chief Raṭwân eben Meršed heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ǧel's and Sammîṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Raṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥîdi.*"

Raṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ǧel.

A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ǧubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍin. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

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628 that the guilty camel, but nothing else, belonged to the dead
672 man's father.
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In the camp of Meǧwel eben Meṣreb, who was married to a French woman, there lived with the Bedouin 'Âfet a youth named Meṭḳâl, a native of Irak, working for hire. Suddenly he disappeared. 'Âfet made a search for him but without success. At last he was found by a strange wayfarer with his head shot through, the corners of the mouth slit, and his ears stuck into his mouth. This showed it to be the deed of an avenger who was in the camp as a guest at the time and soon made himself known. Having proved that it was his duty to kill Meṭḳâl, he was allowed to go back to Irak in peace.

Ǧrejd eben Mowzân tracked, *tehajjer*, a guilty man with his relatives for a whole year. He knew that by doing so he exposed himself to great dangers and might even lose his life, should the Arabs sheltering the culprits catch him; but this did not deter him from his purpose. Learning finally that the guilty men were living with the Sirḥân, he entered the service as *ʃedâwi*, free servant, of a member of this tribe in order to discover the tent occupied by the culprit proper. At last he succeeded. One morning creeping to the tent he saw the culprit milking a camel. Foaming with rage he leaped at him, *'adlâh 'alejh*, and with a dagger stabbed him to the heart. Having thus done his duty, he sought protection in a tent, *zeben 'ala bejten*, and found it, because the murdered culprit's relatives were able to testify that he was the avenger proper, *meṭṭâri*, who had avenged his relative, *teṭâreh*.

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Song of a Culprit Longing to Return to His Fellow Tribesmen

1. *Ḳum jâ nedîmi w-e'teli ʃowḳ ma'ʃa'*
   taʃda rafîʃ aṭ-ṭejr bel-'aǧrumijje
2. *maftûlt aḍ-ḍer'în killah muwazza'*
   elja-'teztah taḳṭa' ba'îd ad-dwijje
3. *telfi 'ala hâk ar-rbê' al-mebenna'*
   bimdâǧel al-wudjân barẓen 'adijje
4. *telfi 'ala ǧezzâ' w-aš-šejḫ melfâh*
   elja' ḥaṣar bel-kown ǧlô as-serijje

775 Thus it remains till the *ḥbâṭa* sacrifice has been brought, after which the body takes its place in the grave and the *nesem* departs, no one knows where.

775 After the *ẓaḥijje* sacrifice Allâh weighs both the good
673 deeds, *ḥasanateh*, and the sins of the deceased, *sajâteh radijje*. Allâh punishes sins: *az-zena*, which means sexual intercourse with a girl betrothed to another or with another's wife, for that is a betrayal, *bowḳ*, of persons to whom the females belong; *al-ḫowne*, the robbery of a guest or companion who has trusted one while on the road; *ḍabḥ az-zelema*, killing of a man not subject to the blood feud or of an enemy who did not attack one; *az-zelîme*, false testimony under oath before the court. These four sins alone are punished by Allâh both in this world and hereafter. In this world he punishes by disease, by sending robbers against the sinner's estate; by taking away his sons, or by having him murdered. In weighing these sins and good deeds, the weight of the *ḥbâṭa* and *ẓaḥijje* sacrifices is added; also of the kettle in which the flesh was cooked; of the three stones, *ḥawâdi*, supporting the kettle; of all the utensils used in preparing the supper; of the fuel, as well as of everything that was laden on the she-camel sacrificed on the holiday of the commemoration of all departed, *az-ẓaḥijje*. The Rwejli is certain that, as far as he is concerned, the scales will always dip in his favor and that he will enter paradise intact with both his body and his soul, *nesem*. He that falls in war needs neither the *ḥbâṭa* nor the *ẓaḥijje*, for all his sins were washed off with his blood. A murdered man, too, goes directly to paradise, because his sins fall on the head of the murderer, unless the latter was destined by Allâh to punish the murdered man for his sins.

HELL AND PARADISE

772 Paradise is somewhere below ground. There it rains regu-
775 larly, there is always *rabî'*, abundance, good pasture, *ḫejr*, and there also the moon shines all the time. In paradise all the Rwala live together, are young, and never grow older. They can marry there and have grown children at once. Every one has a big tent, big herds, and many children. They raid hostile tribes which have been condemned to hell, where all enemies of the Rwala are sent.

men, but among the enemy he must, if recaptured, expect death, as no one will pardon him again.

Bâjeẓ, faithless, is also said of one who attacks a friend. Such a stain fell on the name of the Rwala when, in the spring of 1898, they attacked the 'Ebede in al-Ḳa'ra. The 'Ebede, under the chief Barǧas eben Hdejb, asked Eben Ša'lân for peace. This was granted, and the messengers returned home in the evening; but on the following morning Eben Ša'lân's, Eben Me'ǧel's, and Eben Mǧejd's warriors attacked Barǧas' camp again and completely looted it. To excuse himself Eben Ša'lân asserted that this particular troop had left twenty days before on a raid against the 'Amârât in the vicinity of Kerbela but, when repulsed, attacked the 'Ebede on their way home, in ignorance of the fact that peace had just been concluded. The 'Ebede, however, do not believe this subterfuge but still maintain that they were attacked treacherously, *bâ-kowhom bowka*, and, whenever they sight a Rwejli in the desert, they utter their battle cry, *jentaḫûm*: "I am a rider protecting the 'Arfa herds, I a Sbê'i. O those faithless ones! O those blackened faces! Have you forgotten the peace dinner? *Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i al-bowḳân sowdân al-wǧih wên mraddâkom.*" A breach of faith is always condemned, for it is punished by God. Hence the saying: "A faithless one will never rise above the dogs, *râ' al-bowḳ má jarḳa' fowḳ al-ĕlâb.*"

PROTECTION IN CASES OF THIEVERY

To despoil a stranger belonging to a tribe not related to one's own is a proof of cunning and strength. But no chief will stoop to stealing. It is usually the sons of poorer families who go out in twos or threes to steal or to rob. A thief on foot is called *ḥâjef* or *ḥanšûli*; if mounted on horse or camel he is known as *ma'ajjer*. When the *ma'âfir* arrive near the enemy's camp they hide and try to acquaint themselves with the whole terrain. After sunset they leave their horses or she-camels in a safe place and crawl near to the tents. One of them remains at a certain spot about five hundred paces from the tents; the other advances cautiously till he finds a good horse or a she-camel which he thinks worth stealing. If he succeeds, he hurries back with the capture to his comrade and then to the place where their own animals are hidden. Tying the stolen animals to their own, he then leads them all

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674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

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609 *jaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh ḥiddâm rukubteh*."

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ǧenṡ al-ḥurmat al-ḥalbaʾ w-ar-raǧol al-melûs, as both are the cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-daʿʿâja w-annaʿʿâja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her opponent in the following sentences:

"*Sabʿ ḥal-waǧh*. May [a wild beast, demon] tear this face!"

"*Saʿax jasbaʿ ḥaš-šâreb*. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"*Kow bek. Tekwâ* (or *tekâ*) *bak*. Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"*Ḥamdet ar-rîḥ*. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"*Ṛâjbt as-saʿad*. May success be far from thee!"

"*Ḥejb as-sedd*. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"*Mout an-nâr*. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"*Allâh jilʿan zên ḥal-ḥdûm alli má ḥi ʿal-ádmi mâr ʿala ʿûd bâ-šǧara*. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful. If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *ʿala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say "*ʿala-š-šên w-az-zên*," if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry "*Semḥeč*," instead of "*Sebʿeč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšalelba* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-šaʿʿâṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *ʿaḳer-*

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442 437 *mu'azzeb*, in so far as he protects him as his guest but does not board him. The Bedouins now bring their camels to his white tents, *ḥijâm*, and as a rule sell them for cash. Only when the agent has brought arms and ammunition from al-Kwejt or al-'Aïêr for sale, will they exchange their animals for these articles. On the sale of every camel the prince or the chief gets one-half or one *meǧidijje* ($0.45 or 0.90). The purchased animal is then branded with the 'Aḳejli mark and left to graze in the herd with the others. For his herdsmen the 'Aḳejli hires [484] youths from the tribe where he is buying at the time. Many herdsmen accompany the agent's herds as far as Egypt and on their return tell of the wonderful things they have seen or learned on their trip. If the 'Aḳejli buys camels in the inner desert, he remains with the purchased herds for many weeks, or even months, with the same tribe, waiting until it moves to the settled territory, generally toward the end of June. If he buys from tribes who never leave the inner desert he drives the herds he has bought from tribe to tribe, until he comes to some clan of a tribe which leaves as a rule in May or June for the tilled territory in order to supply itself there for its sojourn in the desert. On reaching the border of the desert, the 'Aḳejli proceeds to the nearest large town where camel markets are held. If he can sell his animals there advantageously, he will do so and return to the tribe from which he came and buy camels again; but should he think that he could do better in Egypt, he will buy everything he can from other speculators whom he happens to find in the town and then journey on to Egypt.

442 676 The herds belonging to the 'Aḳejl may be captured by strange raiders, just as the herds of members of the tribe with whom he happens to be migrating, and for that reason the 'Aḳejl have in every large clan their brother, *aḫ*, to whom they pay, *ǧeḫîk*, from four to five Turkish pounds ($18 to 22.50), one good riding camel, and two or three good cloaks annually. This brother is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan. Among the Rwala and the Weld 'Ali the 'Aḳejl have brothers in the following kins: Eben Maïhûr, Eben Der'ân, Eben Ġandal, Eben Mǧejd, Eben Me'ǧel, and Eben Ḥamad al-Wlêd'i or al-Wahbi (of the Weld 'Ali, also called the Beni Wahab). If the Rwala bring home from one of their raids camels bearing the 'Aḳejl brand and there is no 'Aḳejli camping with them, the *aḫ* drives these

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camels into his own herd and waits till some 'Aḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the 'Aḳejl even during their absence, *'ajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâne'* (pl., *ṣunnâ'*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâ'* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-'amm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâ'*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâ'* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâ'*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâne'* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *ḥeḳḳe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 609 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sânijaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh ḥiddâm rukubteh*."

577 626 672 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*, *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḫallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 627 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *eḍḫalhen 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

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When, before the expiration of the three and a third days allotted to the guest's protection, he finds hospitality in one or even two other tents, the first host's duty to protect him, *'eddet al-waǧh*, is by no means ended. Should any wrong be done to him, he first goes to the one of his hosts whom he believes to have the least power. If the latter knows that the accused man holds a stronger position than he with all his kin he says:

"I could do nothing against them. Hasten to thine other host; his saber will reach them all. *Haḍowlâ-na má aḳwa' 'alejhom enhaǧ ila' mu'zebk ṛejri sejfeh ṭâjel 'ala-l-ǧami'*."

But if the guest has only one host, who is not very powerful, whilst his violator is a member of a powerful kin, the host with all his kin will conduct the guest to a prominent chief, put himself under his protection, and in this manner fulfill his obligation. No chief would think of refusing to protect a man so situated, since it is the duty of the strong to protect the weak, or, as is said in the desert: "The big horses protect the small ones, *ṭwâl al-ḥejl teḥmi ḳṣâraha*," or again: "The weak seeks the protection of the strong, and no one that is weak must be injured, as long as there is a strong man among men; *aż-ża'if jelûḏ bel-ḳwi w-lâ jeṣâm ża'if w-ben-nâs ḳawi*."

When a guest is found killed, the person finding him reports it to the host with whom he stayed in the last three and a third days, who is then bound to make a search for the murderer. If it is proved that the deed was committed by a fellow tribesman of the host, the latter will compel him to pay the blood price. If the murderer was a stranger, the host will simply send word to his relatives: "Your brother was killed by So-and-So."

After sunrise of the fourth day the host's duty of protection terminates, and he himself may then attack and rob his departed guest.

POEMS RELATING TO GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY

A Rwejli of generous disposition likes to receive guests. They will tell him all kinds of news, praise his generosity in other camps, and furnish him with the opportunity of showing his power should anything befall them. There are poems giving evidence of this.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

672 562 614 602 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭājāha w-aṭāmiha berkubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-ḫarrha laḥalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿid ʿan al-ḥejr ḫerib ʿan al-meṣarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damāʿanteh*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

683 843 628

682 628 562 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death *sikṯha wa-ṯaraj̈ṯha ḥra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naǧir* or *ḥaddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *wuš ent jâ zelema šabl al-waḥama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *maš̈ja-l-'arṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

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A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,
513 since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and
628 his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Be-
[764] douin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

628 On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the
●682 corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the
672 deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *isteddow ṯárhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

685 For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

628 In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the 'Ebede between al-Ruráb and at-Tínf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *'ajjar 'ala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the 'Ebede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *ṣarab bek lenâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwaṣow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *maḍrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realized what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Msike, ran inside, and begged:

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628 The chief of the Mwasserîn replied obligingly: "Whatever comes to us, comes to its goal; *má waṣalna wâṣel.*"

Mnezzel's kin stayed with the Mwasserîn a whole year. After that time the Mwasserîn herdsmen sighted a strange Bedouin. They pursued, caught, and brought him before Mnezzel, who recognised him at once as the avenger of Ḥarrâs. The Rwala therefore fettered his feet with a chain as they fetter a mare. On the fourth day they said to Mnezzel:

"Mnezzel, we do not wish to kill the avenger, but, if he refuses to accept the blood price, we will take thee to the Beni Ṣaḫr; there thou wilt be safer than with us; *já mnezzel ḏabḥ má ehna ḏábeḥineh čán inneh má hw žábel el-medda newaṣṣelak 'a'a ahl eš-šemál 'ala miǧlák.*"

Their next step was to visit the avenger and ask him whether he would accept the blood price. The man said:

"I am willing, but there are besides me other brothers and relatives whom I must consult first. Allow me to return, and I will send you a report."

So they let him go and soon received news that the avengers were willing to accept the blood price and had named at the same time Eben Ḳardûš as their arbitrator. The Rwala therefore conducted Mnezzel with all his kin to Raṭwân eben Meriśed, who sent the avengers the following message, *dafa' 'alejhom*:

"Mnezzel eben Nims is staying with me. If you want the blood price, come. I guarantee its payment."

Finally Eben Ḳardûš arrived. Raṭwân brought Mnezzel's mare and asked Eben Ḳardûš:

"Will ye accept Mnezzel eben Nims?"

The answer being in the affirmative, Raṭwân delivered to him one mare, four she-camels, and a rider's equipment. The rest of the she-camels were to be given to Ḥarrâs' kin in the next few years. And when the rainy season began Mnezzel once again migrated and camped with the 'Ebede — they were reconciled.

628 593 682 A Bedouin of the Eben Mhejd kin of the Fed'ân struck his wife with a pestle, *mihawa'*, from a big mortar, breaking her head so that she died shortly afterward. He was sued by her kin, but all the judges, *'awâref*, declared that he had struck her in anger with no intention of killing and, as he

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ad paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to ve them anything now.

Me'ǧel eben 'Amîa of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on turning home found his young wife sobbing. 684

"What ails thee?" he asked. 628

"Thine only brother Sammiṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ǧel sought out his brother and, ith the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my ife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammiṭ fall dead, t no one dared to act against Me'ǧel.

As soon as the head chief Raṭwân eben Meršed heard it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kawd ent mût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ǧel's and Sammiṭ's mother, who was a widow, nbraced her only son, crying:

"O Raṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥîdi.*"

Raṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting e'ǧel.

A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al- 628
ubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâdin. The well was about two 672
eters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, 682
aking the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade erefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, d handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty to the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, wênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the ll. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her lly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly ide the well. One kick struck the man standing below, litting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other rdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and e injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon d. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's rd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by hich he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal d killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

628 that the guilty camel, but nothing else, belonged to the dead
672 man's father.

682 In the camp of Meǧwel eben Meṣreb, who was married to a French woman, there lived with the Bedouin ʿÂfet a youth named Meṭṭâl, a native of Irak, working for hire. Suddenly he disappeared. ʿÂfet made a search for him but without success. At last he was found by a strange wayfarer with his head shot through, the corners of the mouth slit, and his ears stuck into his mouth. This showed it to be the deed of an avenger who was in the camp as a guest at the time and soon made himself known. Having proved that it was his duty to kill Meṭṭâl, he was allowed to go back to Irak in peace.

Ġrejd eben Mowzân tracked, *tehajjer*, a guilty man with his relatives for a whole year. He knew that by doing so he exposed himself to great dangers and might even lose his life, should the Arabs sheltering the culprits catch him; but this did not deter him from his purpose. Learning finally that the guilty men were living with the Sirḥân, he entered the service as *fedâwi*, free servant, of a member of this tribe in order to discover the tent occupied by the culprit proper. At last he succeeded. One morning creeping to the tent he saw the culprit milking a camel. Foaming with rage he leaped at him, *ʿadlaḥ ʿalejh*, and with a dagger stabbed him to the heart. Having thus done his duty, he sought protection in a tent, *zeben ʿala bejten*, and found it, because the murdered culprit's relatives were able to testify that he was the avenger proper, *meṭṭâri*, who had avenged his relative, *teṭâreḥ*.

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Song of a Culprit Longing to Return to His Fellow Tribesmen

1. *Ḳum jâ nedîmi w-eʿteli fowḳ maʿṣaʿ*
   taʿda rafîf aṭ-ṭejr bel-ʿaǧrumijje
2. *maftûlt aḍ-ḍerʿân killaḥ mwazzaʿ*
   elja-ʿteztaḥ taḳṭaʿ baʿîd ad-duwijje
3. *telfi ʿala hâk er-rbâʿ al-mebenneʿ*
   bimdâḫel al-wudjân barṣen ʿaḍijje
4. *telfi ʿala ǧezzâʿ w-aš-šejḫ melfâḥ*
   elja ḫaṣar bel-kown ǧib as-serijje

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

small *khanjar* is a curved dagger, and it was with this very one Nuri had killed in single combat a minor chieftain of the Muntefiq. 777

One afternoon young Fuaz and a group of his little friends were practising with slings, the ancient weapon with which David slew Goliath. They shot flat pebbles with astounding accuracy at the small wooden pegs, which held the tent ropes down about thirty paces distant. Unseen by them, I suddenly stepped out from behind his tent. A stone, which had hit its target close to me, rebounded from the smooth wood and struck me on the forehead between the eyes. For a moment I was nearly stunned, more perhaps from shock than from the actual blow. My first thought was that I had been struck by a bullet. 557 524

Gasping and with a frightened face, Fuaz ran up to me. He had noticed the wound in my forehead and a few drops of blood on my fingers, which I had, in my confusion, pressed to my head. When I took the lad in my arms and laughingly lifted him up, to let him know that it was no great matter, a look of anger crossed his face, as if he had been offended. He wriggled free and stood still before me. Then he tore his *aghal* and *kaffiyah* (the veil and head-cloth) from his head, letting the six fine braids of his hair fall over his shoulders. They reached to his hips. With tears welling from defiant eyes, he cried, "*Ana dachilak!* Before the face of God I deliver myself unto you: tell me the price of your blood." It sounded not in the least regretful, nor did it suggest any wish to be forgiven. It was sheer defiance, because he thought I had made fun of his offer. 683

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

How my heart went out to the wild little creature! He had such an air of aloofness and arrogance. Yet it would have been impossible to be angry with him. Was not his whole way of thinking different from a European's? Quite unintentionally he had the blood of his father's guest on his conscience, and he only thought of the satisfaction due to me, before the news of this accident could travel any further. How much blood was shed—in this case only a few drops—did not matter; the only thing that mattered was the unwritten Bedouin law that secures to the stranger absolute safety and inviolability, even in the tent of the humblest nomad. The blood-price of a guest is reckoned twice as high as that of a man killed in fight—fifty camels and four mares.

I had to smile when I thought of the value set on a few drops of my blood. But outwardly I composed my face to due solemnity and, calling the other boys and some men, who had gathered round out of curiosity, as witnesses, I said to Amir Fuaz: "This has happened according to the will of Allah. I know no other price than thy friendship."

For a moment blank amazement! He stared at me wide-eyed. Probably Amir Fuaz could not yet believe it possible that I, a stranger, should invoke the ancient custom of his forefathers. Suddenly he flung away the fateful sling and advanced to me with outstretched arms, and with childish affection he clasped them round my neck as I bent down to him. In a wave of joyous love, I pressed the youngster to my breast and kissed him on both cheeks. With his little finger he lightly

: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

dabbed the scratch on my forehead and rubbed four drops of blood on his own forehead between his black eyebrows—the old Bedouin "*Nur-ed-Dam*", the "Light of Blood."

In this unusual, dramatic fashion I became, by the will of Allah, the blood-brother of Amir Fuaz.

Our friendship was soon to receive baptism by fire. A band of Ruala, two hundred and sixty-eight warriors, led by Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, set out on a *ghazu* (raid) into the Hamad and the Wudian region, against the Shammar Bedouins, and I accompanied them. We rode twelve hours the first day. In camp that night we were overhauling our riding-gear, water-skins, and so forth, when to our amazement we discovered, curled up in one of the goat-hair camel saddlebags—huge receptacles made of goat skins—little Amir Fuaz, sound asleep.

Not by the slightest sound or sign had he betrayed to us during the long and hard day's ride that we were carrying a stowaway. Our leader, Rasheyd (of the Muraf Ruala), wanted the boy taken home on the morrow by a camel-rider, but Fuaz pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the old freebooter was softened. He merely sent a mounted messenger to Misha'il's camp to let her know that her son was with us.

We were gone on this great *ghazu* almost two months. When we returned, worn out, having suffered serious losses, yet victorious, Amir Fuaz took four of the booty-camels, splendid fawn-coloured beasts, into the camp, and made them kneel before the tent of his blind mother. Misha'il, still a young woman, enquired pleasantly who was the stranger seeking her hospitality. Custom for-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṯara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

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[1] [Errata: See p. 712, col. 116 for correction of line 8 as follows:]

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. 836 As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help 847 her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should 762 the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often [693 commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that 684] his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *ahl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. 848 Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it 851 would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its 783 illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs 836 of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint hef min allâh.*"

684 Only when the girl has been raped, *maryûbe*, will her 847 relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot [848] be left alive, as it would have no kin, *ahl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 672 562 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

614 602 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭājāha w-aṭāmiha berkubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-ḥarrha laḥalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿīd ʿan al-ḫejr žerīb ʿan al-meṣarre*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *dawāʿuntah*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

683 843 628 Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧalat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 628 562 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

2 Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

572 486 635 [633 628] anied by a ḥawi (or ḥáwi) and, nevertheless, some member of he chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the ḥawi attacks and obs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity han if he had committed murder, *takfī al-wajh aʿab min abbat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a ḥawi and their n may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very uch afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the ḥawi undly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the awi's presence that none of his property is missing and to rgive him.

THE *ḤAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 572 576 619 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as mrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he y them ride before his face. A companion protecting the veler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called awi. To travel with a ḥawi is always easier than to travel fore a chief's countenance, because a ḥawi can be seen and rd, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a at distance, must be first proved, which not only takes ne time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the ef usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a ḥawi much caution is necessary. The re powerful and better known his kin, the more can his tection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to tect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division his group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have old, established custom that whenever any of them eats eal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḥawijet* a n. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler k him to be his ḥawi, as any man of the Ẓana Mualim und to deliver him from danger without a special request, is b *rejr nab' jefekkeh*. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger not become a ḥawi.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana lim; the same applies to the Ẓana Bifr and also to all the Murārāt, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a 'Am

582 to release me in return for my father, who has passed away;
584 *ana abúj ráḥ abṛik teḡúz mia rukubti abṛik tedállerni 'awáz abúj ráḥ.*" The *ḥaḡḡir* is expected to take pity on her and allow her freely to choose a husband for herself, but nobody can compel him to do so.

588 In case of his refusal there is nothing left for the girl
• 694 but to elope. She flees with her youth to some distant tribe;
583 there they put themselves under the protection of a powerful chief, *jinḥáṭún jamm al-'arab jetazabbenúnhom.* They can then marry and live as man and wife in the same tent but are always threatened with the revenge of the *eben al-'amm*. An elopement is punished in the same way as murder, and the thirst for revenge must be satisfied.

'Aǧâǧ al-Msêḥi was in love with a Rwala girl and wanted to marry her. To this her *eben al-'amm* would not consent. After three years of hopeless love, *mutaháwin ḥar w-ijjáhu ṭalâǧ sinín*, 'Aǧâǧ fled with his sweetheart to the Ahl aš-Šemâl, tribes camping in the neighborhood of the Ḥawrân. As soon as the news spread next morning that the lovers had escaped, *inzahom minḥáṭín*, the *eben al-'amm* with his kinsfolk mounted their camels and went in pursuit of the lovers, *ṭalab*. But 'Aǧâǧ reached his destination, was given a tent, and was united to the girl in marriage. His kinsfolk offered the pursuing relative a ransom, but the latter steadily refused. Leaving his tent two months afterwards, he went in search of 'Aǧâǧ, whom he found and killed with his young bride. Returning home, he demanded in the name of his kin from the kin of 'Aǧâǧ the blood money for seven murdered men, because the murder of an eloped woman, *šemâṭa*, is valued at that of seven men. Her lover should not have eloped with her, but, having done so, he should have protected her better, knowing the danger with which she was threatened.

If the *eben al-'amm* kills the man who has eloped with the girl, he pays only half of the blood money, as the eloper was himself the cause of his own death.

Dîbân, the white slave of Meǧwel's family, fell in love with a Rwala girl, who returned his affection. Both knew that they could never belong to each other, for a slave, though white, dares not marry even the poorest Rwala woman. So they decided to escape to some settled country and to live in one of the villages there. But they were pursued and the girl was killed by her own brother.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A single Rwejli of the 'Abdelle clan eloped with a white slave girl. The search for him proved useless — he disappeared without leaving a trace. Should he ever return, he would be killed by his own kin.

When a youth wishes to marry a certain girl, he confides his secret to some older friend, begging him to find out from his father whether he agrees to his wooing or not. It is considered bad form, *'ajb*, for the son to ask his father for this permission. The father, who as a rule knows all the time which girl the son has chosen, says after hearing the news: "If it is Allâh's will, it will be good. Be it blessed. This day is already gone; to-morrow we shall realize his wish; *al-jowm fât bukra nakẓi ṛaradeh*." Next day the father goes with some prominent man to the father of the girl. They sit down, exchange greetings, talk about various matters, and finally say:

"We want thy daughter X for the youth Y, *nabṛi minak bintak al-flâne lil-walad al-flâni*."

"All right. Salt cannot be increased except with salt again. *Ṭajjeb mâ-zûd al-meleḥ il'a-l-melâḥ*. I am satisfied. Let them beget children together. Speak with her cousin, *eben 'ammha*."

Then they go to the *eben al-'amm*, sit down, salute, and converse a while. The youth's father rises, beckons to the cousin or the second cousin, leaves the tent with him, and they squat down at some distance from the tent, where nobody can hear them.

"We give thee good evening, *numassik bel-ḫejr*."

"Oh, good evening to you both! *jâ masa-l-ḫejr*. You surely did not come to me without desiring something, *mâ-ntom bela ja ṛaraẓ*."

"Yes, we come with a certain desire; *na'am ǧâjin bel-ṛaraẓ*."

"Then speak! *ekreǧû*."

"May Allâh add to thy days! We want her for him, and what thou desirest we hold ready for thee."

Now if the *eben al-'amm* agrees to the girl's marriage, he says: "I want this and that." If he does not, he answers: "She is destined to be my wife. I will not give her." But if he has no intention of marrying the girl himself and wants no compensation, he ends the parley with the words: "I wish you well."

The dowry or price demanded for the bride is expressed by the word *sijâḳ*. This means only the value put on the bride

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

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'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles the fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *rqṣa'*, or *rṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *aṣâṣ* or *naṣab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Ibn Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâḥ ṭalabtak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraǧ bel-mefâtîḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbeh w-ṭâbeh*
   jâ ḥâleîen rizḳ al-'arab w-al-falâlîḥ
3. *an-nowm aṣâ al-lowm bân ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowlât nowmeh ḥelâflḥ
4. *alli jirîd al-medeh jît'ab reḳâbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ ḥeṭûl al-ḥaṭa' jâ-hla-l-flḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-nepa' be'aḳâbeh*
   w-ad-dauw jikṭa'ennah 'aṣîren beterwîḥ
6. *mâ fowḳha illa' ḥirbeten ma' ṣaḥâbeh*
   w-eṣfâjefen ṭabrâḥ lown al-maîâwîḥ

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death, *sikṯha wa-ʾtarajṯha ʾra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏir* or *haddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zeḷema žabl al-wahama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *mašja-l-ʿarṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

had paid for her what her kin asked, he was not obliged to give them anything now.

Me'ğel eben 'Amša of the Drejb kin of the Ḳmuṣa on returning home found his young wife sobbing.

"What ails thee?" he asked.

"Thine only brother Sammîṭ has raped me!"

Taking his revolver, Me'ğel sought out his brother and, with the words "Thus I punish a brother who has raped my wife," shot him dead.

The neighbors heard his words and saw Sammîṭ fall dead, but no one dared to act against Me'ğel.

As soon as the head chief Ṛaṭwân eben Meršed heard of it, he rode to the slayer, entered his tent, and said:

"By Allâh, thou shalt die this moment; *w-allâh kowd ent temût 'enda has-sâ'a.*"

But Me'ğel's and Sammîṭ's mother, who was a widow, embraced her only son, crying:

"O Ṛaṭwân, leave me at least this child, the only boy I have now! *ḫalli wlejdi ḫalli waḥidi.*"

Ṛaṭwân turned on his heel and rode away without hurting Me'ğel.

A Ḳmâṣi, 'Awênân eben Sa'îd, watered his herd at al-Ğubb, south-southwest of al-Mijâḍîn. The well was about two meters deep but wider at its coping stone than at the bottom, making the drawing of the water very difficult. His comrade therefore crept down, filled the leather bucket with water, and handed it to 'Awênân, who was standing above, to empty into the water trough. The thirsty camels pressing close, 'Awênân alone could not keep them away, and one slid down the well. 'Awênân caught the animal quickly by the head and jerked it to the ground, so that her front legs were outside, her belly on the coping stone, and her hind legs kicking wildly inside the well. One kick struck the man standing below, splitting his head. 'Awênân's shouts for help brought other herdsmen to the scene, who pulled out both the camel and the injured man; the animal was unhurt, but the man soon died. When his father then seized the whole of 'Awênân's herd, the latter tied the dead man's clothes to the camel by which he had been killed, swore that nobody but that animal had killed him, and offered compensation. The judges declared

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

bade asking direct questions of a stranger. A Rueyli called out: "Khalati—it is a great prince who comes, O blessed daughter, to honour thee."

"And where is his *dira* (pasture) that I may send Hamar, our old slave, to proclaim him to our neighbour?"

"His name is 'The Young Falcon', and his *dira* extends as far as his eyes rove. It is thy son, O mother of Amir Fuaz."

In this foray, Rasheyd, the leader, had his right hand severed by a sword cut. He fainted from loss of blood. Our slaves then plunged the mutilated arm in boiling fat—a desperate remedy but successful, for Rasheyd recovered. He carried his amputated hand from that day forward in the saddle of his racing-camel. It dried up completely, like the hand of a mummy.

When we reached Bahr Saigal, not far from Dumeyr, the first Turkish fortress in Syria, its Commandant sent a cavalry detachment to our camp. He had been informed by telegraph of our illicit operations in the vicinity of the cultivated lands of Mesopotamia. His troopers were seeking Rasheyd, who was to be made answerable. But Rasheyd could not reconcile himself to the prospect of a Turkish dungeon. He placed his withered hand in a leather bag and dictated to Nauaf's *katib* (scribe) the following letter addressed to the Commandant at Dumeyr:

"In the name of the Benevolent and Compassionate! As *askar* (soldier) I cannot serve thy *Padishah* (Sultan), for I have but a stump of an arm. As thy prisoner I could do no work for thee; nay, as a friend I could not

lt Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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even grasp thy hand. What use then being with thee? As a token of my everlasting surrender, however, I offer to thee my hand, since thou art wont to cut off the hand of a thief. Be sure it is my own hand—the hand of Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, the robber. May God be forbearing with us."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

302 thus plaited and dressing with some taste, *walad jenṣob*, is
305 called a *ǧâhel*. In the case of men not wearing plaits the barber cuts the hair, *šûše*. His work finished, the barber salutes the shaven one with the words: "May'st thou preserve thy health and capture camels! *eslam w-eṣṣaam al-bel*." The answer is: "May Allâh reward thee! *âǧerak 'al-allâh*," the barber adding: "May Allâh receive thee into his mercy! *sâmaḥk allâh*." The common barber is nearly always an inde-
[576 pendent, *ḥorr*, Bedouin. He shaves for a good word, not for
181] pay, and must, therefore, be thanked, for nothing is more disagreeable to an independent Bedouin than discourtesy and ingratitude for favors or services rendered; therefore the saying: "Bitter is the fatigue of a free Bedouin, *ṭa'ab al-ḥorr murr*."

Long plaits are the pride of a childishly vain Bedouin, *ǧâhel*, and often lead to his undoing. When pursued, he can be easily captured if the enemy catches hold of his plaits. For not only is he unable to escape, but his enemies can bind his hands behind his neck with his own hair and, besides, tie one or two plaits around his leg above the ankle. Hence the saying: "Thy hair is thy snare, *râsak 'arâṣak*." Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i, my companion, told me that he was once caught by some men of the Tûmân clan of the Šammar tribe, whose camel he had tried to steal, and was bound by his own plaits. When they dismissed him the next day, they cut the plaits through. From that time Mindîl has worn his hair short, *šûše*.

302 When the Bedouin catches a thief, whether afoot (*ḥâjef*)
● 685 or mounted (*mu'ajjer*), from a tribe with which he is at war, *ḳowmâni*, he cuts off a piece of his plait, accompanying his action with the words: "I let thee go free for Allâh's sake, *ana mu'tekk lillâh*," and adds: "If I catch thee again, I surely will cut off thy chin beard; *in ḳaṣabtak laḳoṣṣ laḥîtak*." To cut a man's chin beard is, in the popular idea, as
302 bad as cutting off his head, *laḳṭa' rôsak*. It is much easier
628 for the relatives of a murdered man to forgive the slayer than for the kinsmen of a Bedouin insulted by having his beard cut off to be reconciled with the culprit. Sâbel an-Nuṣejri of the Rwala once went to the Beni Ṣaḫr tribe to seek his two she-camels which had been stolen from him, *sakîṣa*, some time before. He bore a letter of recommendation for the chief, given him by Prince Saṭṭâm, who asked the chief either to return to Sâbel his animals or to see to it that he

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Then the chief must send some one to the persons named to find out whether such is the case. If the messenger comes back with a report that the traveler has spoken the truth, the chief is obliged to return to him everything of which he has been robbed. Should he fail to do so he would dishonor his countenance, and his disgrace would spread all over the desert, with the result that his tribe, ashamed of the affair, would depose him.

To refuse his countenance or protection to any one is a disgrace, as it is, likewise, to ask for a reward when granting it; for the face must remain clean, must not be stained with any dirt *al-waǧh naẓîf mâ jaršâh ad-danas*.

The famous Rwejli warrior Fhejd eben Ma'abber had his camp in the Damascus territory, and yet he successfully protected a Šammar woman who appealed to the protection of his face. She camped with her husband in Neǧd by the valley of ar-Rma'. Her husband, becoming angry with her for some reason, began to beat her. Then she started to cry:

"Jâ fhejd jâ ba'ad ḥajji." Thus young women call for protection, the meaning of the words being that the woman will submit to her protector in everything. Her husband was not a little surprised at that:

"Tell me, my comrades, how can my wife call on Fhejd when he camps a month's journey from us? *tenḥa 'alejje fhejd w-hw msâfet šahr zamânen 'anna.*"

Yet some 'Aḳejl camel buyers just then in camp heard the Šammar woman's cries and spoke about it in the various camps to which their business brought them, the report of the incident finally reaching Fhejd himself. Ordering his slaves and fellow tribesmen to assemble for a raid, he rode around the Nefûd on the east and in about twenty-five days reached the camp where the woman was living. There Fhejd declared that he would harm no one if they showed him the husband's tent. When they showed him both the tent and the man, Fhejd set his she-camel running, stabbed the man with his spear in the thigh, and said to him:

"Thou filthy beast, didst doubt that thy wife has my protection? If thou harmest her again, I will kill thee." After this Fhejd returned to his people, meeting them in the Sirḥân depression.

If it is a matter of common knowledge that the head chief has lent a traveler his face or if the latter is accom-

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572 panied by a *ḫawi* (or *ḫâwi*) and, nevertheless, some member of
486 the chief's tribe or a fellow tribesman of the *ḫawi* attacks and
● 685 robs him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity
than if he had committed murder, *takṭî' al-waǧh aš'ab min*
[683 *ḍabḥat az-zelema* (sic). For in a case of murder the blood price
is fixed by ancient custom, whereas a chief or a *ḫawi* and their
628] kin may ask any compensation they wish for the corruption
of the face. Of such unlimited demands every robber is very
much afraid, and therefore, although he often beats the *ḫawi*
soundly and curses him, he always returns to the traveler
all that he has robbed him of and begs him to swear in the
ḫawi's presence that none of his property is missing and to
forgive him.

THE *ḪAWI* OR COMPANION WHO PROTECTS TRAVELERS

486 If the traveler distrusts some tribe, he tries to hire as
572 comrade either a member or an ally of the tribe, that he
576 may then ride before his face. A companion protecting the
traveler from both his fellow tribesmen and allies is called
619 a *ḫawi*. To travel with a *ḫawi* is always easier than to travel
before a chief's countenance, because a *ḫawi* can be seen and
heard, whereas the protection of a chief, often living at a
great distance, must be first proved, which not only takes
some time but in most cases is difficult. For this reason the
chief usually gives the traveler in addition to his protection
one of his slaves or servants to act as companion.

In the selection of a *ḫawi* much caution is necessary. The more powerful and better known his kin, the more can his protection be depended upon. A common Rwejli is unable to protect against all the 'Aneze but only against the division of this group of tribes called Ẓana Muslim. These people have an old, established custom that whenever any of them eats a meal with a traveler he also lends him his face, *ḫawijet ṣ:'ra*. In this case it is not necessary at all for the traveler to ask him to be his *ḫawi*, as any man of the Ẓana Muslim is bound to deliver him from danger without a special request, *min rejr nab' jefekkeh*. Only a culprit fleeing before an avenger cannot become a *ḫawi*.

One single face protects against all members of the Ẓana Muslim; the same applies to the Ẓana Bišr and also to all the 'Amârât, the other two great divisions of the 'Aneze. As a

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577 572 696 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *'atab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh ta'teb 'ala daḫîli ent 'ajnak žwijje*." With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem 'endana 'âdaten sânijjaten mâ ḥad jaḳṭa'ha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." [685] Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâ' al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgracing the tent. [628] If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal 'alejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ ḥi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

579 a few hundred meters farther but away from the place where
674 his comrade is stationed. The latter keeps his place at least one hour longer, waiting to see if by chance the theft has been discovered in the camp. Should an alarm be given and search made for the stolen animals, he tries to attract attention to himself and then leads the pursuers in a different direction from that taken by his comrade, until, after eluding them altogether, he makes haste to join him. Then, mounting the captured animal, he makes his escape while the pursuers are following the wrong scent.

685 If a thief is seen crawling near, he may be shot at sight. If he is caught, his captors beat him, *jaḳtolûneh*, revile him, *jaṣaḫmûneh*, and, if he is unknown to them, tie him fast to prevent him from running away and stealing something after all. After sunrise breakfast is given him and he is free to go wherever he wishes. In case the thief with the stolen mare escapes and his watching comrade is caught, *ḳaẓîb*, the latter may be killed on the spot but must not be held in fetters to compel his comrade to return the stolen animal.

681 609 Fettering is not an established custom, *mâ hi 'âdaten sânijaten*, among friends. A member of a hostile tribe, when caught in camp at night, is generally put in the irons used for fettering a mare's forelegs in the evening, and he is then called *rabîṭ*. In order to save his life he must offer some animals of his herd as a ransom. In this case it is said that "the captive sent his movable property instead of his neck, *ar-rabîṭ ḳallaṭ ḥalâleh židdâm rukubteh*."

577 626 672 To steal from a fellow tribesman or even from a neighbor is considered a disgrace. A thief of this type is called *bawwâḳ*, *neṭûl*, or *nedû'*. No one will suffer him to come to his tent. Should he enter a tent in another camp, any one knowing him will instantly call the owner's attention to him: "This man is a *bawwâḳ*. Let him not sleep in your place! *Hâḍa bawwâḳ lâ tḥallûh jamraḥ 'endakom*." However, if his sons are known to be honest, they are not made to suffer for their father's shame.

685 627 If anyone can show indisputable proofs that a fellow tribesman has stolen, for instance, a firearm from him and if the other denies it, the robbed man takes two or three of the offender's camels, drives them before the tent of a more powerful neighbor, and, after obtaining his protection for them, *aḍḥalken 'alejh*, brings his witnesses. The protector must then

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aid him in obtaining his rights *jimaššī-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehīra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi râje sowda' flân eben flân daḫalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ rizḳi bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *rab'i jâ ḥla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' waǧhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arzûn 'endeh w-jentaḫûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,
513 since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and
628 his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bed-
ouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot
[764] replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the
whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens
the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember
that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

628 On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the
682 corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and
672 sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the
deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator.
With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an
end, *istaddow ṯârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in
peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

● 685 For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

628 In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the 'Ebede between al-Ṛurâb and at-Tinf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *'ajjar 'ala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the 'Ebede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *ẓarab beh lenâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwašow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *maḏrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realized what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Msike, ran inside, and begged:

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to the number of their camels. After a certain time an-Nûri or his son would ride out with his slaves to the different chiefs and collect the tax. Those who escaped and did not pay the tax were punished, when caught, with the loss of one camel. The collected tax was punctually conveyed by the prince to the Government, the prince retaining the half by which he had increased it. From this amount he made allotments to members of the ruling house and some chiefs; thus the following amounts were distributed:

to Ḥâled eben Saṭṭâm £T150 ($675);
to ʿAḍûb eben Meǧwel £T20 ($90);
to Fahad eben Mašhûr £T50 ($225).

He himself retained at least £T150 ($675), and in addition to this he sold annually three or four horses and twenty to thirty camels.

For each of his 30 to 35 horses the prince buys 5 loads of barley at £T1 ($4.50) per load; for his guests, slaves, and family, 40 loads of flour at 40 *meǧidijjât* ($36) per load, 20 loads of wheat at 15 *meǧidijjât* ($13.50), 7 loads of *burrul* at £T2½ ($11.25), 3 loads of rice at £T4 ($18), 1½ loads of coffee at 100 *meǧidijjât* ($90), 2 loads of sugar at £T5 ($25), butter for £T55 ($247.50); at least 100 rams or sheep for food at 3 *meǧidijjât* ($2.70) each; five camels for food at £T10 ($45) each; clothing and coverlets for his family and slaves and for gifts cost £T130 ($585). He has 8 rifles, and every year he requires at least 6000 rounds of ammunition at the equivalent of 10 to 12 cents for each round. The repair of the tents and the upkeep of the tent materials and ropes cost annually £T50 ($225). He must send gifts to the chiefs from time to time and feed an average of twenty people daily.

Insubordinate chiefs are dealt with by the prince where and as he can. Bhejder, a chief from the Freǧe, once departed with his kin when the camels were to be counted for the purpose of estimating how much tax each chief should pay. Prince an-Nûri sent word to him that he was to return immediately, but Bhejder paid no heed. Not until six months later did he come of his own accord on a camel to an-Nûri, and immediately fetters such as are worn by horses on their forefeet were placed upon him. He remained fettered for a whole month.

A weaker tribe has to acknowledge the supremacy of a stronger one and pay it a special tax, which is known as

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586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she h... stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *kargm*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *leha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation:

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḥalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḥalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḥalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

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Typical Lawsuits

My companion, Blejhân, related: "My comrade Ẓâher and I went for plunder to the Rwala territory, *'ajjarna 'ala-r-rwala.* We had only one riding camel, which belonged to Ẓâher. He sat in the saddle, I sat behind the saddle, *ẓâher bcš-šdâd w-ana bel-wrûk.* One day we saw a rider, a Rwejli, judging by his apparel. My comrade said: 'Look, if we capture that riding camel, *ḏelûl*, she shall be thine even if a little bell is ringing on her neckband, *tara haḏ-ḏelûl en ṣârat lena tarâha lak lâ jidenn birṟemha.*' A bell of that kind is hung only on the neck of young mares. By these words Ẓâher indicated that he would leave the first booty to me alone, even if it were a mare; and therefore he would certainly have left the camel to me. I answered that I accepted his offer, *ana žâbel.* Now when the Rwejli met us, I slid off our camel and seized his *ḏelûl* by the rein, while Ẓâher leveled his rifle at the man threatening him with the words:

'Dismount! If thou dost not, by my faith! I will shoot thee dead; *ḥawwel en mâ ḥawwalt lan aḏbaḥak bel-barûde.*'

"Having no gun himself the Rwejli obeyed, while I made the *ḏelûl* kneel and then mounted it. In this manner she became my property, *ṣârat lije.* Then we searched two more days and a night for booty but without avail. Finally we started for home again, reaching it on the tenth day early in the morning, *aṣ-ṣubḥijjât ǧina-ḥalna.* On the same day my comrade, *ḥawi*, came to me and said:

'I want thee to give me a half of that camel, because we agreed to divide our booty, *ana wijjâk ḥišer.*'

'Thou art right, thou art not right; *lak lôn, mâ lak lôn.*' We quarreled a long time and at last on the advice of our relatives went to Mešḥen eben 'Allûš of the al-Mwâjǧe clan of the 'Ebede division to seek justice, *tawâradna al-ḥakk 'endeh.* We came to that judge each on his own camel, made the animals kneel before the tent, and saluted him:

'Peace be with thee!'

'Peace to you also!' After tasting some coffee I, that is Blejhân, sat beside the judge, Mešḥen, and said to him:

'O Eben 'Allûš, I want to ask my right of thee!'

'Relate, disclose, *eḥteč eḥteč.*'

'Certainly, I swear to God that I shall disclose it' — and I told him how it all happened, adding: 'I desire, God grant

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it! from thee, from all judges, and from every man who does not disregard my right, that this camel, which my comrade declared to be mine even if a bell was ringing on her neckband, should belong to me undisputedly; *abi-n-šâ-llâh ʿendak w-ʿenda-l-ḳẓa w-ʿend alli ḥakḳi mâ hafa' enna-d-delûl fawwaṭ ha lije ḥawijji lâ jidenn biršemha lak ennaha lije bârde.*'

"The judge said: 'Blejhân has spoken and ended well, *ḥačja w-afleḥ.* Now give thy account, Ẓâher.'

'I will explain what took place, O Eben ʿAllûš, to thee and to everyone whose hand refuses bribes. It is known, *bali,* that my comrade Blejhân sat on my camel behind the saddle. It is infallible truth, *ṣaḥîḥ,* that I adjudged that camel to him, yet behold, *mâr,* today my hand is empty, while the hand of my comrade is full. Therefore I demand of thee and of all who mean well a half of that she-camel.'

"Then we were silent. Eben ʿAllûš asked:

'Did ye agree at the moment ye saw the rider on this she-camel that ye would divide, or did ye not? *jôm ennakom ṭâlaʿtu râʾ had-delûl entom taḥâšartu walla' mâ taḥâšartu.*'

'We did not!'

"Here the judge took both my and my comrade's saber and said: 'I shall deliver judgment, *abi aʿroẓ ʿalejkom maʿrûẓ.* Thou, Ẓâher, wilt get from this she-camel a gold pound, *nêra,* and the greed of both of you must be smothered by your sense of honor, *w-ʿarẓ killen jiğği ʿala ḥaẓẓeh.*'

"I, that is Blejhân, replied: 'O Eben ʿAllûš, I shall not accept this; help me to my right, *ana mâ-rẓa ʿaṭni ḥakḳi.*'

'So thou wilt not accept?'

'I will not.'

'Well, then, let Ẓâher stand up and swear by God and eight camels laden with corn that he did not adjudge the camel to thee even if it had been a mare with a bell on her neck.'

"I urged my comrade: 'No, rise, rise, fear not God, because of thy greed! *ḳum ḳûm* [sic] *lâ tḫâf allâh ʿala ḥaẓẓak.*'

'I will not swear,' replied Ẓâher, 'for I seek my refuge in God before thee and thy she-camel; *mâni ḥâlef w-aʿjeḏ allâh mink ent wijje delûlk.*'

'Take two *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80), Eben ʿAllûš, as a reward for thy work and give me my saber.'

"Taking then my saber and my camel, I rode away, reaching home in the evening, I, that is Blejhân."

691 695 The same Blejhân related: "Our auxiliary troop met a fighting troop of the Eben Mâẓi and Ahl al-Ǧebel and captured the horses whose riders were thrown from their saddles, *ḳalâje'*. I too succeeded in capturing a mare, which I gave to the care of my kin. On the following morning one Eḫdejjân came to claim her, stating it was he who had thrown the rider to the ground, *ḳal' râ'iha min ẓaharha*. Now the usual quarrel began: 'It is mine,' 'It is not thine.' Urged by our relatives, who said: 'Go to the judge to have your right cleared,' we rode to Farḥân eben Hdejb.

'What have ye there? Disclose it!'

"My opponent, *žebîli*, said: 'We shall disclose all, O Farḥân eben Hdejb! before thee and before a judge who knows customs and has wit, and before everyone who despises (untruth) with his every thought; *belli ḥajje w-dajje w-killi min jenšâha min kill nijje*. The cavalry of our enemy was defeated, *ḫejl baṭîḥa*. I overtook a rider. There was nobody near him who would either attack or defend him, *laḥažt al-ḥajjâl mâ 'endeh lâ min ješḥâh w-lâ min jenḥâh*. I said to him: "Yield her to me for thy neck, *reddha 'ala rḳabak*, or I will shoot thee dead." He would not yield, *'ajja jerudd*. Then I shot and threw him to the ground. Now I desire of thee, if God grant it, to return to me that which a blow delivered by my hand, *dazz îdi*, gained for me and of which my cousin, *eben 'ammi*, now wishes to deprive me.'

"Having heard this, the judge said: 'Eḫdejjân has finished; now do thou speak, Eben Ẓeri; disclose!'

'And, by Allâh! I shall disclose, Farḥân eben Hdejb. At first I rode with the attacking cavalry, *awwal ma'i ḫejlen mṭîre*. We overtook the enemy and defeated him. Many a mare lost her rider. I overtook this mare. She was running, riderless, to and fro, *al-faras al-mâreǧ*. There was nobody near who would defend her or take her away from me again, *mâ 'endaha min jenḥâha w-jenḥâha*. I would — God grant it! — that she belonged to me, *lije*, not to my cousin.' Then we were silent. Farḥân eben Hdejb — God have mercy on him! — spoke:

'Ye quarrel over a mare, *entom muṭṭâlbîn* [sic] *'ala faras*. Lead thy camel before me, Eben Ẓeri, *ḳalleṭ li ḏelûlk*.

'Here is my she-camel! *Ḫê ḫê!*' I made her kneel. Farḥân then said:

'I shall decide between you, *ana-ḥči 'alejkom*.'

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'Speak! Was it not in deference to thy word that we came? *kowd râdînak.*'

'For thee, Eben Ẓeri, I have unpleasant news: I shall do violence to thee; *abi-ḥzemk w-aḳwak.* Thou shalt get the first colt should it be a filly, and, besides, a five- or six-year-old she-camel; *lak awwaltha w-bičer walla' ṯenw.*'

'I accept this as my right, *ḥaḳḳi žebilt.*' And I took a five-year-old she-camel, which Ebdejjân gave me, and waited for the filly. The captured mare went to him."

MURDER CASES, APPEALS, PATERNITY CASES, JUDGMENTS IN BLOOD FEUDS

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If a Bedouin meets an unknown man and shortly afterwards finds another man murdered, he describes the living stranger to the next chief. The news spreads and the avengers of the dead man accuse the man who answers to the description of being the murderer. He can only seek refuge with the nearest judge, *'ârefa,* whom he tries to convince that the avengers are mistaken. The judge then visits the camp of him who had met the unknown man and found the dead body, and says to him as follows: "Describe to me exactly the appearance of the stranger thou didst meet." This is done. If the description agrees, the judge says: "It is true; thy description has neither taken away nor added anything; *ṣidž waṣfk lâ zâṛ w-lâ râṛ.*" This was explained by the sentence: "His discernment was not dull, nor did his intelligence turn aside; *lâ zâṛ ḏihnehv w-lâ râṛ baṣareh.*"

When a litigant thinks that justice has not been done to him, he appeals to a board of judges, experts in law, *je-'arreẓ al-ḥaḳḳ 'ala 'awâref maǧmû'în.* In this session other people can also take part. The appellant adjures those present, *jenšedhom nišdan bid-dîn,* in the following manner:

"I adjure you by your wives and all that they bear; I adjure you by the long-maned mares; I adjure you by the milk-giving she-camels! *ana nâšedkom bel-mara w-mâ ṭ̄ib w-bel-ḥejl nâṭerât as-sabîb w-bel-bel zejnât al-ḥalîb.* To him who will clear up this matter it will bring success, but to him who refuses to testify it will bring ruin, *alli jeẓherha tesorreh w-alli ješmâha teẓorreh.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Then the legal experts examine the case again, sift the evidence, and after this announce their judgment.

There are many very difficult cases in adjudging paternity.

'Awwâd eben Ṭâḥûs of the Milḥâḳ kin of the Swâlme clan took to wife, *čân metağawwezen leh*, a daughter of his father's brother. When he divorced her after some time, she married a man of the name of Aḫu Bnejje al-Jemîni, to whom she bore a son, *ğâbat waladeh*. The first husband claimed the baby boy, saying to the second:

"The boy that has come to thee belongs to me, *al-walad alli ğâk hâḏa lije ana*."

They had a long dispute about it, *temâṭalow bênhom*, and finally went to the chief Mḳâṭ eben Ğandal to judge between them, *tewâradow al-ḥaḳḳ 'endeh*. The first husband, 'Awwâḍ eben Ṭâḥûs, said:

"What thinkest thou, our adept at law, and what think the judges? He who knows the law of God cannot possibly allow it to fail. *Wšu' 'endak jâ 'ârefatna w-'enda-l-ḳzâ' w-min šâf ḥaḳḳ allâh mâ haffâh*. Verily this boy is mine. I divorced her when she was already carrying him. *Bali waladi hâḏa ḥailejtaha w-hi nâžel beh*." Then spoke al-Jemîni:

"Good will to all! that is not the truth. When I married her she had nothing as yet in her womb. Not until eleven months afterwards, so help me Allâh, did she bear a boy. *Ḥejr mâ hw ṣaḥîḥ enni aḫaḏtah w-hi mâ bebaṭnah šaj'en w-'oḳob eḥda'ašš šahr jâ-llâh waledat*."

The judge, *'ârefa*, declared: "I shall pass no judgment until the wife is brought here."

When she came, he remained alone with her and said: "This boy is thine, regardless of the man who begot him, but if thou wilt tell the truth to me, I will get for thee from the one to whom I adjudge the boy one of his best she-camels; *'allemîni beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ w-ana aḫoṭṭ leč min alli jeṭla' waladeh ba'îr min ḫijâr al-ba'arîn*."

Afterwards he called in both men and said: "Bring hither your two best she-camels, one each;" which they did, making them kneel before the tent. Now the adept at law took the woman outside to the camels and said impressively:

"Speak, O woman! the truth, *eḥči jâ ḥurma aṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, and thou shalt receive a she-camel."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The woman, seizing the she-camel owned by her first husband, replied: "My first husband 'Awwâd is the father of my boy." 691 695

This moved the second husband to say: "Be it so, but then I claim a reward for helping the boy out of that hole to the light and for his upkeep, *arzi ḥakk ezhâri leh min hal-ḥufra wa-rḍâje leh.*"

"Thou art right; 'Awwâd must give thee a camel for the upkeep," decided Mḳât. And so it happened: the first husband gave the second a camel and took the boy home with him.

In judgments of blood feuds the winner of the case has to give the court ten she-camels; in disputes concerning a woman, one camel is paid; a mare, one camel; a she-camel, two *meğîdijjât* ($1.80); weapons, one gold pound. 693

CHAPTER XVI

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

SETTLEMENT OF MINOR DISPUTES; JUDGES

627 Slight disputes and quarrels between members of the same tribe are settled by friendly intercession. A respected Bedouin comes with one or two companions to the tent of the more powerful opponent and says to him:

"O So-and-So, stay! Thou knowest well that we all honor thee, and we also know that So-and-So has, in fact, harmed thee and that therefore thou hast every reason to be angry with him; but if thou lovest me, if thou lovest us, do not persecute him any more! *lâ teğîh.*" The man thus addressed, recognizing that he will gain more in public esteem if he abandons his claims, answers:

"For the love I bear thee and all of you, but for this reason only, I give up all my claims."

"We know that thou speakest the truth, but still we beg of thee to swear by Allâh."

"I call Allâh to witness that I will persecute him no more."

"May thy love for us increase and give us power to appoint a guardian who is to see that thou persecutest thy opponent no more!"

"I give you full power, *ana mheddikom*, to appoint any guardians you desire."

"We shall go to So-and-So."

"Go at once! *kowṭerû.*" Then they go to a powerful Bedouin and say: "Behold, X has promised that he will not quarrel with Y any more. Behold, we place the latter before thy countenance. Have a care that X actually ceases to persecute him."

Answering "I guarantee that," he sends word to the stronger opponent: "Beware of persecuting Y any longer. For, beware, he has put himself under my protection, *ṭarâh daḫal 'alejje.*"

692 627 More serious differences are settled among the Rwala by the hereditary native judge, *'ârefa* (pl., *'awâref*). Judicial

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

dignity is hereditary in certain kins and passes as a rule from father to son. If the latter lacks the necessary intelligence, *boṣr*, the litigants turn to his uncle, *jinḥarûn 'ammeh*, or to some other member of his kin. Furthermore, every chief may pass sentence but may not interfere in any way with the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges; he must submit when the contending parties appeal from his verdict to the hereditary judge. When acting as a judge, a chief is never called *'âṛefa*, not being recognized as such. When a chief adjudicates disputes he does so because he wields power which it is not always possible to resist and because he can support his judgment or his will by force.

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Eben Ğandal is the greatest judge of the Âl Ğlâs group; Âl Ṭajjâr holds the same position with the Beni Wahab.

In all matters pertaining to blood vengeance the decision lies with the *'awâref ad-damm*, namely: Âl Kwêčeb in the Âl Ğlâs group and Eben Smejr, otherwise known as Eben Baṭṭâḥ, in the Beni Wahab group.

Other disputes are decided by Eben Ğandal, al-Ḳa'âḳa', and Eben Durmi of the Âl Ğlâs group.

On questions of war and peace Eben Ša'lân is called upon to decide.

Special rights are to be considered when either the plaintiff or the defendant happens to be a neighbor, *al-ḳaṣîr*; a guest, *az-zejf*; or a traveling companion, *al-ḫawi*.

In the Ḳmuṣa division of the as-Sba'a tribe the recognized judges are the chiefs of the ar-Rḥama clan (Barṛaš, Mḥammad, Meṭḳâl, and 'Awejnân of the Sa'îd kin) as well as the chiefs of the Bṭejnât clan ('Azîz and Fallâğ of the Štêwi kin). Among the 'Ebede division it is the al-Mwâjğe clan from which the judges are selected from the kins: Eben 'Allûš, Eben Ğazzâ', Eben Rabîṭ, Âl Ağda', and Âl Rğêl.

LAWSUITS

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A lawsuit is called *sâlfa* or *ṭlâba* and may be decided either by witnesses or by black oaths, *us-sâlfa 'alejha umma šhûd walla' dijânen sûd*. An oath is black because it disgraces a man, blackens his countenance or his honor, implying that his mere word is not believed. Besides, the swearer is always in danger of God's anger, as he can never explain things as they really happened.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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851 584 with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge [695] took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballeʿ*, received from the latter fifty *meǧîdijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten ʿala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḳejje*. If his wife's lover

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Settlement with Witnesses

695 Generally two witnesses are required in court, *kowd ṭnên šhûd*. Only a man of good repute, *raǧǧâlen mazbûṭ*, who is no babbler, *ḥačih želîl*, and never contradicts his story, *ḥarǧeh ṣaḥîḥ*, will be admitted as a witness, *šâhed jired*. An eyewitness, *šawwâf al-ʿajn*, should be honest. *walad al-ḥalâl*, must not hate him whose case depends on him, must not yearn for a reward for his testimony, and must be known for his veracity; *alli lâ ṛallen šâfih w-lâ ṭmaʿen râǧih w-ḥabîb allâh ḥâčih*. Every witness is entitled to compensation for coming to testify, *ḥakk al-lisân*. As a rule an eyewitness will not ask for it; but if he says: "I want the price of my tongue, *anabṛi ḥakk lisâni*," then two of his kin have to declare him to be a trustworthy witness. *marzi aš-šehâde* which means that he is not a hired witness. If the dispute is about a mare, the eyewitness usually gets its first colt (a filly) or a camel; if about a camel, his reward is a gold pound. Before a witness's deposition is taken, efforts are made by one of the contending parties to undermine his trustworthiness, while the other lauds it to the skies. Both disputants spread their garments on the ground before the judge. Each grasps with both hands either the long lappet of his shirt sleeve *reden*, or the hem of his cloak or upper garment *ṣâje*, spreads it on the ground in the tent, smoothes it with his right hand, holding it tight with the left; then they both raise their right hands towards the judge and exclaim:

"This is my garment for the unchangeable truth. *hâḏa šelili beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, O veracious one! *jâ ṣuḏḳân*."

His opponent calls out: "This is my garment for the unchangeable truth, O liar! *jâ čuḏbân*."

"Leave it spread out, roll it not up as long as the unchangeable truth does not appear, *lâ tekofeh ekʿed beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*." The spreading out of the garment takes the place of spreading a rug for the witness to sit on. This is also frequently seen in other disputes; a Bedouin spreads out his *šelîl* to demonstrate that he can bring enough trustworthy witnesses to substantiate his words.

The judge asks the witness: "O witness, wilt thou give testimony? *tabṛi tešhad*."

"I will."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

"Come, then, and give testimony, *ṭobb eshad*!" The witness now sits down before the judge and says: 695

"I declare that there is no hatred in me against him whose welfare is in question, that I do not yearn for a reward from him who has asked me to be his witness, and that I will speak the truth only as pleases the Lord, that it happened so and so..." A witness against whom the giving of false testimony has been proved will never again be admitted as a trustworthy witness, *maḳmû' aš-šahâde*.

Should a single eyewitness relate to two men in the desert what he has seen and heard but afterwards depart to other distant tribes so that he cannot be brought before the judge, his place may not be taken by those to whom he has related the story.

One who knows a fact only from hearsay cannot give valid testimony, for he has seen nothing himself but has only heard it from others, and mouths will always chatter. Knowledge of this kind, called *fôḫ ǰamm*, has no validity even when supported by five men. Should a man hear two men fighting at night and hear one of them, who is afterwards found killed, shout: "Woe to me, So-and-So means to kill me," he cannot even then be admitted as a witness against one whose name he has only heard, for this is a *fôḫ ǰamm*; he himself had not seen and recognized the slayer. A true eyewitness never contradicts himself, his statements being always the same. The report of a [true] man [about some occurrence] must be like the gait of a pack camel, always the same; *ḫaṭw ar-raǧǧâl zej mamša-l-ǧemal beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*.

Settlement by Oaths

In the absence of trustworthy eyewitnesses the judge calls on the party which has entered a denial to swear. As in the opinion of the Bedouins every court process defiles and every oath disgraces, *ad-dîn četîn w-al-ǰemîn mehîn*, the oath is universally avoided, and a man is angry with one who urges him to swear. The simplest words of an oath are:

"I swear by Allâh and eight camels laden with grain that I did not say..., *en w-allâh w-ṯamâni ǧmâl ṃuḥammalâten ṛalâl enni mâ ḳult*..." Thus he calls on Allâh to punish him and to do him an injury equal to the loss of eight loads of

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

695 grain which he has bought in the settled territory; he would then die of hunger in the desert.

Another oath runs: "I swear by Allâh, whose power is eminent, whose weights are just, and whose tongue is truthful, that it is thus and so; *w-allâh alli 'azizen šâneh w-'adlen mizâneh w-ṭalžen lisâneh enni...*"

In serious disputes the judge requires the *msabba'* oath, so called from seven lines drawn with a saber on the ground. The judge first draws a circle with a saber, then its diameter; this he intersects with five vertical lines, inviting the witness to step inside and facing south to swear:

"A false oath is the ruin of the descendants, for he who [swears falsely] is insatiable in his desire [of gain] and does not fear his Lord; thus and so happened...; *ad-dîn al-lûwijje ḳaṭṭâ'at aḍ-ḍerrijje enneh hâjef w-lâ leh min rabbeh ḥâjef.*"

Scarcely is the oath finished when the witness jumps out of the circle and, full of rage, runs at his opponent, who has made him swear. The people present at the trial have to surround and hold him till he calms down.

The third kind of oath, called *al-ǧehîra*, is used at meetings where a man must be compelled to speak the truth. Then the chief springs suddenly at the man who is to swear, lays his right hand on his belly under the belt so as to touch his sexual organ, and exclaims: "I adjure thee by thy belt, by thy sexual organ, and by that which lies down to sleep before thee in the evening to give me a report such as will please God; *ana-nšidk beḥzâmak wa-lzâmak w-mâ rawwaḥ w-amsa židdâmak innak te'allemni bḥabîb allâh.*" The belt signifies the wife, for it is laid aside when the man desires to have intercourse with her; the sexual organ means children; and that which lies down to sleep before the tent at night signifies herds.

'Awde al-Kwêčbi ran into the tent of Prince Saṭṭâm, grasped one of the poles of the *merkab* litter, and shouted: "I stand under the protection of this pole, and nothing shall part me from it. By Allâh's light and by Allâh's right in this camp I put myself under thy protection, O Saṭṭâm, with all that my conscience conceals but that is clear to thee. I put myself under the protection of thy wife, of thy children, of thy mare, of thy herd going to the pasture, and of the son

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

employed with them. *Ana daḫil hal-'amûd mâ 'anni sdûd bnûr allâh wa-bḥakk allâh bhal-menzel w-ana dâḫel 'alejk balli ḫafijen 'alejje w-bajjenen 'alejk w-ana dâḫel 'ala ḥzâmak w-mâ ḫafâk w-ẓiddâmak w-al-ḥalâl as-sâreḥ w-al-walad al-fâleḥ.*" Saṭṭâm was sitting by the wall dividing the men's compartment from the women's; behind him — hence behind the wall — were his wife and his children; before him — hence in front of the tent — stood his mare and his she-camels about to start for pasture under the care of a young relative of his. 695

Judicial Decisions

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After hearing the witnesses or administering the oath the judge issues his decision or verdict, *ma'rûẓ*. If one of the parties is not satisfied he says to the judge:

"Here, take the wages for thy tongue and let me depart to another judge; *hâk ḥakk lisânak w-asnedni 'ala-l-'ârefat aṭ-ṭâni.*"

"I will let thee go to So-and-So." Both parties now go to the judge mentioned and relate what has happened thus far. But, whatever the verdict of the second judge may be, the party dissatisfied with the first cannot reject it, for then the judge would say:

"Thou art an old liar. Sit still and accept my judgment. This dispute is decided irrevocably. *Ent čeḏûb eḳ'ed w-eḳbel ma'rûẓi has-sâlfa mabtûra.*" An appeal is out of the question, but sometimes the judge says to the dissatisfied party:

"Go wherever thou wilt; find a case like thine and prove to me by witnesses how it was decided." The dissatisfied man then mounts his camel and rides from one judge to another and from chief to chief inquiring for a case similar to his and for the court's finding in it. If he happens to find such a case, *waradha*, and proves by witnesses that it had been decided long before and is therefore an old dispute, *sâlfaten mâẓje* or *ma'rûẓen mâẓi*, then the judge adapts his verdict to the old one. But if the judgment discovered is not at least five years old, its validity is not yet recognized — as it is still a so-called blind case, *has-sâlfa hâḍi 'amja'*. The opposing side at once declares: "This case must not be used against me, *mâ tfattaḥ 'alejje*," and the finding of the second judge remains in force.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Typical Lawsuits

691 695 My companion, Blejhân, related: "My comrade Ẓâher and I went for plunder to the Rwala territory, *'ajjarna 'ala-r-rwala.* We had only one riding camel, which belonged to Ẓâher. He sat in the saddle, I sat behind the saddle, *ẓâher bel-šdâd w-ana bel-wrâk.* One day we saw a rider, a Rwejli, judging by his apparel. My comrade said: 'Look, if we capture that riding camel, *ḏelûl*, she shall be thine even if a little bell is ringing on her neckband, *tara haḏ-ḏelûl en ṣârat lena tarâha lak lâ jidenn biršemha.*' A bell of that kind is hung only on the neck of young mares. By these words Ẓâher indicated that he would leave the first booty to me alone, even if it were a mare; and therefore he would certainly have left the camel to me. I answered that I accepted his offer, *ana žâbel.* Now when the Rwejli met us, I slid off our camel and seized his *ḏelûl* by the rein, while Ẓâher leveled his rifle at the man threatening him with the words:

'Dismount! If thou dost not, by my faith! I will shoot thee dead; *ḥawwel en mâ ḥawwalt lan aḏbaḥak bel-barûde.*'

"Having no gun himself the Rwejli obeyed, while I made the *ḏelûl* kneel and then mounted it. In this manner she became my property, *ṣârat lije.* Then we searched two more days and a night for booty but without avail. Finally we started for home again, reaching it on the tenth day early in the morning, *aṣ-ṣubḥijjât ǧîna-ḥalna.* On the same day my comrade, *ḥawi*, came to me and said:

'I want thee to give me a half of that camel, because we agreed to divide our booty, *ana wijjâk ḥišer.*'

'Thou art right, thou art not right; *lak lôn, mâ lak lôn.*' We quarreled a long time and at last on the advice of our relatives went to Mešḥen eben 'Allûš of the al-Mwâjǧe clan of the 'Ebede division to seek justice, *tawâradna al-ḥakk 'endeh.* We came to that judge each on his own camel, made the animals kneel before the tent, and saluted him:

'Peace be with thee!'

'Peace to you also!' After tasting some coffee I, that is Blejhân, sat beside the judge, Mešḥen, and said to him:

'O Eben 'Allûš, I want to ask my right of thee!'

'Relate, disclose, *eḥteč eḥteč.*'

'Certainly, I swear to God that I shall disclose it' — and I told him how it all happened, adding: 'I desire, God grant

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it! from thee, from all judges, and from every man who does not disregard my right, that this camel, which my comrade declared to be mine even if a bell was ringing on her neckband, should belong to me undisputedly; *abi-n-šâ-llâh 'endak w-'enda-l-kẓa w-'end alli ḥakki mâ hafa' enna-d-delûl fawwaṭ ha lije ḥawijji lâ jidenn birsemha lak ennaha lije bârde.*'

"The judge said: 'Blejhân has spoken and ended well, *ḥačja w-afleḥ*. Now give thy account, Ẓâher.'

'I will explain what took place, O Eben 'Allûš, to thee and to everyone whose hand refuses bribes. It is known, *bali*, that my comrade Blejhân sat on my camel behind the saddle. It is infallible truth, *ṣaḥîḥ*, that I adjudged that camel to him, yet behold, *mâr*, today my hand is empty, while the hand of my comrade is full. Therefore I demand of thee and of all who mean well a half of that she-camel.'

"Then we were silent. Eben 'Allûš asked:

'Did ye agree at the moment ye saw the rider on this she-camel that ye would divide, or did ye not? *jôm ennakom ṭâla'tu râ' ḥad-delûl entom taḥâšartu walla' mâ taḥâšartu.*'

'We did not!'

"Here the judge took both my and my comrade's saber and said: 'I shall deliver judgment, *abi a'roẓ 'alejkom ma'rûẓ*. Thou, Ẓâher, wilt get from this she-camel a gold pound, *nêra*, and the greed of both of you must be smothered by your sense of honor, *w-'arẓ killen jiğği 'ala ḥaẓẓeh.*'

"I, that is Blejhân, replied: 'O Eben 'Allûš, I shall not accept this; help me to my right, *ana mâ-rẓa 'aṭni ḥakki.*'

'So thou wilt not accept?'

'I will not.'

'Well, then, let Ẓâher stand up and swear by God and eight camels laden with corn that he did not adjudge the camel to thee even if it had been a mare with a bell on her neck.'

"I urged my comrade: 'No, rise, rise, fear not God, because of thy greed! *kum kûm* [sic] *lâ tḫâf allâh 'ala ḥaẓẓak.*'

'I will not swear,' replied Ẓâher, 'for I seek my refuge in God before thee and thy she-camel; *mâni ḥâlef w-u'ajjeğ allâh mink ent wijje delûlk.*'

'Take two *mejidijjât* ($1.80), Eben 'Allûš, as a reward for thy work and give me my saber.'

"Taking then my saber and my camel, I rode away, reaching home in the evening, I, that is Blejhân."

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695 The same Blejhân related: "Our auxiliary troop met a fighting troop of the Eben Mâzi and Ahl al-Ğebel and captured the horses whose riders were thrown from their saddles, *ḳalâje'*. I too succeeded in capturing a mare, which I gave to the care of my kin. On the following morning one Eḫdejjân came to claim her, stating it was he who had thrown the rider to the ground, *ḳal' râ'iha min ẓaharha*. Now the usual quarrel began: 'It is mine,' 'It is not thine.' Urged by our relatives, who said: 'Go to the judge to have your right cleared,' we rode to Farḥân eben Hdejb.

'What have ye there? Disclose it!'

"My opponent, *Ṭebili*, said: 'We shall disclose all, O Farḥân eben Hdejb! before thee and before a judge who knows customs and has wit, and before everyone who despises (untruth) with his every thought; *belli ḥajje w-dajje w-killi min jenšâha min kill nijje*. The cavalry of our enemy was defeated, *ḥejl baṭîḥa*. I overtook a rider. There was nobody near him who would either attack or defend him, *laḥażt al-ḥajjâl mâ 'endeh lâ min ješḥâh w-lâ min jenḥâh*. I said to him: "Yield her to me for thy neck, *reddha 'ala rḳabak*, or I will shoot thee dead." He would not yield, *'ajja jerudd*. Then I shot and threw him to the ground. Now I desire of thee, if God grant it, to return to me that which a blow delivered by my hand, *dazz îdi*, gained for me and of which my cousin, *eben 'ammi*, now wishes to deprive me.'

"Having heard this, the judge said: 'Eḫdejjân has finished; now do thou speak, Eben Żeri; disclose!'

'And, by Allâh! I shall disclose, Farḥân eben Hdejb. At first I rode with the attacking cavalry, *awwal ma'i ḥejlen mṭire*. We overtook the enemy and defeated him. Many a mare lost her rider. I overtook this mare. She was running, riderless, to and fro, *al-faras al-mâreğ*. There was nobody near who would defend her or take her away from me again, *mâ 'endaha min jenḥâha w-jenḥâha*. I would — God grant it! — that she belonged to me, *lije*, not to my cousin.' Then we were silent. Farḥân eben Hdejb — God have mercy on him! — spoke:

'Ye quarrel over a mare, *entom muṭṭâlbin* [sic] *'ala faras*. Lead thy camel before me, Eben Żeri, *ḳalleṭ li ḏelûlk*.

'Here is my she-camel! *Ḥê ḥê!*' I made her kneel. Farḥân then said:

'I shall decide between you, *ana-ḥči 'alejkom*.'

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'Speak! Was it not in deference to thy word that we came? *kowd râdînak.*'

'For thee, Eben Ẓeri, I have unpleasant news: I shall do violence to thee; *abi-ḥzemk w-aḳwak.* Thou shalt get the first colt should it be a filly, and, besides, a five- or six-year-old she-camel; *lak awwaltha w-bičer walla' ṯenw.*'

'I accept this as my right, *ḥaḳḳi žebilt.*' And I took a five-year-old she-camel, which Eḫdejjân gave me, and waited for the filly. The captured mare went to him."

MURDER CASES, APPEALS, PATERNITY CASES, JUDGMENTS IN BLOOD FEUDS

[694]

If a Bedouin meets an unknown man and shortly afterwards finds another man murdered, he describes the living stranger to the next chief. The news spreads and the avengers of the dead man accuse the man who answers to the description of being the murderer. He can only seek refuge with the nearest judge, *'ârefa*, whom he tries to convince that the avengers are mistaken. The judge then visits the camp of him who had met the unknown man and found the dead body, and says to him as follows: "Describe to me exactly the appearance of the stranger thou didst meet." This is done. If the description agrees, the judge says: "It is true; thy description has neither taken away nor added anything; *ṣidž waṣfk lâ zâṛ w-lâ râ..*" This was explained by the sentence: "His discernment was not dull, nor did his intelligence turn aside; *lâ zâṛ ḏihneh w-lâ râṛ baṣareh.*"

When a litigant thinks that justice has not been done to him, he appeals to a board of judges, experts in law, *je-'arreẓ al-ḥaḳḳ 'ala 'awâref maǧmû'în.* In this session other people can also take part. The appellant adjures those present, *jenšedhom nišdan bid-dîn*, in the following manner:

"I adjure you by your wives and all that they bear; I adjure you by the long-maned mares; I adjure you by the milk-giving she-camels! *ana nâšedkom bel-mara w-mâ ṭḭ̈ib w-bel-ḥejl nâṭerât as-sabîb w-bel-bel zejnât al-ḥalîb.* To him who will clear up this matter it will bring success, but to him who refuses to testify it will bring ruin, *alli jeẓherha tesorreh w-alli ječmâha teẓorreh.*"

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Then the legal experts examine the case again, sift the evidence, and after this announce their judgment.

There are many very difficult cases in adjudging paternity.

'Awwâd eben Ṭâḥûs of the Milḥâḳ kin of the Swâlme clan took to wife, *čân metağawwezen leh*, a daughter of his father's brother. When he divorced her after some time, she married a man of the name of Aḫu Bnejje al-Jemîni, to whom she bore a son, *ğâbat waladen*. The first husband claimed the baby boy, saying to the second:

"The boy that has come to thee belongs to me, *al-walad alli ğâk hâḏa lije ana*."

They had a long dispute about it, *temâṭalow bênhom*, and finally went to the chief Mḳâṭ eben Ġandal to judge between them, *tewârâdow al-ḥaḳḳ 'endeh*. The first husband, 'Awwâḍ eben Ṭâḥûs, said:

"What thinkest thou, our adept at law, and what think the judges? He who knows the law of God cannot possibly allow it to fail. *Wšu' 'endak jâ 'ârefatna w-'enda-l-ḳẓa' w-min šâf ḥaḳḳ allâh mâ haffâh*. Verily this boy is mine. I divorced her when she was already carrying him. *Bali waladi hâḏa ḫailejtaha w-hi nâžel beh*." Then spoke al-Jemîni:

"Good will to all! that is not the truth. When I married her she had nothing as yet in her womb. Not until eleven months afterwards, so help me Allâh, did she bear a boy. *Ḫejr mâ hw ṣaḥîḥ enni aḫaḏtah w-hi mâ bebaṭnah šaj'en w-'oḳob eḥda'ašš šahr jâ-llâh waledat*."

The judge, *'ârefa*, declared: "I shall pass no judgment until the wife is brought here."

When she came, he remained alone with her and said: "This boy is thine, regardless of the man who begot him, but if thou wilt tell the truth to me, I will get for thee from the one to whom I adjudge the boy one of his best she-camels; *'allemîni beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ w-ana aḫoṭṭ leč min alli jeṭla' waladeh ba'îr min ḫijâr al-ba'arîn*."

Afterwards he called in both men and said: "Bring hither your two best she-camels, one each;" which they did, making them kneel before the tent. Now the adept at law took the woman outside to the camels and said impressively:

"Speak, O woman! the truth, *ehči jâ ḥurma aṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*, and thou shalt receive a she-camel."

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The woman, seizing the she-camel owned by her first husband, replied: "My first husband 'Awwâd is the father of my boy." 691 695

This moved the second husband to say: "Be it so, but then I claim a reward for helping the boy out of that hole to the light and for his upkeep, *arẓi ḥaḳḳ ezhâri leh min hal-ḥufra wa-ṛdâje leh.*"

"Thou art right; 'Awwâd must give thee a camel for the upkeep," decided Mḳâṭ. And so it happened: the first husband gave the second a camel and took the boy home with him.

In judgments of blood feuds the winner of the case has to give the court ten she-camels; in disputes concerning a woman, one camel is paid; a mare, one camel; a she-camel, two *meğidijjât* ($1.80); weapons, one gold pound. 693

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577 627 with both hands and declare in my name that I will give all that Nejtûl asks, if Eben Ṛubejn decides that the *al-muḳalledât* gifts must be given."

Snejdân then held both ends of his moustache in his fingers and Za'al promised to give Nejtûl all he demanded, if Eben Ṛubejn should decide by affixing his seal that *al-muḳalledât* were lawful. Going to Eben Ṛubejn, he soon returned with a decision in the affirmative. But, as neither Nejtûl nor Ṛaṭwân would abate anything of their demands, Za'al gave up his claim to Nejtûl's daughter, and she afterwards married another man.

A certain Rwejli was given to quarreling. Once he quarreled over a camel with a man more powerful than himself. Unable to obtain his right, he cut off a handful of hair from her tail, brought it to Sa'dûn eben Me'ǧel, and said:

"Behold, this hair asks God's and thy protection in a matter of right!"

"Be it so, thou owner of the camel! The right should be helped to grow freely, for a just dispute must go on its well trodden road."

Then Sa'dûn mounted his mare, took the hair with him, and, accompanied by his slaves, rode to the herd of the disturber of the right, *ḳaṭṭâ' al-ḥaḳḳ*. The slaves soon found the camel with the clipped tail and began to drive her away. Alarmed by his herdsman's cries, the disturber of the right galloped up on his mare; but Sa'dûn shouted at him:

"Wilt thou let thy cousin have his right?"

"No."

"Know, then, that I shall help him to obtain it."

Having said this, he gave the she-camel to his protégé and dismissed him with the words: "In future protect thy camels thyself. May God protect me from all the evil thou causest by thine incessant quarreling!"

428 627 577 ●695 The parents of a married woman who had no other heirs died leaving a large herd of camels. The daughter wished to get at least two she-camels out of the estate, but the relatives of the dead couple refused to permit it, and she had to return to her tent in disgrace, *rawwaḥat ḫaǧlâna 'ala bejtha*. Not long afterwards the camp was moved to another place, and while she was pitching a tent she saw her parents' camels passing by. Running towards the herd, she selected two young she-camels, drove them to Ḳrejṭân eben al-Hûm's tent, and,

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making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân haḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḫoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi tḫâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥîn hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt into Ršejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.* Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father. Ršejd, though he was

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[See all of the above categories for various aspects of protection and countenance as practiced by the Rwala.]

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result, three *ḫawi* suffice for protection against all the 'Aneze from Aleppo to the Nefûd and from the Sirḥân depression to the river Tigris, *lehom waǧḥ wâḥeḍ*.

With the Šammar it is altogether different. There the most reliable face is furnished by a man either of the Sinǧâra or the 'Abde. As the Aslam and Tûmân quarrel continually, to traverse their territories with only one *ḫawi* is out of the question. If a traveler meets a Šammari and eats with him, he must nevertheless ask: "Wilt thou give me thy face against the Šammar if I give thee mine against Such-and-Such?" And, if the Šammari agrees, another question is necessary: "Against which Šammar canst thou be my *ḫawi*?" This must be repeated every evening, as a Šammari usually promises for one day only.

The members of the Šarârât tribe, which has no head chief who can dictate to all the clans, *mâ jeḳûl 'alejhom waḥad*, are not secure even against their own fellow tribesmen. Then it pays to be very exact in inquiring whether the *ḫawi* can protect against the whole of his clan or merely against a few kins. A Šarâri *ḫawi*, too, keeps his engagement for one day only. Should the traveler fail to renew the agreement with him, his *ḫawi* may himself rob him on the next day or make common cause with the robbers.

PROTECTION BY REQUEST

Protection granted by request, *daḫḫâla*, is the basis of all security both of person and property. Whoever is threatened by death or loss of property or whoever thinks that he is being wronged asks protection from him who has the power to give it. At the same time it is everyone's duty to give protection when requested to do so. A refusal would imply weakness, would blacken one's honor, and the man who refuses would be derided at all camp fires for his lack of manly courage. It is, of course, true that no one likes to be asked for protection because of the cruel work full of difficulties and trouble that is involved in it.

One who is oppressed personally has to ask protection of someone more powerful or of a member of an important kin; it is sufficient, however, for him to enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires or even its sacred precincts, *muḥârem*. The precincts begin either at the limits of

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577 572 ●696 hearing distance or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs. When a pursued person cries from afar to the tent owner that he is putting himself under his protection and is heard, the latter is bound to protect him. The term for such an occurrence is *ḥakk aṣ-ṣowt*. On reaching the sacred precincts the pursued man finds himself under the protection of the tent. If he is unable from exhaustion to proceed any farther and remains lying on the ground inside the precincts, no harm may be done to him, as that would be a violation of the tent, *ʿatab al-bejt*. The owner of the tent, his wife, or child shouts:

"Why dost thou violate my protégé? thine eyesight is sharp enough, is it not? *lêh taʿteb ʿala daḫîli ent ʿajnak žwijje*. With us the precincts of a tent are recognized as sacred by an old custom; no one would dare to violate it; *al-muḥârem ʿendana ʿâdaten sânijjaten mâ ḥad jaḳṭaʿha*."

The persecuted man always tries to reach the tent. When he succeeds, he takes hold of the occupant's wife, or a girl there, or holds a baby towards his pursuers, saying:

"The protégé has arrived and saved himself, *daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem*." The people in the tent, whether men or women, cry: "Our protégé! Stop, respect the tent; stand still! *daḫîlana* [695] *jammakom al-bejt al-bejt jammakom*." Anyone who injures or kills the protégé inside the tent must compensate the owner for disgracing his tent, *ḥakk bowžt al-bejt*. Disgracing of a tent is punished with greater severity than injury to the face, *eḳṭâʿ al-waǧh*. The distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps, and the latter must give one *ḥežž* camel for every step as compensation for disgrac- [628] ing the tent. If, however, the persecuted man has killed one of the tent owner's near kinsmen, no protection will be given him and he may be killed in the tent itself, even if the woman present at the time were to grant him protection, *daḫḫâla*. This proceeding is explained and excused by the rousing of the blood, *fowžt ad-damm*, of the kinsmen when they see or hear that one of their number has just been killed.

Protection obtained in person is followed by the granting of the protection of the countenance. The protégé moves constantly before the countenance of him whose protection he enjoys, *alli daḫal ʿalejh*. Such protection cannot be limited but must be given a wide interpretation, *ad-daḫḫâla mamdûde mâ ḥi maḥdûde*; therefore there is never any dispute as to

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ts validity. To deny having been asked for protection or to 577
ry to rid oneself of the obligation would be considered a 572
lisgrace. For one of the chief marks of gentility, *mruwwa*, 696
f a Bedouin is the granting of protection when it is asked
or. The man who grants protection, *daḫḫâla*, must forthwith
nnounce it in the whole camp and even in all the camps
round: "Let none dare to come near So-and-So! Know ye
hat he has put himself under our protection! Whoever harms
im will pay us the price of our countenance!"

It is also possible to obtain protection for animals in 231
ispute. In this case the oppressed party leads the animal 422
nto the sacred precincts of the tent, or at least brings a hand-
ul of hair cut from its tail, *halab leh helbe*. In the latter
ase the protector, taking the hair, then goes to the herd in
hich the animal in dispute is kept and, having recognized
by its clipped tail, leads it before his tent. Nobody dares
o touch it there until the dispute is settled.

Typical Cases of the Granting of Protection and its Consequences

Blejhân eben Żeri told the following story: "We, the Ḳmuṣa 577
en, were camping in the al-Mijâh valley. There was not much 627
ater in the wells. Medbaṛ eben 'Abdallâh watered his sheep
nd goats, *ranameh*, from a well. Belhân eben Mnazzel brought
is flock to the same well and tried to drive Medbaṛ away.
nraged, the latter attacked Belhân, *saṭa' beh*, fell upon him,
llah beh, with a saber, and cut off his nose, so that it hung
aly by a bit of skin and later had to be sewn on with the
air of a virgin. Medbaṛ, leaving his flock, then ran into our
nt, that is of the Eben Żeri, and shouted:

'Behold, I call on Allâh and all of you to protect me from
e face of my cousin, so that he will not attack me!'

"We ran out of the tent and warned them, *naḏahna 'alej-
m*: 'Let nobody come near Medbaṛ and his kin. He has asked
r our protection and is our protégé.' Then we mounted our cam-
s, surrounded all the tents belonging to Medbaṛ's kin, helped
em strike them, and conducted them to the settled territory,
rrabna, on the Euphrates, where we crossed the river, *'abarna*,
d encamped in al-Ğezîre. Some time later the wounded man,
i mosṭijen beh, watered his flock in the Euphrates and saw
relative of the assailant, *as-sâṭi*, who, as it was the time of

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701 MILITARY ORGANIZATION--purpose of military organization (e.g., defense, internal police, prestige); composition of the armed forces in peace and war; standing army and navy (e.g., size, disposition, state of preparedness); eligibility and liability for military service (e.g., age and sex qualifications); status of warriors (e.g., prerogatives, disabilities); military leaders (e.g., qualifications, mode of selection, authority, functions); extent of differentiation of military from political organization; coordination of armed forces (e.g., of a war party, an army, a complex military establishment); hierarchical organization (e.g., gradations in rank, chain of command); system of payment, promotion, and retirement; furloughs and leave; special organizations (e.g., military societies); etc. See also:

Prestige and mobility 65
Political organization 62, 63, 64
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Raiders Resting on the Edge of the Nufud Desert

Riders Assembling to Go on a Raid

opposite page 81

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Raswan and Prince Fuaz with the Great Horsemen of the Ruala

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Return from the Raid

following p. 128 (a)

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Camel Troop of the Ruala Returning from a Raid

Bedouins of Arabia on the War Path

opposite p. 129

721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejkom*, or wipes, or scrapes, off, *maǧrûd 'alejkom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, the may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elja raddejna an-neḳa' naṣîr 'ala waẓha-n-neḳa'*. Their face wi remain white. But when they attack without having first wipe off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their hono *elja' mâ raddejna an-neḳa' hâḍa bowḳen buḳtûna jâ sûdân a ḥejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳwâm* also the pillar of fighting, *'amûd al-ḥarâjeb*, and thus sig nifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 622 643 619 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribe ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renoun their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nû eben Ša'lân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Wel 'Ali, the Ešâǧe'a, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he neve declares war in the name of them all but merely of his ow Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *ṣâḥe* with the Fed'ân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali fro making war, *ḳowm*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri de clared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a divisio of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeare before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all th allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declar war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them *ḳowm 'ala-l-ǧamî'*.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 701 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large an small, begin and often a regular battle, *manah*, is also fough If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men star out for robbery on foot, *ǧihanšelûn*. If the camps are at som distance, they ride on camels, *ma'âǧir bizkûr ar-rčâb*. Whe more than twenty men on camels, *ǧejš*, or on horses an camels, *ḥejl w-ǧejš*, gather, then it is a raid, *ġazw*, calle *ṣaṣîr* when the number of participants is small, and *čebî* when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leade *'ažîd* (pl., *'uḳda'*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe as every tribe can have its own military leader or war com mander, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi neḥanšel* or *ne'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *nimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl az-zalma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanšel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd ṛazzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *ẖdû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bwağbet aṯ-ṯnên*."

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Jâ-llâh maksûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad*."

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl*. If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḥdaha*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 ● 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabi'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 [585 717] take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *krân al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at [834] home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their [714] wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdaman might easily give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves.

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delîl*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out.

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a seer or sorcerer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams in his sleep of a certain significance. *'arza ma'âwdiiie*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arẓatk ǧatk*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is boiled. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḥa ḫaḍra*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arẓa šêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *wâže'en bel-želîl*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow.

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any member of the 'Orẓân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eššâğe'a, or of the Kšûš (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking, *'arẓathom mâ hi zêne*.

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the

701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *râšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lenowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *'ažîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-camel for sacrifice, *al-'ažîre*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid. [782]

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-munîḫ al-muṭîr*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-munîḫ al-muṭîr* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazizateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 727 425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḫiśer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṭejr ḫiśer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *'ažîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behal-rasw 'oḳob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧihom ḫod illi tarṭik*." The she-camel he thus takes is called *raṣwa*. If stray horses, *mâreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hâreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

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701 727 425 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *meǧidijjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *'âjde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *rubâša*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *ǰetaḫâšarûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *'ažîd* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called [825] *'ajn* (pl., *'ujûn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Run as the hunted beast runs from the face of the heroic youth,
From the faces of those whose beards and moustaches are covered with fat.

Haǧǧ means a panic, helter-skelter flight. *Ṛulma'* or *ṣabwa'* are youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, who are ever making raids, from which they always return with rich booty and then feast on the fat camels they have captured until their budding chin beards, *lḥa*, and mustaches, *šawâreb*, shine with fat, *dasmîn*. They are well fed, of great endurance, and never abandon the pursuit of the enemy's fleeing mares or camels until they have captured them.

Songs of Booty

The returning victors are not met by the women or girls of the camp. When near they break into songs of booty.

1. *Jowmen wald al-hejs jabḥa mažža'eh*
   wa' mâ ḳaṭa'na lejleten ḥarmesijje
   wa' hâj jâ lallâh wa' hâj jâ lallâh.
2. *Jâ nâšeden 'anna min ajje žebîle*
   'ejâl ar-rwejli min aḥjâr al-ḥamâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
3. *Ḥowfân aẓ-ẓulma' marâwir aẓ-ẓaḥa'*
   nowda' 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi debâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
4. *Elja-ddejt maǧhûdi w-maǧhûd fâṭeri*
   mâ-ni 'ala-d-dinja čeṭîr al-ḥasâjef
   wa' hâj . . .

1. While the idler shook up his bed,
   Hey! through how many dark nights have we ridden!
   Hey! glory be and by Allâh himself!
2. O thou who askest about us of what tribe we were,
   (Know that) we are descendants of the Rwala, counted among the best of tribes.
   Hey! glory!
3. Like thieves in a dark night, like attackers after the passing of the dew
   We are wont to plant ulcers in the enemy's stomach.
   Hey! glory!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539* undisturbed for two whole months, as the enemy did not dare to make a new attack. It was during this time that this ditty was composed.

●[701 622] *Sulṭa* signifies a war leader who in times of the greatest danger also takes over the functions of the head chief. Saṭṭâm, who succeeded in terrifying the herdsmen allied with Muḥammad eben Smejr, is meant here by the word *sulṭa* and also by *d̲îb*, wolf.

Jâ-hl-as-sebâja ẓhûrehen
nâda-l-munâdi bel-felâḥ
lâḡ aṭ-ṭarîḥ benḥûrehen
šerbi naḳa' 'oḳb al-melâḥ.

O ye plunderers! mount on their backs,
The call has gone forth for success.
He who is thrown from the saddle will slide down their throats,
And this will be to me a sweet drink after salt water.

The enemy had long been harassing the herds but was never seen in time, so that help always came too late. At last the guard sighted him before he found the herds. As soon as it was reported in the camp, the rescuing troop hastened against him, fondly hoping to surround him and take all his horses and she-camels, in this manner tasting a sweet drink.

Jâ-lli tlowbed beš-še'ib
mâ 'endana illa sab'akom
narmi-l-'aša la-d̲îḥ al-aṭwaḳ
w-naṭraḥ ža'idet rab'akom.

O ye who creep through the valley!
We have nothing for you but terror.
We shall throw you for supper to a wolf with a neck streaked with gray
And shall cast down him who guards your clothes and camels.

The thieves leave their clothes and camels—if they have any—under the guard of one of their comrades called *ža'ide* and crawl on their bellies to the tents. *D̲îḥ aṭwaḳ* is an old dog or wolf whose neck is growing gray.

popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$40.50) and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *tuǧǧârijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧidijjât* ($25.20-$29). The *šêhâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini; the *umm sunḳi* kind of *šêhâni* could be bought for 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54), the *umm ḳufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Bedouins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the rifles fitted with breechblocks, *ummu-ṣ-ṣba'*, are less sought after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations, *tuǧǧâri*, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18) less. All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt. During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans numbered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead, gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and manufacture cartridges.

From time to time both the sons and negroes of the chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *nîšân*, generally is a black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramje* (pl., *rami*) signifies a report, a shot. "*Bârûdi 'araft ramîha*" means "I know the reports of my rifle; "*w-allâh ramîha zên*," "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with a flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Ma' binduḳen lafẓât fammiha jeṣebni
laha 'ala ḥaṭwa-l-muǧannaḥ marâmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi, rbâ'i, ḫmâsi, stâti* — the last being of the largest caliber. *Šêšḫâne*, or *šêšḫân*, are old rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḥamra*. *Binduḳijje* are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel or

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The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong and undefeated for one hundred and thirty-seven years? 703

As yet, they had no suspicion of Ibn Meheyd's activities, but he had, to all intents and purposes, united eight other tribes with his Fid'an. They only lacked a suitable pretext. Nature, however, helped them meanwhile by wearing out the powerful and high-spirited Ruala.

Hot winds swept over the Hamad and the Syrian steppe—but never a drop of rain. Unusual heat brooded over North Arabia, so that everything withered. The Ruala pushed onwards faster and faster and lengthened the day's marches. From one horizon to the other the vast herds covered the wilderness. It was almost as if the herders had lost all control over the starving and thirsty animals. Every morning, like clouds of locusts, the camels overflowed the desert on a front of fifteen to over twenty miles. Small, shrivelled herbs were their only nourishment and the small amount of moisture in the plants was all that saved them from dying of thirst. 731* 221*

There was something gigantic and exalting in this unexampled struggle of man and beast for very existence against the pitiless forces of Nature. Those who were unequal to the struggle quietly succumbed. The countless herds moved slowly over the boundless plains, which here and there still showed faint touches of forage, more grey than green. To my amazement, I discovered that the fat, brick-red hairy caterpillars which, in spite of the drought, were to be found on every stalk and flower, not only helped to nourish hundreds of thousands of desert fowl, bustards, and gazelles, but also our camels and horses. Troops of gazelles were in flight from death in the wilderness, striving with a last effort to reach the dis- [136 231]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuëma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuëma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuëma,

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXI

The "Ark of Ishmael"

TO THE BEDOUINS of Arabia, the *Markab* has a significance such as the Palladium had to the Trojans. They all hold the belief that the possession of this symbol, much like the Israelitish "Ark of the Covenant", means safety and power to the tribe holding it, while its loss spells disaster to the tribe and its subsequent dispersion. The Ruala have held it uninterruptedly for nearly a century and a half, but even to-day the sight of "Ishmael's camel-throne", with the chosen maiden sitting on it in times of war, will inspire them to greater heroism. The warriors composing its guard of honour are the picked troops of the tribe. They vouch for its safety with life and limb; they are, above all others, the heroes of Arabia.

Before coming into the keeping of the Ruala, the *Markab* was held by the Amarat. More precisely, it was in possession of the Ibn Hadhdhal family of that tribe until 1793. In that year the Wuld'Ali, a tribe in alliance with the Ruala, made war on the Amarat. Jidua ibn Mubadir, a Rueyli then visiting the Wuld'Ali, took part in the campaign. At the height of the decisive battle, so the tale is told, this Rueyli, with permission from the Wuld'-Ali chieftain, flung himself on the horsemen guarding the *Markab* (with the Amarat maiden enthroned in it), cut his way through single-handed, and with one blow of the sword cut off one of the legs of the camel bear-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Mâ jeğmed* means "that which adheres (sticks) and colors." The Bedouins prefer coffee which leaves dark-yellow stains on the white cups. The wild geese are called *maḥâdîb* from their fat bulging backs. 2. The roasting is finished when the fine drops resembling sweat disappear from the coffee beans. 3. Through prolonged use the inside of the mortar becomes very shiny, as does the spot outside pressed by the knees of the person working the pestle. *Jel'i*, the mortar bows because the beater inclines it from side to side when shaking off the coffee that sticks to its sides. *Dubb ad-dahr* means "as is the custom, life long." 4. *Čaffat aṣ-ṣîn* is the inside of a porcelain cup, *wars* (or *kurkub*) the plant from which the yellow dye is made. *Šfûf* was explained to me as lips, but it can also mean the stuff for a dress. 5. The first cup should go to the *'ažîd*, or leader of the troop. *Mafras* signifies the spot where the enemy's horses were repulsed when trying to free the captured herds. 6. *Ẓabẓâb* is the term applied to the warriors mounted on horses. If the enemy attack a migrating tribe they are opposed by the *salaf*, a troop of horsemen who attempt to drive them from the camels which carry the tents, household goods, supplies, and women and children. If the enemy is numerically stronger, the troop opposing them may soon be scattered, in which case only the bravest will persist in defending the camels of the different families. 7. The owner of the tent, who sets meat before the hungry fighters on their return from a raid, is entitled to the most coffee. 8. *Wafel* is the twice-boiled coffee, which not only leaves no dark-yellow stains on the white porcelain but is almost wholly gray, *šâb*. It is good enough for such visitors, *mela*, as press, *raṣṣâṣe*, into the men's compartment. Although they see that they are depriving the more esteemed guests and the tired fighters of their places, and that the host looks at them with an unfriendly eye, yet they do not leave the tent. At last the short stick, *miš'âb*, such as is used for urging on and driving away the donkeys, must be applied to them. 9. If the alarm cry is sounded, a true Bedouin instantly arms himself with his best weapon and runs to help, *jifza'*, his attacked countrymen, but a scamp of the sort just described will only snatch up a thick stake used for poking the fire, *miṣlâb*, thinking he can scare the enemy with that. *Sâheğîn* (or *târečîn*) *al-mwâğib* are those who are unmindful of their duties towards their clan and tribe and are conceited braggarts, *kbârîn al-anfos*.

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.

627 When he has complied with every demand, the powerful man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kaẓejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

●703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaẓ allâh waǧheh jowm aḳfat al-ḥajja w-aḳbalat al-menijje fakk ar-ruḳubat al-mâlijje.*"

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêẓa al-mabnijje.*"

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh.*"

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

to be of considerable age, because for the last fifty years no pistols have been carried; revolvers have now taken their place. *Al-mğarrez*, the killer, means the long spear—but this also has had to yield to a good repeating rifle. 539x

Jâ hejh jâ râ'i-l-ḳa'ûd
rajjeẓ ḳa'ûdak jammana
min 'oḳob mâ ḥenna ba'id
w-naḥmed alli lammana
w-elja' telâḳen bes-semâḥ
narẓîk w-naz'al 'ammana.

Oh, hail to thee, O thou camel rider!
Let him walk by our side leisurely.
Now that we are far away
We, it is true, praise him who assembled us.
Still, if [our mares] should meet [the foe] on a hard plain,
It is thee we desire, for we are angry with our uncle.

The negroes serving with Prince an-Nûri wished to be commanded on the raid by his son Nawwâf, even if the prince himself took part in the expedition. Young Nawwâf was more fiery than his prudent father, who was too considerate of the lives and health of his warriors. They expressed their wish in the above ditty. [703]●

The camel rider is Nawwâf. The raiders were assembled by an-Nûri. *Semâḥ* is the term for a hard plain where there are no impediments to the swift movements of the horses. *Elja' telâḳen* is said of the mares of the Rwala and also of their opposing enemies. *Narẓîk* stands in the Šammar dialect for the *nabṛîk*, we wish or desire thee, of the Rwala. After the power of the Šammar emir, Eben Rašîd, had collapsed in 1906, many of his negroes went to an-Nûri. *'Ammana*, "our uncle," is Prince an-Nûri himself, for the negro addresses his master with the word *'ammi*, "my uncle."

Jâ 'aẓejb jâ ṁarḫi-l-ğerîr
jâ šowḳ mardû' al-wašâm
muḫli-l-'ağûz min al-ğenîn
jâ-lli ṣwibak mâ janâm.

O 'Aẓejb! O thou who slackenest the rein,
O darling of her who is tattooed with dye,

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539* to knock down the enemy blocking the way in front of their she-camels. The word *kankabb* (or *kankab*) is used of a rider [703] who pretends to repair something in order that he can stay in the rear. If his comrades are getting the best of the fight, he, too, joins in, but otherwise he makes his escape. The honor of such a man is stained, he is an *adnas*, a base or filthy one. [713] *Mšenšelât* are spears adorned at the ring between the shaft and the spear blade with tiny chains which tinkle at every movement of the rider. Ad-Dejr is a town on the right bank of the middle Euphrates.

Jâ ḏîb jâ ḏîb an-nefûd
ṣawwet 'ala ḏîb al-ǧalad
er' at-tijâha bes-senûd
mâ bên aš-šâjeb w-al-walad.

O wolf! O thou wolf from the Nefûd!
Say to the wolf of the rocky desert:
"Behold those wandering in the upper part of the valleys,
What a throng is there of old men and youths, too!"

The repulsed and defeated enemy hide in the gullies intersecting the rocky desert. *Nefûd* (pl., *nifd*) means sand, a sand-covered country, a sandy desert; *ǧalad*, stone, rock, or a rocky descrt. *Senûd* signifies that the enemy is fleeing upstream.

Jâ ḥzûm w-eḥleb lel-faras
jeḏkar abu mâjele lafa'
ḥarâjeb mâ bah manâǧi
w-lâ bah 'ala-l-ǧâhel ḫafa'
abṛi 'alejha naṯḥat âl ṭajjâr
w-al-'elem elja' ḳilteh wafa'.

O Ḥzûm! draw milk for my mare,
For it is said Abu Mâjele has arrived,
And the wars to come are no secret,
Not even from a fool concealed;
That is why I will attack Âl Ṭajjâr on her,
And what I foretell will doubtless occur.

Abu Mâjele negotiated with Eben Smejr and Eben Ṭajjâr about the settling of various mutual complaints but without success. After his return it became evident that war with Eben Smejr and his followers was inevitable. Âl Ṭajjâr, famous

721 704 726 enemy is approaching, he orders all his tribal divisions to get ready. Soon troop after troop headed by their chiefs arrive at his camp, defile before his tent, *je'arẓûn*, and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyes, *'ajnâk*, O chief! The rider protecting the 'Alja camel herds rides before thine eyes, and that rider is a Rwejli, *'ajnâk ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli.*"

● 703 726 The battle cry, *naḫâwa*, uttered before the chief is intended to rouse both his courage and that of his warriors, *ješiddûn maḥzam aš-šejḫ w-juḳawwûn* (sic) *'azmahom.* As a proof that they will not desert their fellow tribesman they defile before him on horseback; this is called *'arẓa.* The *'arẓa* is always connected with the *naḫâwa.* Without a *naḫâwa* there is no *'arẓa.*

Whenever Eben Ša'lân sets out to rescue his captured herds, he shouts to the enemy from afar:

"Oh, how many times have we freed herds like these from enemies like you. The rider protecting the 'Alja herds is a Rwejli! By Allâh himself! This day is the most ruinous of all days for you. Oh, how far are your kinsfolk from you! *Jâ mâ fakkejna miṯlehen min miṯlekom ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli w-allâh hal-jowm aḳrad al-ajjâm 'alejkom w-ba'ad ahalkom al-jowm 'alejkom.* All of you must perish, your kins will not come to help you!"

If the victorious attackers expect a second counter attack, *faz'a*, stronger in numbers, before hiding themselves their cavalry defile before the commander and the camel riders and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyesight, O chief! Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting the 'Alja is a Rwejli!"

The commander answers: "We shall not desert each other! *lâ ḫala' w-lâ 'adam,*" and is the first to throw himself on the enemy, with the words:

"If Allâh grants luck to us we shall capture your mares as we have already taken your camels!" for nothing inspires the troop so much as the bravery of its leader. On the other hand, if he betrays hesitation, all is lost. If the leader on his part notices that his men are wavering, he admonishes them with the battle cry:

"Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting 'Alja is I, So-and-So. I fill even heroes with fear, I, So-and-So, *ḏa"âr as-sebâja w-ana flân eben flân.*" If they answer: "Enough

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now and grace! *kafw w-na'am*," he is positive that they will not desert him.

If he sees a man fleeing, the leader cries: "Shame on thee for running away! Thou art not worthy to mount a she-camel! Thy daughter shall not marry lest she bear a scoundrel like thee, who desertest thy comrades!" If more try to run away, the leader shouts: "Shame on you, ye runaways! Face about, come back, ye are going in the wrong direction!" and beats them with the flat of his saber. This is effective. First one and then another rejoin him, howling: "At them! At them! O So-and-So! say not afterwards that thou hast not seen me throwing myself at them! at them! at them! *fowkahom 'alej-hom*." If it seems as if the enemy would win, the girls, if present, with words and gestures encourage the warriors to persevere. With their breasts bared and hair loosened they ride on camels where the greatest danger appears, call to their friends and to those dear to them, remind them of amorous moments spent together, and threaten to join the enemy if their own people disappoint them.

Many, especially the younger warriors, then with the left hands raise the hem of their cloaks before their eyes and, with the saber or dagger in the right hand, throw themselves on the enemy. During the fight they shout: "Away! Tremble! At you! at you! O faithless people! Ye shall not escape. We came from afar to get you!" And then the fight changes into a series of duels. Personal bravery, though greatly limited by the use of firearms, may even now be exhibited.

If the attackers learn that there is in the camp to be assailed a fighter feared for his bravery, they prepare to destroy him. The evening before the attack the leader takes a cup of black coffee in his hand and says:

"This cup is filled with the blood of So-and-So. Who will drink it?"

If one of the men present takes the cup and drinks the coffee with the words "I am drinking the blood of So-and-So," he is obliged to meet the aforesaid hero in a duel. During the fight he asks again and again:

"O riders, who of you has seen So-and-So?"

If the hero is not among the fighters on that day, a comrade of his will answer: "O thou son of an honorable family, he is not here. If he were, thou mayst be sure he would not hide from thee. But here is one who will take his

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâzer lâ čân ḥâzer mâ čân ittuḳa' 'ank ḥâzer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḏa hw waṣelt ḥâzer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâḳni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḫoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḥ w-fâṭer.*"

266 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḫat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-fâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *tḥasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

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727 765 A sister cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! alas, thou brother of mine!"

A daughter: "Alas, woe is me, alas, thou father of mine!"

Then they sit down, cry till their eyes are dry, and return quietly to their tents. There is no other mourning.

LARGE BATTLES, OR *MANÁḤ*

721 726 The fight called *manâḥ*, as distinguished from the *razw* or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame, *zowd al-i'tibâr*, it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter, *ṣâl 'alejh ṣowla*, and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows, which behind the herds graze; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue. In these few tents there is nothing except the utensils for making black coffee, meals being prepared in the tents behind. All the mares stand saddled by these war tents, *bujût al-ḥarb*, while the riding camels lie fettered between the other tents. The men on foot are posted right and left of the war tents. Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents.

721 726 The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within rifle shot. Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhûr is

● 703 fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback. These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting:

"He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi ješred al-jowm mâ leh 'endana ḥakk.*" Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zarârît*, are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa, a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, likewise, mount she-camels and shouting *zarârît* hasten to join the melée in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa to conceal

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herself, as the capture of the 'Aṭfa by the enemy would mean the greatest disgrace for both the reigning kin and the whole tribe. Thereupon the girl on the 'Aṭfa drives her animal to her father's tent, makes it kneel here, and either jumps off, unbuckles the litter, and pulls it inside the tent, or flees with it from the camp.

When the tribe is attacked while migrating and the women driving the camels laden with all their household goods fear that the enemy may rob them — the men, meanwhile, being engaged in repelling the attackers — they beg every passing rider to defend them, and the girls, especially, at the top of their voices, call out the names of their sweethearts:

"Bring me So-and-So, ye men! Call So-and-So hither, ye who like to amuse yourselves with girls! I want So-and-So, him of whom all talk!"

If a man passes by whom the woman expects to help her, she cries: "Thou wert praised to me so highly, and yet I have not seen thee do anything today."

When a lover reaches the woman of his heart, she breaks into an inspiring shout, uttering in a high-pitched tremulous voice the syllables of the word *zaġarit*. The lover greets her: "Oh, how I rejoice before thine eyes! *jâ mâ 'ajnêč wa-fraḥi*," or: "To thy joy, O So-and-So! *farḥateč jâ flâne*."

Ditties Sung by Defenders of Their Camps

While speeding through the camp or the moving throng in order to repel a hostile attack the men sing short ditties.

Jâ rabb naṣlobak al-ḥuda'
w-as-sitr w-al-'elm al-malîḥ
rab'i medâbis al-'uda'
w-en ḥarrafaw 'enda-ṭ-ṭariḥ.

O Lord! we beg thee for a lucky guidance,
For protection and good news!
My comrades, cudgels for the enemy,
Will not turn their mares save when a rider is thrown from his saddle.

They pray to Allâh for lucky leadership and favorable news about the position of the main force of the enemy, that they may attack at once and thus avoid being taken on the

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The wife of the fallen Râkân entreats Allâh to destroy Fahad or Ṭalâl of the Eben Haḍḍâl kin. who had killed her husband. 639 x

Tadallahî w-erʿî hawâč	Leisurely move and graze at will,
jâ ḥâjilen maʿ fuṭṭari	O sterile one with she-camels old!
w-alli jeruddeč ʿan hawâč	And should anyone check thee
haḍâk ʿelmeh mâ jenṭeri.	Pay no heed to reports concerning him.

Tadallah means a quiet, unrestricted movement; she can go where she pleases, fast or slow. Such a leisurely gait is enjoyed especially by the young sterile she-camels, *ḥâjel*, who like to prance and run from one place to another in search of the best pasture. They are often joined by she-camels more than twenty years old, which, if they bear no longer, are not restricted in their freedom. In regions entirely safe such animals can scatter far and wide, but in the proximity of the enemy they are kept together. The brave warrior tells the she-camels to disregard the danger, as he will protect them—and if any one should still try to herd them, not to obey him. *Elmeh mâ jenṭeri* is said of a man who talks too much. [828] The news, *ʿelm*, he brings is interesting, but nobody believes it, *mâ jenṭeri*. With such a babbler an honest Rwejli should have nothing to do, *mâ jaṭri leh*.

Aṣʿan laʿajni fâṭeri
w-aṣʿan elja' hâb aḍ-ḍalîl
en mâ ḥamejteh bel-ʿena
jâ lejt mâ ʿomri ṭawîl.

To rescue my old she-camel I will stab,
Yea, stab all the more when he becomes afraid who does not esteem honor.
And should I be unable to save her with my spear
Then, Oh, may I not live long!

Fâṭer is a twenty-year-old she-camel. *Ḍalîl* is a man who values his health and life above his honor. Seeing that during a hostile attack he would have to face superior numbers, he fears for his life, *hâb*, and takes to flight, while a man of honor stays and tries to replace such a coward by greater bravery. Rather than allow his old she-camel to be captured, he will die. [703]

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is surest of capturing a camel when he crosses his legs on its neck and guides it by a slight kick of his foot. But if the enemy succeeded even in that, the Rwala would throw themselves on them like a flooded creek or torrent, and would overcome and capture them. *Naff* is a torrent which carries away everything in its way. *'Aḍa'* means both dry or live bushes, grass, excrements, dirt, coarse sand, etc., all of which, lying generally between the banks or in reach of the torrent, are carried away by it. *Meğneb* is the slope shutting in the valley through which a creek runs.

La'ujûn šikḥen rawwaḥat
tasma' baha dann al-ğaras
en mâ rumejt (sic) *'abd al-kerîm*
jaḥram 'alej rkûb al-faras.

For the eyes of the white [camels] of reddish hue who
have just reached the place of their night's rest
And from whom thou hearest a slight tinkling of bells,
If I do not throw down 'Abdalkerîm,
May I not be allowed to ride a mare.

'Abdalkerîm âl Ğarba', the war leader of the Šammar camping in Mesopotamia, frequently attacked the herds of the Rwala when they were encamped with the 'Amârât on the middle Euphrates. A bell is hung on the neck of only a valuable she-camel which is inclined to wander afar.

Jâ lâbeti ḥoṭṭû ṛalab
w-ar-riš mardûmen 'alejh
jâ ḥejf jâ ḥaṭw al-walad
finir w-mašrûhen 'alejh.

O comrades mine, [on your spears] tie ash-gray ostrich
But cover them with the black feathers. [feathers,
Oh, shame! Many a youth
Flees and yet all relied on him.

Riš means the black, *ṛalab* the ash-gray feathers of a female ostrich. When a youth has distinguished himself in repelling an attack, the chief orders his comrades to fasten to the spear where the blade is set into the shaft ash-gray feathers of a female ostrich and to post it before his tent. When people ask in whose honor the spear is placed there,

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703 554 they are informed of the youth's heroism. If during an attack an otherwise worthy youth does not stand his ground, the gray feathers are covered by black ones as a sign that for the first time he has not behaved in a manner befitting his honor. *Ḥafw* means "many a one." *'Alejh šarha*: he was depended on; *kunt maʾrûhen 'alejh*: I depended on him. 539A

Aṣ'an la'ajni ṣâḥebi
w-aṣni la'ajni 'andeli
ḳalbi ṛada beh ṣâḥebi
minni 'aṭijjat ǧandali.

To aid my sweetheart I wish to stab,
And I will stab also to help my thoroughbred mare;
Of my heart my beloved took possession.
She received it from me like a Ġandal's gift which is never returned.

'Andelijje is a thoroughbred white mare; in poetical language this expression is used instead of *aṣîle*. *Ṛada beh* and *aḫaḏeh*, he took him, have the same meaning. Anything a father has given may be demanded back by the son. However, if any member of the Eben Ġandal kin makes a gift, nobody, as will be explained below, may ask for its return. Therefore, he who wishes to make his gift secure, gives it first to a member of the Eben Ġandal kin, who then hands it to the person for whom it was intended. [431]

Aṣ'an la'ajni bint eben ḳublân
oḫt allaḏi zabn aṭ-ṭarîḥ
al-'ajn 'ajn mušaḏḏar al-ṛuzlân
'alîlaha mâ jesterîḥ.

I will stab to help Eben Ḳublân's daughter,
The sister of the defender of one from his saddle thrown.
Her eye keeps a sharp lookout like a frightened gazelle;
Her lover will, faith! not have much rest.

Eben Ḳublân is the name of a kin of the al-Ḥsene division, Weld 'Ali tribe. One who assists a comrade thrown from the saddle acts honorably, as by doing so he abandons any booty he might capture and also exposes himself to the danger of being attacked while lifting the fallen man from the ground and placing him on his own horse. The gazelles live [577]

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539x

Jâ-bu ṭemânen ḏubbalen wa-rhâf
'eḏâb liṭarrâd al-hawa
jâ žiḏleten rîš an-na'âm erdâf
jel'ab beha ṣafž al-hawa.

O thou with eight teeth fine and small,
Which so torment him who is given to flirting!
O braids above the forehead, as thick as the ostrich's feathers,
With which nothing but a strong breeze can play.

Ṭemân are the four lower and the four upper incisors. The finer and smaller, the prettier they are. When they are shown by a smiling beauty, the passion of amorous men is inflamed to a high degree. *Ṭarrâd* is a warrior who, circling on his mare, attacks the enemy with the one aim of defeating them. No sooner has he vanquished one, than he throws himself on another. *Ṭrâd* is a hand-to-hand fight, also a mock battle in which the struggles of a real battle are imitated. It is often performed in honor of an esteemed guest. *Ṭrâd al-ḫejl* has the same meaning as *le'eb al-ḫejl*, mock battle, cavalry play. *'Arâża* has nothing in common with *ṭrâd*. In *'arâża* the warriors defile, one by one, before the standing chief, assure him of their fidelity, and by uttering their war cry raise one another's war spirit. He that devotes much of his time to love affairs also resembles a *ṭarrâd*, because, having gained the victory over one beauty, he leaves her in order to win the favor of another. The feathers on the hips of an ostrich are the thickest. A beauty's *žiḏle* should, likewise, be so thick and heavy that nothing except a strong breeze could move it. *Safž* or *ṣalf* is a strong, sudden gust of wind.

[826 832]

[541]

[703]

Jâ ḫowḳ jâ dakkâk al-ḫejl
jâ merteči fowḳ al-ḫani
ekhar ḳa'ûdak 'enda rkûz al-ḫejl
abi-ṣmanak w-atrok ḫali.

O sweetheart mine who givest forth a fragrance as if pounding cardamom!
O thou who supportest thyself by the bent litter pole!
Stop thy camel at the cavalry assault,
For I will desert my kin to guarantee thy safety.

721 asleep. Both men and dogs sleep under cover in order to protect themselves against the dew and chill. An attack launched at this time is called *bejât* and is dishonorable, as the surprised enemy cannot defend himself.

726 The order to attack is given by the leader with the words: "Gain success, O ye looters! *efleḥû jâ ṛânimîn,*" and by a gesture of his hand to the cavalry to advance. For their part they shout: "O Allâh, by Allâh himself!" or: "O Allâh, thy will be done! *jâ-llâh 'ala bâbak,*" and throw themselves on the herds without paying attention to the herdsmen. Every one tries to reach an animal with his spear, calling at the same time on his comrades to witness that it was he who captured it; he then drives it before him to a second and third, which he also makes his own. A long spear is very useful in this kind of work. Sometimes they succeed in surrounding and capturing all the herds, but usually some of the camels shy and gallop away madly. These animals can never be overtaken by the attackers unless they run towards their last quarters, for frightened camels will not stop until quite exhausted.

● 704 The captured herds are driven by the cavalry to the
725 leader, who waits for them with the camel riders. There the cavalry divides. One half, armed with spears, drives the booty to the last quarters, the other, armed with revolvers, pistols, and rifles conceals itself in some suitable spot between the leader and the camp of the enemy. These hidden warriors are called *čemîn*, the reserve.

Both the reserve and the leader with the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, wait for the counter attack, *faz'a*, which the enemy usually makes in order to rescue the captured animals and to drive the raiders back. The task of the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, consists in opposing the sortie, and in this they are supported by the reserve in their rear. If the sortie is beaten back and the enemy dispersed, the *ṣâbûr* fall on the camp, taking all the tents there with everything in them.

721 However, it is only on rare occasions that the enemy
704 can be taken wholly by surprise, because the chief of every
726 camp follows the rule of sending out riders on camels, called *ṭullû'*, to observe the country on all sides. They usually start before sunrise, ascend the highest hillocks, survey the neighborhood in all directions, and do not return till after sunset.

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Should the pastures be more than twenty kilometers from the camp, the herds are accompanied by a troop of cavalry, *ǧanab*, who stay with them all day and also return only after sunset. Besides this, on all the highest elevations at different points around the pastures and between them and the camp, sentinels lie hidden behind piles of stones. These keep a sharp outlook for anything suspicious that may appear on the horizon. If something unusual is noticed by one of the mounted pickets, *ṭullû'*, he ties his kerchief to the muzzle of his rifle, waves it in the direction of whatever has aroused his suspicion, and shouts at the top of his voice:

"At their backs, O riders, an attack threatens you! *ẓhawrahen* [sic] *jâ-hla-l-ḫejl 'alejkom ṛâra.*"

This shout is repeated and the direction indicated by the next sentinel, so that the whole camp is put on its guard in a few minutes. The girls and women hasten to open the iron fetters on the mares' forelegs, while the men put on cartridge belts and seize their rifles. One rider after another speeds in the direction from which the danger is expected, singing *ḥda'* ditties on the way. Those who own no mare wait, weapons in hand, for the next report. If the alarm cry, *ṣijâḥ*, proves false and thus that the man who gave it, *ṣâjeḥ*, called for help, *fazza' al-'arab*, unnecessarily, the sentinel shouts: "Forgiveness, *al-'âfje*," and the cavalry who came out return home in groups, singing. But if the enemy really appears and is near at hand, the warriors who have no horses run from the camp afoot to help the cavalry. In case the enemy flees and the cavalry cannot overtake them, they return to the camp, pick their riding camels from among the herds, saddle them, load them with water bags and food, and start as the *ṭalab* in pursuit of the hostile troop.

Should the rescuing cavalry who make the counter attack, *faz'a*, find out that the attackers are too numerous, they dispatch messengers to the neighboring camps, who shout from afar: "Come out to our help quickly! Your comrades have been robbed! *efza'û rab'akon. wuḫeḏû.*" As this cry is repeated by the sentinels of the other camps or by the herdsmen, it is often unnecessary for the messenger to reach the camp itself. He stops and waits for the first riders to respond to his call, and with them he then gallops to assist his people.

If, for instance, Eben Ša'lân is informed that a strong

721 enemy is approaching, he orders all his tribal divisions to get
•704 ready. Soon troop after troop headed by their chiefs arrive
726 at his camp, defile before his tent, *je'arẓûn*, and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyes, *'ajnâk*, O chief! The rider protecting the 'Alja camel herds rides before thine eyes, and that rider is a Rwejli, *'ajnâk ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli.*"

703 The battle cry, *naḫâwa*, uttered before the chief is in-
726 tended to rouse both his courage and that of his warriors, *ješiddûn maḥzam aš-šejḫ w-juḳawwûn* (sic) *'azmahom*. As a proof that they will not desert their fellow tribesman they defile before him on horseback; this is called *'arẓa*. The *'arẓa* is always connected with the *naḫâwa*. Without a *naḫâwa* there is no *'arẓa*.

Whenever Eben Ša'lân sets out to rescue his captured herds, he shouts to the enemy from afar:

"Oh, how many times have we freed herds like these from enemies like you. The rider protecting the 'Alja herds is a Rwejli! By Allâh himself! This day is the most ruinous of all days for you. Oh, how far are your kinsfolk from you! *Jâ mâ fakkejna miṭlehen min miṭlekom ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli w-allâh hal-jowm aḳrad al-ajjâm 'alejkom w-ba'ad ahalkom al-jowm 'alejkom.* All of you must perish, your kins will not come to help you!"

If the victorious attackers expect a second counter attack, *faz'a*, stronger in numbers, before hiding themselves their cavalry defile before the commander and the camel riders and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyesight, O chief! Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting the 'Alja is a Rwejli!"

The commander answers: "We shall not desert each other! *lâ ḫala' w-lâ 'adam*," and is the first to throw himself on the enemy, with the words:

"If Allâh grants luck to us we shall capture your mares as we have already taken your camels!" for nothing inspires the troop so much as the bravery of its leader. On the other hand, if he betrays hesitation, all is lost. If the leader on his part notices that his men are wavering, he admonishes them with the battle cry:

"Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting 'Alja is I, So-and-So. I fill even heroes with fear, I, So-and-So, *ḏa"âr as-sebâja w-ana flân eben flân.*" If they answer: "Enough

539r

Ḥenna zejzûm al-ḥarb al-awwal
naṣbor w-law enneh ṭeżîl
čamen ṭamûḥen min 'edâna
râḥat tedawwer leh ḥalîl.

We are the rampart against the first onslaught;
Be it ever so fierce, we shall hold our ground,
For there are many wives of our enemies, displeased
Who seek another man. [with their husbands,

Al-ḥarb al-awwal is the first or surprise attack on a camp. It is repulsed as a rule by the bravest and steadiest warriors. *Zejzûm* is the man who guarantees the safety of the herds, caravans, and people. *Ṭamûḥ* is a married woman desiring another man. If her husband is killed, she may marry the one she desires.

Jâ mâ ḥala' ṭard as-sebâja
min fowḳ mušammart aš-šelîl
w-jâ mâ ḥala' ḥebb aṭ-ṭenâja
elja' ṣâr 'ašîżak ṣaṛîr.

Oh, how sweet is a fight with the plunderers,
When thou sittest on a mare whose hair spreads over
And how sweet the kissing of teeth, [her back!
If thy sweetheart still be young!

Mušammart aš-šelîl is a mare holding her tail high so that the hair spreads over her back.

Jâ mâ ḥala' ṭard as-sebâja
elja' ṣirt min fowḳ al-ǧamûḥ
w-jâ mâ ḥala' ḥebb aṭ-ṭenâja
elja' ṣâr 'ašîżak ṭamûḥ.

Oh, how sweet to fight with the plunderers,
When thou bestridest a rebellious mare!
And how sweet kisses of the teeth,
When thy beloved longs for [thee] a braver man!

Ṭard is the actual encounter or clash, a hand-to-hand fight in which one man attacks another trying to outflank him. *Sebâja* are the fighters whose task it is to capture the herds of the enemy. To repel or at least to stop these warriors or plunderers is not easy, as they are always superior in number to the guardians of the herds.

[704]

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bwağbet aṯ-ṯnên.*"

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Jâ-llâh maḳsûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad.*"

•705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl.* If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh,* he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'.* Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḥdaḥa.* They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberûn al-faras,* of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabi'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *ḳrân al-'ars,* is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

[585 777] [834] [714]

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

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8. The bridge of her nose glistens like the blade of an Indian sword;
   To pearls and corals her teeth I compare.
9. Oh, her spittle! Like viper-wine it is used,
   For it heals one bitten by a snake as soon as he drinks of it.
10. Oh, the neck of my darling! like that of a gazelle
    Or the white antelope which men hunt on horseback.
11. Her breasts are adorned by tattooing with gems precious and costly.
    Which neither the wealth of Persia nor of Syria could buy.
12. Her breasts, they are apples, — alas, for my loss that has bereft me of reason! —
    A china cup set on a tray.
13. Her arms glisten as a silver pot,
    And her little finger is a burnished gold stick.
14. How slender is she! I think not she has yet born children.
    To a sprig of wild cherry I liken her, as it sways in the air.
15. O ye who hear this voice, have mercy on me!
    O Moslems! will you not pity one dead?
16. Bring here my mistress, set her before me
    And on my breast lay her when I die.
17. Oh, may he who reviles me have no kin,
    Or become a captive seized by unbelievers.

The poet was Nimr eben ʿAdwân; the reciter, Ǧwâd al-ʿÂni. The poet sits on a steep stone pile, laments, and describes the beauty of his dead sweetheart, with whom he wishes to be buried. Verse 1. *Ḥorr šemâli* is a camel recognized as pure-blooded by the tribes camping in al-Belḳaʾ and the Ḥawrân districts, whereas the tribes living farther east and south deny this, declaring it is by no means certain that both of its parents were thoroughbreds. 3. *Riǧm* is an artificial pile of stones. Such piles are usually found on the most prominent hills and serve as shelters for the watchers or spies, who, lying down at their post, may observe the whole country around. *Ṣadir* is a hollow in a channel where the rain water remains even when the stream had dried up. 5. *Ṣalab* is a feather from the hips of an ostrich, used as an ornament or bouquet. 9. *Dâbb* is any poisonous snake of some length; short ones are known as *efâʿi*. 11. The breasts are often covered with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels.

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The Rwala add to the last verse: 539x 276

Jistâhel at-tumbâk miṯl eben haḏḏâl
alli jaṣurreh bimṭâni redûneh.

He cannot live without tumbac, like Eben Haḏḏâl,
Who ties it even into the folds of his sleeves.

Fahad eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who camp on both sides of the middle Euphrates, like many other chiefs carried his water pipe on his camel even when migrating or on long marches. During the short halts, when waiting for the pack camels to come up, he would pour water into the pipe from a small pouch, put some moistened and crushed tumbac in the bowl, lay a red coal on top of it, and smoke. Such smokers usually have the tumbac tied in the lappets of their long shirt sleeves. An inveterate smoker of tumbac is generally punished with asthma.

WEAPONS

In every camp there are men employed in hunting. The duty of some of them is to supply the chief with meat for a strictly fixed sum. Such men always carry an old gun and ammunition with them. The ammunition belt, *meḫḫar*, is made of stout leather, *sêr*, to which two leather straps, *ǧnâd*, are sewn behind; passing over the shoulders like suspenders, they are crossed over the breast and hooked by two iron clasps, *bzîm*, to the belt in front. To each suspender, *ǧenâd*, two burnished copper tubes, *teṭârif*, for powder are fastened. On the right of the belt the scabbard, *ǧwa'*, of a dagger, *šibrijje*, with an ornamented grip, *naḍb*, is sewn; here also is tied a pouch, *maḫraṭ*, containing lead bullets, small shot, *raṣṣ*, and caps, *kubṣûn*. A hunter who does not carry his powder in the copper tubes, keeps it behind his belt in a small horn, *karn aḍ-ḍaḫîr*, made of zinc or brass. Fastened to the belt with a long thin chain or leather cord is a large clasp knife, *ḥawṣa*, used in cutting the throat of the captured game, so that the blood may flow out. The rifles used by the hunters have caps and even obsolete flint locks. 224 463 293 411

For fighting, the Rwala have rifles of *aṣ-ṣam'*, *aš-šâḥâni*, and Mauser makes. Among the common Bedouins before the World War the *ṣam'*, an old English military gun, was the most 713 435 439

713 popular. A genuine one cost 40 to 45 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$40.50) and was imported chiefly from Egypt; an imitation, *tuǧǧârijje*, which came from India, sold for 28 to 30 *meǧidijjât* ($25.20-$29). The *šêhâni* is a Turkish military rifle, a Martini; the *umm sunki* kind of *šêhâni* could be bought for 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54), the *umm ḳufl* variety for 40-50 *meǧidijjât* ($36-$45). All modern rifles are called Mausers by the Bedouins. Breechloaders are not liked by the Rwala and the rifles fitted with breechblocks, *ummu-ṣ-ṣba'*, are less sought after than those without. The original Mausers, especially the Mannlichers, cost 50-60 *meǧidijjât* ($45-$54); the imitations, *tuǧǧâri*, were sold for as much as 20 *meǧidijjât* ($18) less. All arms were brought from the seaports of Jidda or al-Kwejt. During my stay with Prince an-Nûri he was visited by six trade caravans with war munitions. One of the caravans numbered 210 camels carrying more than a thousand rifles with many thousand rounds of cartridges as well as much lead, gunpowder, and many caps. In the camp of every tribe an expert mechanic may be found, who can repair guns and manufacture cartridges.

From time to time both the sons and negroes of the chiefs practice shooting. Their target, *nišân*, generally is a black stone, a stick with a kerchief tied to it, or an old piece of clothing. The best marksman is rewarded by the chief with the head of the first camel he slaughters. *Ramje* (pl., *rami*) signifies a report, a shot. *"Bârûdi 'araft ramîha"* means "I know the reports of my rifle; *"w-allâh ramîha zên,"* "she shoots well." A *binduḳ* is a *bârûd* rifle with a flintlock or caps and is always feminine.

Ma' binduḳen lafẓât fammiha jeṣebni
laha 'ala ḥaṭwa-l-muǧannaḥ marâmi.

A rifle, the reports of whose mouth help me to reach my aim
And whose shots are destined for many a feathered one.

The words for bullet are *ṭalâṭi*, *rbâ'i*, *ḫmâsi*, *stâti* — the last being of the largest caliber. *Šêšḫâne*, or *šêšḫân*, are old rifles whose barrels are five or six-angled on the inside. If the barrel is round, or at least smooth, it is called *ḥamra*. *Bindukijje* are men armed with *binduḳ* rifles.

Of the ancient weapons the spear, sword, saber, and dagger still survive. The spear, *rumḥ*, consists of a steel or

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iron blade sharpened on both edges and a wooden shaft, *'ûd*. The blade is either broad, in which case it is called *šalfa*, or narrow, *ḥarba*. The *šalfa* either is brought from Persia, *'aǧamijje*, in which case it costs 2 or 3 *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80-$2.70), or is a common one made by a blacksmith from iron for half a *meǧîdijje* (45 cents). The *ḥarba*, manufactured chiefly in the town of ad-Dejr on the right bank of the Euphrates, is also called *'arejnijje* and sells for a quarter to a half *meǧîdijje* ($22^1/_2$–45 cents). The sharpened edge of the *šalfa* or *ḥarba* is called *'asla*; the lower end driven into the wooden shaft, *ǧibb*. For the shaft, *'ûd*, either a thin but strong piece of wood, *'erč*, or a thick piece, *šâčri*, is used; shafts are also made from a hollow bamboo-reed, *ḳṣuba*, costing generally 1 *meǧîdijje* (90 cents). The lower end of the shaft is provided with an iron point, *ḳunṭâr*, so that the spear can be stuck in the ground. Sometimes the spear is ornamented with ostrich feathers or thin chains fastened to the *ǧibb*.

The sword, *nemeša*, is either a *morrebi*, with three long grooves, costing 2-40 *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80-$36); a *šentijân*, very flexible, costing 2-10 *meǧîdijjât* ($1.80-$9); or a *ḥsênijje*, with a single long groove, also costing 2-10 *meǧîdijjât*.

The sabers, *sejf*, are as follows: *dâbân*, 5-10 *meǧîdijjât* ($4.50-$9); *hendi*, made of black steel, 40-150 *meǧîdijjât* ($36-$135); *'aǧami*, of gray steel, 5-40 *meǧîdijjât* ($4.50-$36); or the *ǧawhar*, made of cast steel from Ḫorâsân, 150 *meǧîdijjât* ($135). The grip, *ḳuma'*, of the sword or saber often extends up to the *šubbâk* guard, where the blade begins, and is richly ornamented with gold and silver. The scabbard, *ǧefîr*, is provided with two metal rings, *ḥwâmel*, to which the cord used in hanging up the sword or saber is fastened.

The dagger is either short and narrow, *šibrijje*, or broad and long, *ḳdejmi*, or broad and short, *ḫanǧar*. It costs as much as 3 *meǧîdijjât* ($2.70), but if the handle is ornamented with gold chains and precious stones it may cost 50 *meǧîdijjât* ($45) and even more.

Spears are carried mainly by the poorer Bedouins, the sword and saber only by the more important men; but every one is in possession of firearms, be it a revolver or a rifle.

The revolver, *redâni*, is either the old heavy kind, *karadâr*, which was formerly used by the Montenegrins and is sold for 12 to 14 *meǧîdijjât* ($10.80-$12.60), or the Mauser, either of the *ebnetên* or *mukâri* variety. The original *ebnetên*, from

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411 St. Etienne, cost 20-22 *meǧidijjât* ($18-$19.80); its nickel
● 713 imitation, manufactured in Egypt and al-Baṣra, sold for 4-15
435 *meǧidijjât* ($3.60-$18.50).

CARE OF THE PERSON

515 To cleanliness the Rwala pay but scant attention. Water must not be wasted, as there is hardly enough for drinking and cooking. In a sand desert they rub their hands and faces with clean dry sand. The clothes are washed and a bath is taken only when they camp near a large rain pond. The youths make their ablutions in the day time, the girls in the evening.
[296] The clothes are washed, as a rule, by a negro or a Ṣlejb woman, the mistress of the tent and her daughters looking on disinterestedly, scratching themselves all the while, for it never occurs to them to rid themselves of their lice or to cleanse their dresses thoroughly. Once in a while, perhaps, a wife will delouse her husband, *tefli brâseh*, a sister her brother or sweetheart, a mother her children, and women other women. Soap is kept only by the chiefs for their guests. For themselves they gather *šnân*, drying, powdering, and then using it in washing. I brought European soap to some women, but instead of washing themselves with it, they rubbed it dry all over their hands and body for the sake of its pleasant odor.

291 The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala differ not
614 only in their dialect, but also in their dress. All Rwala wear
184 the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament. If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan. He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddlebags; the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots; the fashion in which they are dressed; their style of sitting in the saddle, etc. He can distinguish from afar a Freǧi from a Kwêčbi, and these from a Mur'aẓi. Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Sḳûr. A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various 'Aneze tribes — and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x to knock down the enemy blocking the way in front of their she-camels. The word *kankabb* (or *kankab*) is used of a rider [703] who pretends to repair something in order that he can stay in the rear. If his comrades are getting the best of the fight, he, too, joins in, but otherwise he makes his escape. The honor of such a man is stained, he is an *adnas*, a base or filthy one. [713] *Mšenšelât* are spears adorned at the ring between the shaft and the spear blade with tiny chains which tinkle at every movement of the rider. Ad-Dejr is a town on the right bank of the middle Euphrates.

Jâ ḏîb jâ ḏîb an-nefûd
ṣawwet 'ala ḏîb al-ǧalad
er' at-tijâha bes-senûd
mâ bên aš-šâjeb w-al-walad.

O wolf! O thou wolf from the Nefûd!
Say to the wolf of the rocky desert:
"Behold those wandering in the upper part of the valleys,
What a throng is there of old men and youths, too!"

The repulsed and defeated enemy hide in the gullies intersecting the rocky desert. *Nefûd* (pl., *nifd*) means sand, a sand-covered country, a sandy desert; *ǧalad*, stone, rock, or a rocky desert. *Senûd* signifies that the enemy is fleeing upstream.

Jâ ḥzûm w-eḥleb lel-faras
jeḏkar abu mâjele lafa'
ḥarâjeb mâ bah manâǧi
w-lâ bah 'ala-l-ǧâhel ḫafa'
abṛi 'alejha naṯḥat âl ṭajjâr
w-al-'elem elja' ḳilteh wafa'.

O Ḥzûm! draw milk for my mare,
For it is said Abu Mâjele has arrived,
And the wars to come are no secret,
Not even from a fool concealed;
That is why I will attack Âl Ṭajjâr on her,
And what I foretell will doubtless occur.

Abu Mâjele negotiated with Eben Smejr and Eben Ṭajjâr about the settling of various mutual complaints but without success. After his return it became evident that war with Eben Smejr and his followers was inevitable. Âl Ṭajjâr, famous

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the distance between themselves and the Rwala, they left the desert, *rarrabow*, crossed the Euphrates, and encamped on al-Ḥâbûr, whence Nawwâf sent his answer, also in verse. Yet Sattâm got his Turkijje and was very happy with her.

Jâ râ'i-l-ḥamra šenûf
w-ḥelw šabṭat râṣeha
jâ mî ḥala' ḥebb al-henûf
w-mlâ'aben befrâšeha.

O thou who ridest the bay who always holds her head
Faith! pretty is the motion of her head. [high!
Oh, how sweet is the kiss of the smiling beauty
And the struggle in her bed!

Šenûf is a horse which habitually carries its head erect and breathes through its nostrils, even while galloping. *Ḥebb* means a kiss. "Kiss his hand! *ḥebb îdeh*."

Ṣawâjeḥen w-al-ḫejl 'azzam
w-el'ja' račebna mâ nešûf
'âdâta :a ramja-l-muḥazzam
min šânak jâ-l-ṛarw al-henûf.

They cry alarm and the horses are shying,
And, as we rode out, nothing we saw.
Our custom is to strike down armed men
To please thee, our little gazelle, who smilest so prettily.

Ṣawâjeḥen are the sentinels announcing at the top of their voices that they have seen danger. On hearing these alarm cries, the horses begin to shy, pull at their halters, jump up, and try even with the forelegs fettered to run in the direction whence the alarm is heard. *'Azzam al-ḫejl*: the horses are shying, will not be controlled, *lâ tasnied*. *'Azûm*: a shying horse, either a stallion or a mare. *Muḥazzam* is a warrior armed not only with a rifle and revolver, but also provided with plenty of cartridges, which he carries in one or two belts, one of them thrown over his shoulders and across the breasts. *Ṛarw* is a young gazelle; *henûf*, a young beauty with a pleasant smile. [713]

Nešmijjeṭen tarčaḥ lena
w-ḥelw ṛazzat 'âdaha

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bwağbet aṯ-ṯnên*."

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Já-lláh maksûm ḫejr alláh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad*."

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl*. If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmalek*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabî'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḥdâḥa*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabî'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *krûn al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

[585 777] [834] [714]

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

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726* 539* from a tent other than his master's; also of a man who helps himself from a full platter set before others, without being invited. *Ṛarra* is a thing of value which some man finds and keeps. 13. Eben Ǧrajjed is a chief of the Beni ʿAṭijje. *Ṣafḥa* is the general name of the territory where the Ḥwêṭât, Beni ʿAṭijje, and Šarârât like to camp, because it slopes both east and west. *Ṯwa*ʾ: the dead, buried. 14. Htejm is the term for the despised clans and tribes, thus also the Šarârât, of whom [714] the poet is thinking. 15. *Šihb* means attacking riders. Before the attack they divest themselves of their mantles and caftans, if they have any, entrust them to their returning comrades, *rudd*, and are clothed only in their dirty gray, *šihb*, shirts. 16. Al-ʿAlja, the name given by the Rwala to their white camel herds. *Medâlih* or *marâkiz*, swift, flashing, terms applied to the Rwala owing to their mode of delivering attacks in quick succession with the suddenness of lightning. Whenever the sky is enveloped in black clouds, a wind storm rises in the desert, carrying and driving dust, fine sand, and dry plants before it and overturning all tents the pegs and ropes [721 of which are not tight. 18. Eben Hazzâʿ — i. e. an-Nûri, the 577] commander of the Rwala — did not commit treason when he attacked the enemy. His face is without blemish, that is white. *Neḳaʿ* signifies integrity, honesty, which both parties to a peace treaty have to maintain. The party declaring war, returns the integrity, *neḳaʿ*, to the other party. He who attacks another without a declaration of war fails to return the *neḳaʿ* to the attacked party, commits treason, and blackens his honesty, his face. 19. *Nišâma* are gay youths, young heroes; *neśmijje*: a gay beauty, a heroine. *ʿAǧǧat* is used alike for a violent passion, for rising dust, and for an approaching throng of raiders. Ḥmâr maintained that *ṣabâha* meant "her youth," but ʿAwde pronounced it "*sabâha*." According to Ḥmâr the poet speaks of a gay beauty in whose veins was beating the blood of youth demanding its rights from another man, while ʿAwde maintained that the poet expresses his admiration for a beauty who seeks to save, either by hiding or by flight, the camels burdened with household goods, against which a raiding troop, *sabâha*, was advancing, *ʿaǧǧat*. 22. *Ḥâlât* is an area covered with basalt and lava, where neither horse nor rider can move except by a few narrow paths. The Rwala drove the defeated enemy as far as the borders of such an area. The defeated mourned, the victors sang.

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726 cloud of dust. Only their wild yells, the neighing of their horses, and the drumming of the hoofs were audible. The mad rush of the horsemen had made Sadha, my mare, restive; she pulled at her line and gave me to understand that she wanted to be in it too. I grabbed my Mauser and vaulted from the high saddle of my *dhalul* to her back. With a whinny she responded to the pressure of my thighs and careened after the others, extending herself like a gazelle when I, with my face almost touching her mane, called her by name. Closer and closer to the band thundering ahead she carried me, and soon I had overtaken the rearmost and was coming up with Faris and his escort.

●[715] The automobiles now appeared on a ridge and we recognized them at once as battle-cars of the Ruala. We all stopped and waited for their coming. It turned out that they carried Amir Fuaz himself, accompanied by Mijhem and several other men. They had captured in the neighborhood of their camp a scout of the Beni Sakhr. This man had refused to answer questions, and the Amir had forbidden his men to force information from him by torture; yet from the appearance of the spy in that locality, the young chieftain thought it reasonable to infer that the tribe of the Beni Sakhr had also taken arms against the Ruala, who were threatened from the other side as well by the Bishri. He therefore divided our force: two thirds, now under the command of Mijhem, were to remain facing the Bishri; the other third, under Faris, was to swing southeast against the Beni Sakhr.

000 Naturally, I attached myself to Faris's command. Be-

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643 721 While Nuri thus stood at bay against enemies in his own tribe, his eldest son, Nauaf, was charged with leading the Ruala against their external enemies. Nuri was the father of a large family and was in fact credited with eighty-two children, of whom thirty-seven were sons, nearly all of whom died violent deaths.

A few days after this first meeting with Nuri Sha'lan, I paid a visit to Nauaf, whose tents were pitched a day's ride away, by the rain-water pools of Rukuban, one hundred and twenty odd miles east of Damascus.

Nauaf differed greatly from his father. He lacked the old *Sheykh's* strong personality. Nor had he the talent 101 to organize for warfare a tribe so vast as the Ruala, with 162 its seven thousand tents, thirty-five thousand souls, and over three hundred thousand camels.

721 He had just mustered another small camel-troop to strengthen his forces operating against Jauf, the oasis at the southeastern end of the wide, fertile depression of the Wadi Sirhan. They had already taken a few lesser fortified outposts. But these successes had brought Nauaf little credit: neither from his own tribesmen nor from the subjugated settlers could he win the respect which would have consolidated his position. Moreover [438] this attack on Jauf was a reversal of tribal policy. From of old the Ruala had peacefully traded with that oasis, bartering their camels, wool, cheese, and butter for dates, barley, salt, coffee, tent fittings, camel-saddles and textiles. Suddenly, and quite against the old *Sheykh's* intentions, Nauaf conceived the scheme of monopolizing that trade for himself and occupying the oasis as a strategic stronghold from which to dominate Northern Arabia and the caravan routes to Nejd.

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643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

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dabbed the scratch on my forehead and rubbed four drops of blood on his own forehead between his black eyebrows—the old Bedouin "*Nur-ed-Dam*", the "Light of Blood."

In this unusual, dramatic fashion I became, by the will of Allah, the blood-brother of Amir Fuaz.

Our friendship was soon to receive baptism by fire. A band of Ruala, two hundred and sixty-eight warriors, led by Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, set out on a *ghazu* (raid) into the Hamad and the Wudian region, against the Shammar Bedouins, and I accompanied them. We rode twelve hours the first day. In camp that night we were overhauling our riding-gear, water-skins, and so forth, when to our amazement we discovered, curled up in one of the goat-hair camel saddlebags—huge receptacles made of goat skins—little Amir Fuaz, sound asleep.

Not by the slightest sound or sign had he betrayed to us during the long and hard day's ride that we were carrying a stowaway. Our leader, Rasheyd (of the Muraf Ruala), wanted the boy taken home on the morrow by a camel-rider, but Fuaz pleaded so earnestly that the heart of the old freebooter was softened. He merely sent a mounted messenger to Misha'il's camp to let her know that her son was with us.

We were gone on this great *ghazu* almost two months. When we returned, worn out, having suffered serious losses, yet victorious, Amir Fuaz took four of the booty-camels, splendid fawn-coloured beasts, into the camp, and made them kneel before the tent of his blind mother. Misha'il, still a young woman, enquired pleasantly who was the stranger seeking her hospitality. Custom for-

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bade asking direct questions of a stranger. A Rueyli called out: "Khalati—it is a great prince who comes, O blessed daughter, to honour thee."

"And where is his *dira* (pasture) that I may send Hamar, our old slave, to proclaim him to our neighbour?"

"His name is 'The Young Falcon', and his *dira* extends as far as his eyes rove. It is thy son, O mother of Amir Fuaz."

In this foray, Rasheyd, the leader, had his right hand severed by a sword cut. He fainted from loss of blood. Our slaves then plunged the mutilated arm in boiling fat—a desperate remedy but successful, for Rasheyd recovered. He carried his amputated hand from that day forward in the saddle of his racing-camel. It dried up completely, like the hand of a mummy.

When we reached Bahr Saigal, not far from Dumeyr, the first Turkish fortress in Syria, its Commandant sent a cavalry detachment to our camp. He had been informed by telegraph of our illicit operations in the vicinity of the cultivated lands of Mesopotamia. His troopers were seeking Rasheyd, who was to be made answerable. But Rasheyd could not reconcile himself to the prospect of a Turkish dungeon. He placed his withered hand in a leather bag and dictated to Nauaf's *katib* (scribe) the following letter addressed to the Commandant at Dumeyr:

"In the name of the Benevolent and Compassionate! As *askar* (soldier) I cannot serve thy *Padishah* (Sultan), for I have but a stump of an arm. As thy prisoner I could do no work for thee; nay, as a friend I could not

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even grasp thy hand. What use then being with thee? As a token of my everlasting surrender, however, I offer to thee my hand, since thou art wont to cut off the hand of a thief. Be sure it is my own hand—the hand of Rasheyd-ibn-Whafa, the robber. May God be forbearing with us."

VI

The Commander of Our Camel-Saddles

721 [202] WHEN WE DREW rein, slaves were already lighting a huge signal-fire to call together the warriors of the tribe. A strong raiding-party of the Bishri (the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Saba, and Amarat) was reported to be advancing. It was said to number five hundred camel-riders, with some hundreds of war-mares. Perhaps the numbers were exaggerated.

That night Amir Fuaz made all his dispositions. Before the first grey of dawn Faris was at my bedside. "Awake, if thou wouldst ride with us," I heard him say, with a laugh. I jumped up and hastened to make ready for the march. Faris handed me a filled water-skin, a lump of pressed dates, several balls of hard Bedouin cheese, the size of a fist, and a stack of fresh-baked [492] bread-cakes. With the help of Mnahi, who was to be my rider-attendant, I stowed everything in the saddlebags of my *dhalul* (racing-camel), saddled Sadha, my white war-mare, and tied her by her halter to the dromedary's cinch.

Amir Fuaz had appointed Faris leader of our camel corps.

726 It was still dark when we started. The moon had set. The night was calm and the voices of the riders chanting as they rode made no echo, but moved over the desert

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XV

Famine and War

587 628 TARFA, SISTER OF Amir Fuaz, who had married Mijhem ibn Meheyd, the Chief of the Fid'an, died suddenly. Thereupon, what must the fifty-five-year-old widower do but forthwith sue for the hand of another sister of the Ruala Prince, Fuwasa, who was seventeen. Fuaz refused, and declared publicly, before the men in assembly, that he considered Ibn Meheyd too old for his young sister. Thereupon the vain Fid'an chief flew into a towering rage and swore that he would take vengeance, not only on his brother-in-law, Amir Fuaz, but also on the whole Ruala tribe, and the Sha'lan family in particular. All this ultimately came to pass.

628 ● 721 731x During the last few months, Ibn Meheyd had matured his plans for revenge. He had stirred up the neighbouring tribes of the Fid'an into joining him in war on the Ruala. It seemed as if the famine, threatened by the failure of rain in the Hamad and other grazing regions, would now become an additional formidable ally of Amir Fuaz's foes. Thirty-five thousand Ruala, with seven thousand tents and about three hundred and fifty thousand camels would be forced to invade the grazing territory of enemies, unless sufficient rain fell in the Hamad within the next few days.

000 As yet, life ran its familiar round. But over all hovered the spectres of thirst, hunger, and death.

The Ruala did not fear war. Were they not strong

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731x 221x on unconcerned, without a check. The man remaining behind would cut up the camel in a few minutes, then hurry on to catch up with the tribe, leaving only the entrails, the head and legs, on the trampled ground.

The losses in the camel herds increased day by day. From some hundreds a day they had risen to sinister figures. According to Fuaz, two thousand camels died or had to be killed daily.

•[721] Onward, ever onward; though hostile tribes made some attempt to stem this tide of hungry men and beasts, and the Saba and the Fid'an drove off a few of the smaller herds, the main body of the Ruala was as yet safe from attack. But isolated skirmishes and small raids grew in number the farther the Ruala drew away from the independent domain of Ibn Sa'ûd, and passing through Transjordania, penetrated into Syria. There indeed the situation threatened to become serious. French aeroplanes droned over the restless sea of men and beasts, but so far only scouting planes were out, seeking to ascertain the strength of the invading Ruala host.

731x 618 721 The "Fransawi" could not, without some protest, permit a whole nation of warlike Bedouins to roam so far beyond its own ground and invade Syria. The settlers in the French mandated territory were already shaking for fear of war among the Bedouin tribes, and were making preparations for the defence of their villages and fields. The Druses, on the contrary, warlike people of the Hauran Mountains, were perhaps rejoicing in anticipation of a new turmoil in Syria, from which they might hope to gain more than they had from the last. In that quarrel the Ruala, hereditary enemies of the Druses, did

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not take sides against the French. The French authorities immediately realized the danger, and promptly gave orders that the ancient caravan route from Damascus to Tudmur (Palmyra) and Deyr-ez-Zor (which passes south of the hills of the Abu Rijmeyn and branches off near Tudmur towards Baghdad) was to form the most northerly boundary beyond which the Ruala might not seek pasture. None must cross this line if armed or mounted.

Now the foes of the Ruala could triumph!

The Saba, the Muwali, Hadediyyin and all the others had the law of the land and the power of the French Government on their side—and they were confederates of Ibn Meheyd! What did they care for the misery of the Ruala? They only saw at hand a long-desired opportunity to fall upon and destroy this hated Ruala nation and take possession of their vast herds.

It was a day in April, when our distress seemed to have reached the last extremity beyond which endurance could not go—when death stared every man and animal in the face—that I entered the tent of Faris, which was pitched on a hillock a little apart. The tent was empty. The mother and sister of the young man were probably searching for truffles, roots and dry herbs for fuel. As I flung myself down by the glowing ashes inside the tent, I heard the voice of Faris ibn Naif behind the tent. It was loud and excited, which was an unusual thing for him, for the calm and self-control of my friend had always been exemplary. He was neither a Philistine nor a bigot, but a man of a moral purity such as I never found surpassed, even among the Bedouins. I

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ritory had not entered their minds. Only our black or brown herder's coats betrayed us on closer view as possible foes. 579 [291]

We thanked our lucky stars for this error which had saved our lives and sent the robbers on their way unmolested, but without arms and ammunition. The wounded man we carried with us to the camp of Ibn Meheyd.

Before they left us, these fellows had the impudence to ask us to make a detour and take them into the neighbourhood of a Saba camp which they intended to raid. Incorrigible rogues!

"But the Saba are your allies!" I cried out, astonished.

"What of that?" answered the leader. "Thou are *ghim* (enemy) of the Saba."

"Magnanimous Duleym!" said Mijhem ironically, "thou art in error; we are on a peace mission."

"Allah! How fastidious art thou!" responded the man, with equal irony, and turned his back on us.

Our head-cloths fluttered in the wind as we raced on again over the undulating plain. Small groups of riders on camels and on horses appeared from time to time. They stood still as we passed, observing us from a distance. 731x 221x

We had also noticed three automobiles which held a course parallel to ours for some distance, but disappeared now and again behind a hill or in some depression. After one such disappearance, they reappeared much nearer to us. We halted and signalled to the motorists. They 721

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●721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

619 [361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

769 [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiyukhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

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visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab.

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyye was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala.

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black.

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates.

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my

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friends on no account to step within the circle of the *shiyukhs* without me.

No word of greeting or otherwise had come from these. Some turned away with ostentatious disdain. Ibn Meheyd, with his back to us, was excitedly whispering into the ear of his black body-servant, who was listening with bent head. The men of the bodyguard stood with eyes fixed on those two, their hands round the butts of the pistols in their belts, ready to draw.

Meanwhile, more by instinct than design, I seated myself close to Ibn Meheyd and motioned Faris and Mijhem to sit down too. (Abd el-Karim and the two slaves were waiting in our motor-car.) Furious ejaculations burst from every mouth at the liberties I was taking. At the sound, Ibn Meheyd turned in surprise; silently he regarded Faris and Mijhem with lowered brows and sinister eyes. I divined, nay, I could feel the murder in his mind. One sign from him, and there was an end of my friends; perhaps of me too.

There was not the fraction of a second to lose. Hailing the despised "coffee-cook" by the hearth, I called out to him: "O boy—strength to thee!" The old Negro looked up, startled, but did not dare to answer me; he only rolled his eyes timidly back and forth between me and his master. Suddenly Ibn Meheyd made a sign and his guardsmen drew their pistols. The last fragments of my courage and self-possession dropped from me and my knees trembled. But—the pistols were not levelled. Faris and Mijhem had been quicker than the guard. With great presence of mind they had whipped out their revolvers and had Ibn Meheyd covered before the black-

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amoors could take aim. And this they dared not do now.

This coolness helped to restore my own composure and I cried to the cook reproachfully:

"Is it forbidden in the house of Ibn Meheyd to present the cup of peace to the guest who has alighted at his sanctuary?" The old Negro dithered, as he reluctantly reached for the small china cup that was placed upside down on the handle of a big coffeepot to dry; he turned his face anxiously towards his chieftain. Unwilling to wait any longer, I jumped up and went quickly to the hearth, helped myself to the cup, took the pot from the bed of glowing embers—it burned my fingers cruelly, but I bit down the pain—and poured out the customary measure. Then I went up to Ibn Meheyd and presented the cup to him with the salutation of peace. He looked at me with bowed head from under lowered lids.

He must obey the Law of the Desert; he must take the proffered cup. Nor could he play with the lives of my friends without forfeiting his own. At the first aggressive move, he would be riddled with bullets, for Faris and Mijhem still had their pistols trained on him. He turned from me, but I put my hand on his shoulder: "Peace!" I said. He turned round again, a fanatic light in his eyes; but, despite the angry face, he now opened his lips to bid me peace and asked me to sit in his own seat.

Then, and not till then, Faris and Mijhem dared to put up their weapons; the word "peace" had been formally pronounced by the host. Slaves heaped cushions for us against the camel-saddle.

Ibn Meheyd himself then took the coffee-cup from

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619 the slave's hand and presented it to me with, "Welcome!
●721 May it please thee!" Twice he repeated these words,
576 which are a guarantee of peace and safety. Then Faris and Mijhem also drank with him.

000 To us, used to the ways of Western civilization, such a train of events and their result must seem incomprehensible. But after one has lived a length of time with the Bedouins, one learns to understand that the unwritten laws of the Bedouin social code are closely adapted to the conditions of life in the desert and have sufficed, from time immemorial, to meet its manifold circumstances. Without these rules of the game, indeed, all human life in nomad Arabia would have become extinct long since.

619 After I had asked, and Ibn Meheyd had granted me,
728 leave to speak, I set forth the object of my mission and exhorted the assembled *shiyukhs*, with what persuasive eloquence I could muster, to make peace with the Ruala, and, as in former years, share the grazing-grounds like
[186] brothers. I dwelt on the advantages of unity and the evils of dissension, and drove home my argument by pointing out that by their present policy they were only playing into the hands of foreign powers, who, after all the Bedouin tribes had been weakened individually, would encompass the complete destruction of them all.

My exhortations and arguments were received in cold silence. Most of the chiefs sat with bent heads and tapped the ground with their camel-sticks in apparent boredom. I felt pretty sure, however, that their indifference was assumed, and I would not let myself be dis-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4
Bedouins MJ4

Two days later we camped at the well of Al-Hajal,
B 312 415 where our camels and horses were watered. One of the Fid'ans scraped a shallow hole in the soil and spread the saddle leather from one of the camels over it. Into this simple but practical trough we poured the stale water from the well.

R 721 After we had watered our animals, we travelled onward in the dry bed of the Al-Hajal *wadi*. We were crossing a flat between two branches of it when suddenly shots rang out and bullets whistled over our heads.

The Fid'an wheeled instantly to gallop out of range, but they did not get far. Our assailants, imperfectly visible but obviously numerous, followed up their warning volley with a raking fire that in as many seconds unhorsed four of the fugitives. Seeing that to escape was impossible, and to fight hopeless, they all stopped and signalled their surrender to the advancing force of camel-riders. More than a hundred of these had grown out of the ground, as it were, before my astonished eyes. The Fid'an had walked into a trap. They had been too R reckless even to send scouts ahead.

[493] I knew instantly that the newcomers were Ruala. The Saba have as intimate a knowledge of that region, but only the Ruala take the field with so many fine racing-camels; the Saba, like the Fid'an, favour horses.

"The Lord be with us!" exclaimed Matan, the leader R of the Fid'an freebooters, now thoroughly frightened. [627] He clearly thought himself lost; and he had every reason to believe that I should use the opportunity of paying him back in kind. But I reassured him. "We have made peace with thee," I said, "and I shall tell the leader of

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

these Ruala that thou hast actually accorded us thy protection that we might safely reach the grazing grounds of our friends. I shall ask him to permit thee and thy men this evening to camp in peace with the Ruala."

"Truly, thou lightest up my countenance," the Fid'an replied, overjoyed, "and I swear that I have now restored everything." To my amazement, I saw in his extended hand my costly compass, which I had supposed lost.

The Ruala, swaying on the backs of lean *dhaluls*, were drawing nearer. Well ahead of them galloped a horseman on a "red" (bay) mare, obviously their leader, and I cantered to meet him. He had his *kaffiyah* drawn over his face, so that when we met I could see only his eyes, and his voice came muffled: "Who art thou, rider on the 'blue' (grey) mare?"

For answer, I uncovered my face and said: "I yield myself to thee. And all these men"—pointing to Ali and the Fid'an—"I put under thy protection, O *Akid*, in the name of my brother and thy Amir, Fuaz."

The Rueyli drove his heels into his mare so that she plunged wildly and he had great difficulty in controlling her. He pulled down his *kaffiyah* and I was greatly astonished to see that it was Fuaz himself, but beside himself with rage. "Ride away, my brother," he said, "lest thy blood be answerable for my deeds. Like the panther, I winded these dogs of Fid'an that dare to yelp in the grazing grounds of the Ruala."

He was berserk, mad with the fighting frenzy of the Sha'lan. He tossed off his cloak, which caught on his mare's croup; he bared his arms and chest; he shifted his carbine from hand to hand, while his horse curvetted

.1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XXVI

The Stealing of the Mare

•721 AMIR FUAZ HAD not brought his tribesmen to al-Hajal for the purpose of routing out marauding Fid'an. The encounter with them was accidental. The object of the Ruala *ghazu* (raid) was the recovery of a blood mare which the Saba had "lifted" a short time before. Falha, the "Luckbringer", as she was called, was of the best strain in Arabia and famed throughout the land. As soon as Fuaz learned that she had been taken, he dispatched Mnahi to the Saba with an offer of forty camels [435] for her restitution—an exceedingly high value to put on a mare. But the Saba declined the offer. The only al- [425] ternative to buying back Falha, as the Saba well knew, would be taking her back by force; and Fuaz honourably informed them that such was his intention. This did [517] not amount to a declaration of war. It was rather a knightly challenge, and the rules of the game involved the tacit understanding that no blood should be shed unnecessarily on either side.

Fuaz's scouts—*Iyun*, the "eyes", the Bedouins call them—had tracked the mare to a Saba encampment in the vicinity and had thoroughly reconnoitered its surroundings. They had discovered that the Saba camels and horses, including Falha, were grazing under the guard of only a few youths, in a depression several miles away from the main camp, some seventy tents strong.

Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

This disposition gave Fuaz twofold satisfaction. It would facilitate the execution of his plan to recover his mare by stratagem and confirmed his assumption that the Saba did not reckon with the possibility of a Ruala raid so soon, as very little rain had fallen in that region and travel therefore was still very difficult. They probably thought that the Ruala would not venture so far into the inner Hamad until much later, when water and pasture would be plentiful. It was clear at all events that, for the time being, Falha's keepers felt themselves quite secure. Furthermore, if a skirmish proved unavoidable, the fighting would be away from the Saba tents, for Bedouins of noble lineage consider it barbarous to engage the enemy near their own camp. They believe that only the Turks, the "Franks" (Europeans) and the rulers of agricultural Arabia wage war in such a way as to endanger the women and children.

Luck favoured Fuaz's designs from beginning to end. We broke camp early in the morning and a few hours later circled round the pasture where the Saba horses were. Then we wheeled and got between them and the camp. The whole movement was made smoothly and without contact with our opponents. But now their outposts sighted our troop and sought to evade us and carry word to the camp. Our camel-riders easily caught the fugitives, who stopped when a few shots were fired over their heads and let themselves be taken without attempting any defence. They were mere boys, fourteen to sixteen years of age. In rough jest, their captors cut off some of their long plaits and with these bound them

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 522 hand and foot. This was a terrible indignity to such proud lads, who set great store by their six or eight "horns", as the Arabs call these tresses.

721 233 It was nearly midday when we reached the depression in which the horses were grazing. It was a lovely scene, the sky was blue, the brilliant spring sun warm and pleasant, and the air was filled with the sweet smell of the fresh herbage. The horses and camels ranged about, browsing quietly. The sleepy herders were totally unaware of our presence until our camel-riders suddenly appeared over the lip of the depression. Then they awoke to a realization of what was happening. I was rather loath to disturb their *dolce far niente;* above all was I sorry for the Saba horses, which were to be so suddenly driven from their delectable pasture.

The mares raised their heads inquisitively as the herders, rudely awakened from their siesta, sprang to their feet and yelled warnings one to the other. A few of them were successful in loosening the woollen shackles of their horses, and, leaping on their backs, made their escape. They were but a handful, however, and of these two or three were eventually captured.

The horses of the Saba became restive as the Ruala horsemen galloped about them, but, shackled by the forelegs, they could only hobble round helplessly.

721 [231] At last our people cut out some twenty horses, including Falha, the brown mare of our search. Falha was shackled with iron links instead of the usual woollen ropes. Amir Fuaz had brought with him a couple of files in anticipation of such an eventuality. His delight on seeing Falha again was obvious; she was worth more

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to him and to the Ruala than all the rest of the horses put together. We now began in turns, two men at a time, to file through the iron shackles. When we had finished that task, Amir Fuaz kissed his mare's hoofs with joy. 721

Falha, feeling her freedom, commenced to prance and neigh while I held her by the halter. I begged Amir Fuaz to tie her to the saddle of my camel, so that I might lead her home. "Ride her!" he replied, and explained that we must mount the captured horses in order to get as far away from the enemy as possible in the shortest space of time. So I jumped on Falha's back and galloped off with my friends to where the camel-riders with the prisoners were awaiting us.

In all, the Ruala had seized twenty-three mares. As we bade farewell to the Saba herders, one of them, a young lad, stepped up to Amir Fuaz and cried: 721 577

"*Ayb*"—"Shame on thee!"

"Who art thou?" asked the young Prince.

"Jaza ibn Ajlan."

"And what is thy desire?"

"Behold—only with tears can I water Freyha (the Joybringer) when thou takest her away, and she will not again have the milk of her Naga (Milch-camel), and Simiha (the Soft-one) and Nauma (the Sleepy-one) and her daughters will also mourn for her."

Amir Fuaz appreciated the lad's grief for his lost mares and asked him further:

"And how old are Simiha and Nauma?"

"Simiha is one summer old and Nauma two. But see, Freyha is again in foal!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

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"And therefore thou would'st have back the mother of thy foals?"

"Not because of that, but because it is a shame that thou shouldst steal the *wool*-shackled mares from our pastures."

"Did I not honourably warn you?"

"We trusted thy word, which only referred to Falha, and therefore we shackled her with *steel;* all the other mares had only *woollen* shackles."

Amir Fuaz looked thoughtfully into the distance and, as was his habit, toyed with his hair-plaits. Then, twisting one of the locks round his index finger, he stared the young Saba straight in the eyes.

"Thou art daring. But thou speakest the truth and I am not offended. Now I understand why Falha alone wore iron shackles. Therefore I will reward thy trust. Falha is our booty; take back what belongs to thee."

The Prince ordered his men to dismount from the captured mares and return them to the Saba. He also commanded Mnahi to take the plaits cut from the heads of the young Saba from his saddlebag, into which he had stuffed them as souvenirs, and throw them away.

522 As Fuaz noticed me sitting peacefully and satisfied on Falha, he burst out laughing and cried:

"Allah Karim!—God is benevolent! Look at Aziz. First he comes on a raid against us, then we capture him, and now he rides home on our best mare."

Ali, my gallant protector, who stood near, took up the joke:

"Amir Fuaz will permit me to say that one must

2: Musil
721, 726, 727

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For songs, ditties, anecdotes and narratives of raids and warfare see category 116, pp. 512-522 and 532-661.]

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[302] 539x 852 [721] top of the head. As a rule only a tuft of it is left standing, the rest being shaven. *Mušarred* (or *jifekk*) *bowšeh*, liberates his loot. Fighting with the Turks (i. e. with the regular army) was difficult for the Bedouins and therefore greatly desired by them.

Jâ mnîfe jâ miznet aṣ-ṣejf
jâ brûḳaha jil'aženni
tel'ab 'ala-l-biẓ bel-kejf
waš 'âd low jiz'alenni.

O Mnîfe, O thou rain cloud of the early summer!
How dazzling its lightning is to me!
Thou canst play with the fair ones at thy will,
For I [in thy place] should not care if they grow angry with me.

[182] At the close of April, when summer begins, each rain is accompanied by a violent storm by which the atmosphere is greatly refreshed. Mnîfe, the wife of the head chief, needs not envy her female companions, as she excels them in both beauty and power.

Jâ bejt abu nawwâf
jâ minwet al-bâdi
w-rwijhom bel-ḳêẓ
ḥabra lel-warâdi
wa-ṣhûnahom bel-lêl
tawhi lha menâdi
teḥûfehen mnîfe
jâ bint al-aǧwâdi.

O thou tent of the father of Nawwâf!
O thou goal desired of the night pilgrim!
In summer their large water bags are
As a great rain pond from which water is brought.
To their dishes at night
The criers noisily invite;
They are prepared by Mnîfe,
A daughter of noble ancestors.

Abu Nawwâf is Prince an-Nûri; his wife Mnîfe is a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm. *Bâdi*, like *sâjer*, means a traveler by night, or a visitor. By both the men's and the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḫama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled.

825 492 [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'dwedi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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raiding troops. If the commander sees in his dream girls with loosened hair, *banâten mufarra'ât*, or fresh clear water, green grass, cooked meals, etc., he knows that they will return home with booty and in good health, where all that he has seen in his dream will await them. If the commander in his dream pitches a tent or is holding a panther, he thanks Allâh for allowing him to capture the enemy's tent or make captive a brave foe. If he dreams of having rested with his troop under a green tree and of plucking figs and raisins from it, his comrades shout joyfully: "Success, success!" A green tree signifies booty without danger; the figs, she-camels; and raisins are symbolical of sheep and goats.

The commander of a Ḳa'âž'a raiding troop prayed for a dream concerning his return, *ḥelm m'âwdi*. When lying down at night, he looked at the North Star, *ǧedi*, fixedly, *talaḳḳa'-l-ǧedi*, and then fell asleep. Whereupon Allâh's spokesman, *ăl-munâbi*, appeared, asking him: "Dost thou sleep or art thou awake, *ent nâjem walla' žâ'ed*." "Awake," answered the commander, springing up in fear, *fazz*. After a while he again fell asleep. Once more the spokesman appeared to him, putting the same question as before. When the commander answered in the same words, the spokesman said: "O booty! Thy booty is to be a cushion of a litter fastened with a *ǧedi* rope. *jâ bedd beddak min beddi w-min meḥmelen beh ǧedi*." Then he disappeared. Waking up and unable to sleep any more, the commander now pondered over the meaning of this strange dream. When he told it to his comrades in the morning, they exclaimed: "Success, success! May Allâh will it! But we do not yet understand it! *Ḫejr ḫejr in šâ-llâḥ mâ na'ref ḥâḍa*." The commander was so terrified by his dream that he wanted to return, *enčaf*. Staying behind under some pretext, he turned into a deep gully and then started for home. However, after a while his camel suddenly turned around and galloped after the raiding troop, despite her rider's frantic efforts to stop her. Thus nothing was left to the commander but to go on with the raid. Before long he attacked the Meṣâliḫ, drove out their defenders, and, entering the camp by force, found himself before the chief's tent where the 'Aṭfa litter was standing, in which in times of danger the prettiest girl used to be seated in order to encourage the defenders to fight bravely and hold their ground. A cushion, *bedd*, such as is laid under the litter when fastened on the camel's back, was

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

lying beside it, and also a long rope, *ǧedi*, made of palm pith hung down from it. Then at last did the commander understand the meaning of his dream. Laying the cushion, *bedd*, on the saddle of a strong she-camel, with the help of his comrades he placed the litter there, fastening it with some straps, making it tight with the *ǧedi* rope, and rejoicing that he had taken from the Meṣâlîḫ clan their most precious possession, for once the 'Aṭfa litter is lost it must not be used again.

At one time the Rwala were camping near ar-Remṭe[1] in al-Ḥamâd. Rains had been abundant, the pasture was good everywhere, truffles and mushrooms grew in plenty, the camels gave more milk than ever before, and the Bedouins, therefore, were living in affluence, or, as it is called, were having an exceptionally good *rabî'*. Then it was that their head chief, Hazzâ', had a peculiar dream. He saw countless swarms of locusts coming from the inner desert, *min šerž* or *min mšarreḳ*, to his camp, crawling into the tents, upon the beds, and into the food supplies, all over the camels, and — a strange thing to relate — the locusts carried away all these things — tents, beds, supplies, and even the camels. Suddenly there was a flash of lightning among the camels, all the herds rose to their feet and galloped in the direction of the ...tled territory, *w-al-bel ḳâmat tehâbat w-haǧǧat mṛarrab*. Hazzâ' told the people of his dream, but nobody could explain it. At last, on the seventh day after the occurrence of the dream and when the herds had already grazed their fill on fresh grass in the morning, *jown šeb'at aṣ-ṣarî ṣubeḥ min al-'šeb*, there appeared in the south Prince Eben Rašîd's raiding troops from the inner desert; these drove back the defenders of Hazzâ''s camp, entered the camp, and began to load the tents with all that was in them on their own and on the captured camels. The herds together with their herdsmen were surrounded. The herdsman of the white camels, *mṛeddîr*, who longed to save his herd, the pride of the whole tribe, finally thought of this stratagem. He saw that some pack camels were still carrying their pack saddles which had been left on them to conceal their galled backs from the sharp beaks of ravens and crows. These saddles, which are stuffed with straw and dry grass, he set on fire; this caused the terrified animals to shy, then to run away in mad fright, others following their example, and in a little while all the

[1] [Errata: Should be ad-Dmṛe. Cf. p. 712, ref. 6]

787 herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a
●721 number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥod lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḫûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭî'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḫûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

787 A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard
302 shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

513 While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers
774 from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nezem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

628 A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Bejt* means the whole verse, *ḳâf* its second half and then, specifically, the rhyme of this second half. 3. *Śenâḥ* is a man of morose disposition, who will neither talk nor smile. 4. *'Elem* signifies a report circulating in regard to a man. If such a report is consistent it is considered unshakable. A good report must be that, otherwise a man would fall in the public esteem. 5. *Melwâḥ* is the decoy swung by a falconer when trying to lure a falcon towards him, *lawwaḥ 'ala-ṭ-ṭejr*. When a man breaks off a twig of the luxuriant *rṯe* and shows it to a riding camel, he coaxes her to come near, *lawwaḥ 'ala-d-delûl*. There are people whose actions lure evil into the tribe, regardless of the fact that their fellow tribesmen are already suffering. 7. *Menhaǧ* is a path or trail. 12. The women will reveal your secret plan, and you will then be unable to realize it. *Sadd* means, in particular, the planning of a great raid against a certain enemy. The men taking part in it do not themselves know accurately either the time of their departure or the enemy they are to attack. Should the commander's wife learn of it she would undoubtedly tell it to some of her friends, and the enemy would receive warning even before the raiders started. 18. When you have a good friend, share your last drop of water with him. Do not confound words with deeds. *Al-'ajn* means both a spring and an eye. *'Edd* is the name of a well with spring water which never dries up. 22. Violence, force, often leads to peace sooner than mildness. 23. *Ḥazz* signifies a passionate desire for something. Out of a youth filled with such a strenuous desire an exemplary being can be formed by a man of good sense. 25. *Nijje* is a plan, intention, desire, which robs a man of sleep, drives him to undertake night marches, and lights him on his way. 26. *Enṛaṛar* is said of a man who likes to eat well and to amuse himself with women. 28. The appeased man has not laid aside his saber; he has only dropped its point and could, if angered again, strike at him who had just appeased him.

1. *'Endi fetâṭi ṯil-faḥîm al-fâḥem*
   jarmi bḳulb al-ṛâfeḍin aḥḍa'
2. *al-'afen lew ta'ṭiḥ mâl ḥeḍat killeḥ*
   mâ jaḍkor faḍlak w-lâ jerodd ḍema'
3. *ḥelw elja' ǧâk ma'ṭâr ḥâǧe*
   w-'afen elja' laḳḳa-l-'amîl ḳafa'

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aš-šdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭib* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: "*Ana-ḫu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radijje* is a common mare, *bdîše*. 14. *Flân meḍhabeh* (pl., *meḍâheb*) *ẓajjeł*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeł*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

CHAPTER XXI

WAR AND PEACE

721 619 181 The Rwala are ever at war with one tribe or another. Without war a Rwejli could not live. War gives him an opportunity of displaying his cunning, endurance, and courage. He neither loves the shedding of blood, nor craves booty, but is allured by danger and delights in the predatory art. The booty itself he will give away without thinking much about it — even to the wife of the very man he has just robbed. Some tribes, not always entire strangers, hate each other cordially. Between them peace is never of long duration. Despite the greatest efforts of the chiefs to prevent war, their people continue to attack and destroy one another. With the tribes settled along the desert borders and fully subject to the Government, peace is never concluded. If the Government, which is supposed to protect them, is weak, the Rwala despoil them whenever they are so inclined. The more distant the pastures of two tribes are, the longer will the war between them last.

DECLARATIONS OF WAR

721 The causes of war are, as a rule, petty thefts and the capturing of stray animals. The individual tribesmen begin to accuse each other of harboring stolen she-camels, *nahâjeṣ*. Then they call on their chiefs for help. Couriers ride from tribe to tribe with verbal and written messages. Evidently both tribes desire war. Finally the chief of one tribe sends to the chief of the other a letter worded somewhat as follows:

"To the well-born, highly honored brother, Chief So-and-So! May Allâh preserve his good name! Amen. Extending our greetings and entreating Allâh's mercy and blessing for you, we announce to you that your Arabs are harassing our people and robbing them of their property continually without any effort on your part to put a stop to it. From this we judge that it happens with your assent. We now demand that you return without delay the stolen camels. If you refuse, you are, behold! hereby deprived of your fair name, *mafrûd an-naḳa'*

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'alejkom, and our face shall remain blank to you. You must not accuse us and blacken our face. This much for you to know, and greetings. Your brother, X Y." 721

Should the other chief be averse to war, he will write back: "Both thine and my people rob each other mutually, *rab'i w-rab'ak ǧitamâ'urân bênkom*. If thou desirest war with us, *elja' tabri ḳudmetna*, return our fair name to us, *rudd 'alejna an-neḳa'*. We do not intend to fight with you and shall not return your integrity to you. Let us know whether ye are our friend, *ṣâḥbi* or *ṣâḥeb*, or enemy, *ḳowmâni*."

When in the early part of 1909 the Rwala began to harass the oasis of al-Ǧowf, which lies in their territory and for more than fifty years had belonged to the kin of Eben Rašîd, the minister of the Emir Sa'ûd eben Rašîd, still a minor, sent messengers to Prince an-Nûri eben Šaʿlân asking why his people were acting thus. An-Nûri's answer is worth noting:

"If Eben Rašîd is still as strong, *'azîz*, as before and can protect al-Ǧowf, I desire to live in friendship with him. But if his power is shattered and he is threatened with foreign sovereignty, then I shall not allow al-Ǧowf to fall into other hands. This is my land, and my land I will give to nobody. It has been reported to us that Eben Sa'ûd has defeated Eben Rašîd and is pursuing him in the direction of his seat, Ḥâjel. Go there and see for yourself what power your emir still has. If he prevails upon Eben Sa'ûd, we will come to a friendly agreement; but until that happens his representative had better depart, together with the garrison. If he does so at once, no Šammari shall suffer the least harm. Before tomorrow's sunset let me know when the garrison will leave. Should the answer not be in my hands by that time, behold! my face will remain white to you, you will be our enemies!"

Sometimes a chief will send word: "By God, let there be enmity between us, so that blood flows; *w-allâh w-el-ḥowm el-ḥamra*." Or: "Let there be between you and ourselves regularly declared enmity; *bêna w-bênkom ḥowm 'ala wajha-n-neḳa'*.

Neḳa' means honesty, a fair name. After peace is made the *neḳa'* remains with both tribes. Should one of these tribes attack the other, it would cover itself with infamy and stain, or blacken its face—meaning its honor or integrity. This status of integrity or of a good name must be first removed; this is done by the declaration of one tribe that it returns the

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721 honesty, *raddejna an-neḳa' 'alejkom*, or wipes, or scrapes, i
off, *maǧrûd 'alejkom an-neḳa'*. As soon as this is done, the
may attack without injuring their honor in the least; *elje
raddejna an-neḳa' naṣir 'ala waẓha-n-neḳa'*. Their face wi
remain white. But when they attack without having first wipe
off the *neḳa'*, they commit treason and blacken their honor
*elja' mâ raddejna an-neḳa' hâḍa bowken baḳtûna jâ sûdân a
ḥejl*. The *neḳa'* is the beginning of the war, *râs al-ḳwâm
also the pillar of fighting, 'amûd al-ḥarâjeb*, and thus sig
nifies the declaration of hostilities.

721 The chief of any tribe may declare war. If several tribe
622 ally themselves under one prince, they do not thereby renounc
643 their right of declaring war independently. Prince an-Nûr
619 eben Šaʿlân is the recognized head of the Rwala, the Wel
'Ali, the Eššâǧeʿa, the Kwâčbe, and others, and yet he neve
declares war in the name of them all but merely of his ow
Rwala. During my stay there the Rwala lived at peace, *sâḥel*
with the Fedʿân, but this did not prevent the Weld 'Ali fro
making war, *ḳoum*, on the latter. When Prince an-Nûri de
clared war on Eben Rašîd the envoys of the Tûmân, a divisio
of the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd, immediately appeare
before him, suing for peace. Only when the chiefs of all th
allied tribes give him the full power, *mawwanûh*, can he declar
war in their name, and war is also waged against all of them
ḳoum 'ala-l-ǧami'.

RAIDS

Small Raids

721 As soon as war has been declared raids, both large an
701 small, begin and often a regular battle, *maneh*, is also fought
If the hostile tribes camp somewhere near, a few men star
out for robbery on foot, *jihawšân*. If the camps are at some
distance, they ride on camels, *sa'âjir bizkûr ar-rikâb*. When
more than twenty men on camels, *ǧeja*, or on horses and
camels, *ḥejl u-ǧeja*, gather, then it is a raid, *razw*, called
ṣafir when the number of participants is small, and *čebîr*
when it is large. Every expedition of this kind has a leader
'âkid (pl., *'ukkâd*), who need not always be a chief of a tribe,
as every tribe can have its own military leader or war com-
mander, *ǧejš aš-šâkâd*, if the chief is not possessed of suffi-

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cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi nchauśel* or *nc'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *aimedd bel-sraǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl az-zulma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥauśel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights *lejâl al-ḥamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rubi'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd razzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *chdû ḥejlkom w-arazzeuâ zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

●721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bu bet aṣ-ṣnên.*"

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May grant us luck! *Jâ-llâh maksûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi aa-sa'nd.*"

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, w bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies. *zam* If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *maleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself r in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare r beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompa either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are rid mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'*. can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half m be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile att All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḫ ha*. They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vagi *jeǧubberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. T are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of tw is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do especially in the *rubî'* season when neither thirst nor hun threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and [585 777] take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young h band, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This ti called *ḫrûn al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventu therefore it is better that the young husband should stay [834] home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with th [714] wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necess that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everyb usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable ti However, nobody ever knows definitely against which t he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala alw have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate frie of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the m of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary

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preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdsman might easily give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves.

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delîl*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out.

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a seer or sorcerer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams in his sleep of a certain significance, *'arṣa ma'âwdîjje*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arṣatk ǧatk*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is boiled. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḥa ḫaḍru*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arṣa šêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *wâle'en bel-ḥelîb*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow.

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any member of the 'Orḍân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eššâǧe'a, or of the Kšûš (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking, *'arṣathom mâ ḥi zên*.

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the

701 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this
721 project bring luck, *rāšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lewowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *'ażid*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-
[782] camel for sacrifice, *al-'ażire*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid.

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-muniḫ al-muṭir*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-muniḫ al-muṭir* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazizateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be
727 divided, *ḫiśer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his
425 own account, *ṛejr ḫiśer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *'ażid* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behalṛarw 'okob ṣalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧihom ḫoǧ illi tarṭik*." The she-camel he thus takes is called *ṛafwa*. If stray horses, *mdreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hdreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

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701 727 425 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *meǧidijjāt* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *ʿāǧde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *rubāǧa*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *jetaǧāšarūn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *ʿāžid* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called [825] *ʿāǧa* (pl., *ʿuǧūn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

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●721 designed for their night's rest, they send one of their number to the commander with the report of what they have found, while the others keep an eye on the strange riders or continue their search for a better place to sleep in the direction given to them by the leader.

In the morning the leader announces to his troop: "Our supper will be in such and such a place." Each man saddles his animal. Then he looks fixedly at the leader. As soon as the latter jumps into his saddle, all follow his example and ride after him.

Raiders' Marching Songs

539x On the road, especially in the morning, the Rwala exercise their horses or let them prance at will, and amuse themselves with songs known as *ḥda'*.

Jâ-llâh ṭalabnâk jâ-l-ṛafûr
jâ-ba-d-daráǧ al-'âlije
teǧ'al lena ḥazzen jeṭûr
bel-awwala w-at-tâlije.

O Allâh! we beg of thee, thou forgiver,
O Lord of the stairs which lead up to the heights!
To let our luck uplift itself
With the first she-camel and the last one too.

Jeṭûr means a kneeling camel in the act of rising from the ground.

Fâlakom jâ ṛazw ṭib
fâlakom ṭaršen 'azib
fâlakom já ṛazw ṭajjeb
fâlakom ṭaršen ḳrajjeb.

May your omen, O *ṛazw* (raid)! be good;
May it signify herds spending the night far from tents.
May your omen, O *ṛazw*! be good;
May it signify herds close by.

[787] *Fâl* is a sign, omen, from which either the success or the failure of the undertaking is judged. *Ṭaršen 'azib* is a herd grazing and sleeping far from the tents, which are usually pitched near a watering place.

639x

Já mâ ḫala ṭâri-l-ḫarâjeb
w-aš-šejḫ jowîed nârəha
min fowḳ mušammart aš-šelîl
w-mu'asbaran mismâraha.

Oh, how dear are the tidings of wars,
When their fire is stirred by the chief
Riding on a mare with her tail held upright
And with the nails of her shoes inward bent.

Ṭâri-l-ḫarâjeb, the report or tidings of wars, has the same meaning as *ḫaber al-ḫarâjeb*. *Šelîl* signifies a tail and the hairs of the tail. A good mare holds her tail upright, *mušammart aš-šelîl*, while galloping, so that her hips are covered by the hair of the tail.

Ḥaribina miṯl al-'alîl
w-elja' beri 'âdeḥ belâh
'âdâtana ḏabḥ al-ḫalîl
w-aṭ-ṭâmeḥ nelḥečha ḫawâh.

He who wars with us is like a sick man
Whom, scarce recovered, his disease overtakes once more.
We are wont to kill a husband,
Enabling a woman who sighs for a braver man to choose whom she desires.

He who is at war with the Rwala is never safe from an attack. Even if a whole month or two go by without their making their appearance, he must not imagine that they will come no more and that he is wholly safe and well. They might be twenty days away, for example when camping in northern Palmyrena and their enemies in the valley of ar-Rma' or in the neighborhood of Ḫajbar, yet they will come suddenly, and thus his disease — meaning defeat and the loss of herds — will return. In fighting them, many a husband will die whose wife was longing for a better, braver man. If her husband refuses to divorce her and her kin will not allow her to leave him, she can only wait till the enemy's arms rid her of him. Thus the Rwala offer her, as a medicine, *nelḥečha*, the free choice of a better husband.

[721]

Al-bâreḥa ḫulli žerîb
w-al-jowm bass dijârahom
da' bâlak ar-riḏm aṭ-ṭwîl
ṛadîk taṭle' nârahom.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

right hand he holds his staff or a rifle, to which he ties his kerchief for a flag, and points it in the direction of the threatening danger. *Ḥṣân* always means a stallion, *faras* a mare, *ḫejl* horses in general. The *ḥṣân* is, as a rule, more enduring than the mare. *Al-ḥṣân ḥalad* means "the stallion became tired," implying that he stopped moving owing to oversweating or because he was so weakened by heat and thirst that he could not escape from the enemy hard in pursuit of him. *Zabeṇ*, he protected, took his part. He that is threatened with death or is in fear of an avenger asks the protection of one more powerful, who will then shield and bring him to a place where he can live in peace, *zabaneḳ*.

Já 'ejâl dukkû-l-barûd
lel-moṛṛebi muḫḫ al-ḥadîd
lâ budd min jowmen ja'ûd
jafroḳ wadîden 'an wadîd.

My sons, pound the powder;
For al-Moṛṛebi we need steel,
And the day is sure to come
Which will take the lover
from his sweetheart.

A Turkish officer, known to the Rwala only by the name of al-Moṛṛebi, was in command of the regular troops who drove back the Bedouins whenever they tried to encamp in the settled territory. This happened in the seventies of the last century, when it was the policy of the Turkish Government to protect the *felâḥîn* from the Bedouins. The Rwala, who had lost many men, thirsted for revenge and as they could go neither to Syria nor to Irak they manufactured their powder themselves. *Muḫḫ al-ḥadîd* is steel. They wished to shoot al-Moṛṛebi with a steel bullet, thinking that an ordinary one of lead would not kill him.

Narmi-l-'aṣa benḥûrhen laṭ-ṭejr
w-en kankabb al-adnas wara'
bemlenṣelâten ṣan'ahen bed-dejr
berḥab 'adlât al-ǧeṣa'.

Before the throats [of the she-camels] we shall throw
their supper to the birds of prey,
Though the base one still lingers behind;
With spears adorned with chains made at ad-Dejr
[Driven] into the necks of mares fed from the new crop.

Benḥûrhen means the confusion of galloping camels and also their throats. Our riders are loath to retreat; they want

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539* army, attempted to block their way. Refusing to let them pass, he was defeated and killed. This affair took place south of Kerbela, at the end of the escarpment Ṭâr as-Sejhed.

Já ṭârsîen leben ḥaḍḍâl
jiżbel 'ala-l-ma' w-ar-rabî'
bên al-obejjeẓ w-al-ṛadaf
bezhejleten naṙab ǧamî'.

Thou who goest to Eben Ḥaḍḍâl, [ask him]
To approach the abundance and water.
Between al-Obejjeẓ and al-Ṛadaf
On the plain there we shall play together.

The Rwala invited Eben Ḥaḍḍâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, to come to the inner desert, *jeṣarreṣ*, and there to meet them between the valleys of al-Obejjeẓ and al-Ṛadaf, both of which belong to the 'Amârât and where the herds of the Rwala were grazing at that time. This region was full of water, annuals, and perennials; and hence abundance, *rabî'*, reigned there.

Approaching the Enemy

● 721 If no report comes in from the *'ujûn*, the commander rides without stopping to the night quarters where the *'ujûn* always wait for him. But should the commander see a troop of riders who on coming closer are found to be enemies, there ensues a fight the result of which decides whether the raiders shall return or go on with their venture. If the *'ujûn* find a better place for the night's rest, the leader accepts it. There they water and feed the horses, let the camels graze, and prepare supper for themselves. As a rule five or six men club together for that purpose. The different groups invite each other with the words: "We invite you, O brothers of ours! let him who comes reach out for the luck, and may he fare well who remains seated! *al-ḫwa jâ ḫwijâna eflaḥ min ǧâ' w'erŝed min ḳa'ad.*"

The invited answer: "May booty be our food and another such supper, and also may we be not too long absent from our kin! *ḫwa min ṛana' w-ṭana' w-ǧâ' ḥaleḥ mâ twanna.*" All are eager for booty and an early, happy return to their families in order soon to make a new raid and again to invite their brothers to a supper like the last.

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721 ●

After midnight the leader sends out the scouts, *'ujún*, once more and repeats this till he comes near the camps and herds of the tribe he wishes to attack.

When the *'ujún* report that the enemy is close by, at a command from the leader six or eight men mount three or four camels and go to examine the situation. These are called *subr* (pl., *sbúr*). Concealing their camels in a gully, they find out in the daytime how many camps there are in the neighborhood and where the camels are grazing; at night they try to count the tents and horses in the camp. If they succeed in capturing one of the enemy, they bring him to the leader, who makes him tell, by kindness or, if necessary, by threats, all he wants to know. Otherwise he must depend merely on the report *'elem*, brought by the *subr*.

Having learned the strength of the enemy and the location of their pastures, the leader examines the camels of his own party. The exhausted or slow animals are separated from the hardy and fast ones. The former (called *redd*) are then laden with all the baggage of the raiders and sent back to the previous night's quarters where they are to wait. The rest of the camels are then mounted each by two men armed with rifles. They are called *ṣébár*. Each horse is mounted by a man carrying a revolver or pistol and, when possible, a spear. The leader rides on horseback in front. Near the camp they conceal themselves. The cavalry prepare for the attack, *ṛára*, while those on camels wait quietly for whatever may happen.

The Attack and Counter Attack

The attack is timed either for sunrise, *ṣabbaḥadhom ṣabbáḥ*, when the left forelegs of the resting camels are being unfettered, or for the *ṣuḥa*, i. e. when the herds start for the pasture. *Eḫṭáfa* is an attack made in the middle of the afternoon; *sudíma*, an evening attack, when the herds are still scattered over the pastures; an attack on the herds returning from the pasture is called *ṛára ṭa'labijje*; when they have already returned to the camp, but are still unfettered, an attack known as *ṛára dakka* is made. All these attacks are considered honorable, because the attacked party has time for defense. In daytime they can see and hear; after sunset, not being yet asleep, they can hear; after midnight, however, and especially when the morning star appears, they are sound

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 asleep. Both men and dogs sleep under cover in order to protect themselves against the dew and chill. An attack launched at this time is called *bejât* and is dishonorable, as the surprised enemy cannot defend himself.

726 The order to attack is given by the leader with the words: "Gain success, O ye looters! *eflehû jâ ṣânimîn*," and by a gesture of his hand to the cavalry to advance. For their part they shout: "O Allâh, by Allâh himself!" or: "O Allâh, thy will be done! *jâ-llâh 'alα bâbak*," and throw themselves on the herds without paying attention to the herdsmen. Every one tries to reach an animal with his spear, calling at the same time on his comrades to witness that it was he who captured it; he then drives it before him to a second and third, which he also makes his own. A long spear is very useful in this kind of work. Sometimes they succeed in surrounding and capturing all the herds, but usually some of the camels shy and gallop away madly. These animals can never be overtaken by the attackers unless they run towards their last quarters, for frightened camels will not stop until quite exhausted.

704 The captured herds are driven by the cavalry to the
725 leader, who waits for them with the camel riders. There the cavalry divides. One half, armed with spears, drives the booty to the last quarters, the other, armed with revolvers, pistols, and rifles conceals itself in some suitable spot between the leader and the camp of the enemy. These hidden warriors are called *ḍemîn*, the reserve.

Both the reserve and the leader with the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, wait for the counter attack, *far'a*, which the enemy usually makes in order to rescue the captured animals and to drive the raiders back. The task of the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, consists in opposing the sortie, and in this they are supported by the reserve in their rear. If the sortie is beaten back and the enemy dispersed, the *ṣâbûr* fall on the camp, taking all the tents there with everything in them.

721 However, it is only on rare occasions that the enemy
704 can be taken wholly by surprise, because the chief of every
726 camp follows the rule of sending out riders on camels, called *fullâ'*, to observe the country on all sides. They usually start before sunrise, ascend the highest hillocks, survey the neighborhood in all directions, and do not return till after sunset.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Should the pastures be more than twenty kilometers from the camp, the herds are accompanied by a troop of cavalry, *fasab*, who stay with them all day and also return only after sunset. Besides this, on all the highest elevations at different points around the pastures and between them and the camp, sentinels lie hidden behind piles of stones. These keep a sharp outlook for anything suspicious that may appear on the horizon. If something unusual is noticed by one of the mounted pickets, *fullū'*, he ties his kerchief to the muzzle of his rifle, waves it in the direction of whatever has aroused his suspicion, and shouts at the top of his voice:

"At their backs, O riders, an attack threatens you! *ẓhaw-rahen* [sic] *jā-hla-l-ḫejl 'alejkom ṛāra.*"

This shout is repeated and the direction indicated by the next sentinel, so that the whole camp is put on its guard in a few minutes. The girls and women hasten to open the iron fetters on the mares' forelegs, while the men put on cartridge belts and seize their rifles. One rider after another speeds in the direction from which the danger is expected, singing *ḥda'* ditties on the way. Those who own no mare wait, weapons in hand, for the next report. If the alarm cry, *ṣijāḥ*, proves false and thus that the man who gave it, *ṣājeḥ*, called for help, *fazza' al-'arab*, unnecessarily, the sentinel shouts: "Forgiveness, *al-'āfje*," and the cavalry who came out return home in groups, singing. But if the enemy really appears and is near at hand, the warriors who have no horses run from the camp afoot to help the cavalry. In case the enemy flees and the cavalry cannot overtake them, they return to the camp, pick their riding camels from among the herds, saddle them, load them with water bags and food, and start as the *ṣalab* in pursuit of the hostile troop.

Should the rescuing cavalry who make the counter attack, *fza'a*, find out that the attackers are too numerous, they dispatch messengers to the neighboring camps, who shout from afar: "Come out to our help quickly! Your comrades have been robbed! *efza'ū rab'akom. wuḫegū.*" As this cry is repeated by the sentinels of the other camps or by the herdsmen, it is often unnecessary for the messenger to reach the camp itself. He stops and waits for the first riders to respond to his call, and with them he then gallops to assist his people.

If, for instance, Eben Ša'lân is informed that a strong

721 704 726 enemy is approaching, he orders all his tribal divisions to get ready. Soon troop after troop headed by their chiefs arrive at his camp, defile before his tent, *je'arṣún*, and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyes, *'ajnák*, O chief! The rider protecting the 'Alja camel herds rides before thine eyes, and that rider is a Rwejli, *'ajnák ḫajjál al-'alja rwejli.*"

703 726 The battle cry, *naḫáwa*, uttered before the chief is intended to rouse both his courage and that of his warriors, *ještiddún maḥzam aš-šejḫ w-jukawwún* (sic) *'azmakom*. As a proof that they will not desert their fellow tribesman they defile before him on horseback; this is called *'arṣa*. The *'arṣa* is always connected with the *naḫáwa*. Without a *naḫáwa* there is no *'arṣa*.

Whenever Eben Ša'lân sets out to rescue his captured herds, he shouts to the enemy from afar:

"Oh, how many times have we freed herds like these from enemies like you. The rider protecting the 'Alja herds is a Rwejli! By Allâh himself! This day is the most ruinous of all days for you. Oh, how far are your kinsfolk from you! *Já má fakkejna miṭlehen min miṭlekom ḫajjál al-'alja rwejli w-alláh ḫal-jowm akrad al-ajjâm 'alejkom w-ba'ad ahalkom al-jowm 'alejkom.* All of you must perish, your kins will not come to help you!"

If the victorious attackers expect a second counter attack, *faz'a*, stronger in numbers, before hiding themselves their cavalry defile before the commander and the camel riders and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyesight, O chief! Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting the 'Alja is a Rwejli!"

The commander answers: "We shall not desert each other! *lâ ḫala' w-lá 'adaw*," and is the first to throw himself on the enemy, with the words:

"If Allâh grants luck to us we shall capture your mares as we have already taken your camels!" for nothing inspires the troop so much as the bravery of its leader. On the other hand, if he betrays hesitation, all is lost. If the leader on his part notices that his men are wavering, he admonishes them with the battle cry:

"Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting 'Alja is I, So-and-So. I fill even heroes with fear, I, So-and-So, *ḍa"ár as-sebûja w-ana flân eben flân.*" If they answer: "Enough

 539x

Jâ ḍrajjem laḳa'fat 'alejk
ḫoſemt w-'aḳabk al-feláḥ
min 'oḳob mâ rišak čefir
w-al-jowm mak,ûm al-ǧenâḥ.

O Ḍrajjem! faith, it was measured to thee with the same measure.
A rap on the nose thou hast got, and thy success is gone.
Though many feathers thou hast inherited,
Yet today thy wings are broken for ever.

Fuḳḳ al-ǧelam 'ajja jeṣûl
wa' direti ṛadaw baka
eḍraw lmaḍrat 'ali zebûn
ḫalawk jalbes ṭawbaka.

He opened his shears, refused to attack.
Ah, they occupied my territory!
They purchased a caftan for 'Ali's wife
And made him wear her dress.

Owing to the lack of good rain, there was no pasture in the Rwala territory at one time and consequently no affluence, *dîrt ar-rwala maḥal mâ baka rabî'*, but in the regions inhabited by their enemies, the tribe of Sba'a, the vegetation was luxuriant, *rîf*. So they agreed among themselves, *tawâzaw*, to move into the Sba'a territory, *dîra*, and said: 721● 619

"We shall go there and encamp near our relatives, the 'Aneze; *ehna ntawaǧǧeh ila had-dîra wa-nzel ḫawâli ʒeribna 'aneza* (sic). If they accept our friendship we shall become their friends and conclude peace with them, *elja ḫbalaw ṣuḥebna ṣâḥebnâhom wa-tṣâlḥna ma'hom*; if they refuse we will fight them, *w-elja' mâ ḫbalaw aṣ-ṣulḥ nilla nḥârebhom*. Either they will take us or we shall take them, drive them out and use the pastures in their territory, and thus save our herds and our own lives; *amma jâḥedîna w-amma nâḥedhom wa-nhaǧǧeǧhom w-nar'a al-mar'a alli bdîrthom wa-nakkem ḫaldîna wa-n'îš."*

Remaining steadfast in this resolve, *ṛapabaw 'ala harṛ'j*, they marched into the Sba'a territory and soon reached the settlement of al-Midân, which belongs politically to the administrative district of Homs, *tabi' homs*. There the Sba'a and Fed'ân tribes were already encamped and ready to fight. The Rwala, halting not far from them, at once formed a war 721 726

721 726 camp, *tenâwaḫaw menâḫ*. All camel herds were driven into one line, and each animal was made to kneel and was fettered. The women and children sat down by their herds, while the men, posting themselves between them and the enemy, waited for the attack. This situation lasted for four days. On the fifth day, when a few young camels had already died of hunger, the Rwala assailed the Sba'a and Fed'ân with such fury that they drove them out from their tents in flight, *'oddawhom ila wara-l-bujût*. Some succeeded in loosening the fetters of their camels and in fleeing with them, *minhom min ḳadar jeṭallek ba'arineh w-inhazam bai 'ala-l-ḫala*, but others were surprised in this act and captured, *w-minhom min a'ğelûh ar-rağâl 'an taṭlîz ḥalâleh w-hâlaw 'alejh ar-rwala*. The Rwala took all the tents with the sheep which they found near them, also many horses and camels, and continued to pasture their animals in that territory undisturbed until the Sba'a finally made peace with them. The Sba'a asked 'Ali al-Fḳiḳi, chief of the 'Ebede division, to join them in assailing the Rwala in order to eject the latter from their territory, but 'Ali refused. Then they sang the preceding ditty about him.

639[1] *Fakk*, he opened, is an insulting allusion to Fḳiḳi. 'Ali often called himself *al-ğelam*, shears, meaning that he would cut up any hostile raid. *Zebûn* is a garment with narrow sleeves, open in front along its whole length and reaching down to the ankles. It is worn by men over the shirt. *Ṯoub* is a woman's shirt of blue fabric.

Já mḥammad já bedîn aṣ-ṣejf
râ'i-l-wa'îde ğâ' lehu
slimân 'ammar leh sebîl
min ḫufratak wa-dlâlaha.

O Mḥammad! O thou who hast sated thyself with the guest
Who came to the meeting agreed on!
Slimân has surely well filled his short pipe
At thy fire and did drink from thy coffeepots.

539[2] 721 726 Muḥammad eben Smejr sent word to his enemy Slimân eben Merîed, the head chief of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, to come for a smoke to his tent. Slimân answered that Muḥammad should not expect such a guest with much pleasure. Shortly afterwards Slimân attacked Muḥammad's camp, scattered his warriors, took all his tents with their supplies, smoked Muḥammad's pipe, and drank coffee from his

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pota. *Ḥufra* is the pit in which fire is made in the men's compartment of the tent.

Slimân law taḳ'od we-tâf
al-'arfa weš ǧara laha
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala
ḥalǧen tadûr 'ejâlaha.

Slimân, if thou wouldst only sit down and look [thou wouldst see]
By the 'Arfa herds what has happened to them,
How between as-Swejda and al-'Ala
The she-camels now seek their young.

Slimân eben Merîed, the chief of the Ḳmuṣa, who call all camel herds "al-'Arfa," made a raid against the Rwala but was defeated and pursued as far as the inner desert. Then, before he could return home, Eben Ša'lân attacked his camp between as-Swejda and al-'Ala and captured many of his herds. The riding camels of Eben Merîed's troop after returning to camp sought for their weaned calves in vain, for the Rwala had driven them away.

Al-meširefe tarṭan raṭin
taǧâwabat hi w-al-'ala
eben ša'lân aḫâl surûǧ
zoudeu 'ala ḥoms w-ḥama'

Al-Meširefe all the time is jabbering,
Talk'ng with al-'Ala
How Eben Ša'lân loaded corn at Surûǧ
More than he would find in Ḥoms and Ḥama'.

Surûǧ is a settlement between as-Swejda and al-'Ala, inhabited by *fellâḥin* who cultivate the fields of Eben Merîed's house. Al-Meširefe is peopled by Circassians, who also own some settlements in al-'Ala. Their language is not understood by the Rwala, hence the phrase: "She [al-Meširefe] is jabbering, *tarṭan raṭin*." After defeating the Ḳmuṣa and plundering Eben Merîed's camp, the victorious Rwala took all the corn stored at Surûǧ.

Jâ lâbeli tawen ḫirebt al-kejf
w-al-ḫalîl ǧulejm ṣâḥh
min 'aǧǧeten ṣârat 'alejhom
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala'.

727 A sister cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! alas, thou
746 brother of mine!"

A daughter: "Alas, woe is me, alas, thou father of mine!"

Then they sit down, cry till their eyes are dry, and return quietly to their tents. There is no other mourning.

LARGE BATTLES, OR *MANÁḤ*

721 The fight called *manáḥ*, as distinguished from the *razw*
726 or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame, *zoud al-i'tibár*, it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter, *nál 'alejh soucla*, and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows, which behind the herds graze; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue. In these few tents there is nothing except the utensils for making black coffee, meals being prepared in the tents behind. All the mares stand saddled by these war tents, *bujút al-ḥarb*, while the riding camels lie fettered between the other tents. The men on foot are posted right and left of the war tents. Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents.
721 The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within
726 rifle shot. Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhûr is
703 fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback. These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting:

"He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi jeḥred al-jowm má leh 'endana ḥakk*." Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zaṛárit*, are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa, a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, like her, mount she-camels and shouting *zaṛárit* hasten to join the melée in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa to conceal

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herself, as the capture of the 'Aṭfa by the enemy would mean the greatest disgrace for both the reigning kin and the whole tribe. Thereupon the girl on the 'Aṭfa drives her animal to her father's tent, makes it kneel here, and either jumps off, unbuckles the litter, and pulls it inside the tent, or flees with it from the camp.

When the tribe is attacked while migrating and the women driving the camels laden with all their household goods fear that the enemy may rob them — the men, meanwhile, being engaged in repelling the attackers — they beg every passing rider to defend them, and the girls, especially, at the top of their voices, call out the names of their sweethearts:

"Bring me So-and-So, ye men! Call So-and-So hither, ye who like to amuse yourselves with girls! I want So-and-So, him of whom all talk!"

If a man passes by whom the woman expects to help her, she cries: "Thou wert praised to me so highly, and yet I have not seen thee do anything today."

When a lover reaches the woman of his heart, she breaks into an inspiring shout, uttering in a high-pitched tremulous voice the syllables of the word *zarārīt*. The lover greets her: "Oh, how I rejoice before thine eyes! *jā mā 'ajnēč wa-frāḥi*," or: "To thy joy, O So-and-So! *farḥateč jā flāne*."

Ditties Sung by Defenders of Their Camps

While speeding through the camp or the moving throng in order to repel a hostile attack the men sing short ditties.

Já rabb naflobak al-huda'
w-as-sitr w-al-'elm al-maliḥ
rab'i medâbis al-'uda'
w-en ḥarrafaw 'enda-ṭ-tariḥ.

O Lord! we beg thee for a lucky guidance,
For protection and good news!
My comrades, cudgels for the enemy,
Will not turn their mares save when a rider is thrown from his saddle.

They pray to Allâh for lucky leadership and favorable news about the position of the main force of the enemy, that they may attack at once and thus avoid being taken on the

539 For the eyes of her who draws apart the tent wall and peeps out
Thirsting and longing for one of our glances,
Our custom is to rescue the captured herds,
And our task is to bring in mares whose riders we have hurled down.

[727] When, after repelling the attack, the warriors return with their booty to their tents, they are inspected by the women and girls from the tents. Being themselves invisible, the latter look through the small space between the tent wall and roof. This wall or tent side is called *eḍ-ḍera*. "*Derrûna 'as ha-l-bard*, hang up the wall to protect us from the cold." *Awâḳ* means to examine something thoroughly. The chief orders the *sbûr*, scouts on camels: "*Ewiżú 'ala ha-l-ḳowm*, examine this detachment of the enemy well." On their return they will report: "*Awaḳna 'alejhom*, we have looked them over," and give a detailed report. With the same thoroughness will a maiden examine her lover when he returns from a raid, anxious to know if and what booty he brings. *Wsiż* is the same as *aḥiḍ*, i. e. a herd, *ṭarâ*, captured from the enemy. *Ḳalâje'* are the mares of the foes thrown from the saddle.

Mamdûḥ w-allâh mâ narûḥ
naḥûż 'enda dijârna
la'ujûn min ḳarnha jelûḥ
ḍabḥ as-swâri ḳârna.

O Mamdûḥ, by Allâh! we shall not depart,
But harass you from our lands instead,
For the eyes of her whose plait is appearing —
For the killing of troopers is our sport.

Mamdûḥ Pasha was the commander of the Turkish troops fighting the Druses in the Ḥawrân. When defeated he asked the Rwala for help, but this they refused and, instead, composed this poem. [721] *Naḥûż* means guerilla warfare, in which small regular detachments and frontier guards are attacked. [725] The regular cavalry sent by Mamdûḥ against the Rwala were beaten by them because their horses could stand the heat and thirst much better than the army horses. They awaited the soldiers in ambush, surrounded, and killed them. *Ḳâr* means hunting by lying in wait or catching the game in snares.

539a The raiders led by al-Ḳarâri were seized with giddiness
Between ar-Rwejšed and al-Ǧeṣî'.
Oh, that raid, from which there was no booty
And which made hundreds of sucklings orphans!

Al-Ḳarâri was a famous war leader of the Sba'a tribe. The Rwala once surrounded his troop between the valleys of ar-Rwéšed and al-Ǧeṣî'a and killed them almost to a man. *Fuswadat*: they captured; the booty is called *foud*. *Rawǧe* is giddiness; *ruswaǧat*: they spin around as if giddy. The Sba'a, who raise great numbers of goats and sheep, are often derided by the Rwala as suffering from giddiness themselves.

Ǧawwa-s-sbûr w-aḫraṭaw al-aǧelle
w-arčebaw 'alejhen ḳaffalaw kill miḥwâl.

When the enemy's camel scouts came to us, [our youths]
tore from the mares their long blankets,
Mounted them, and compelled each beast to lift its tail
to evacuate.

Aǧelle are the blankets protecting the mares from cold. *Ḳaffalaw*: they played with the mares till they evacuated, for this helps them to endure more fatigue.

Já 'aǧǧaten abṛi taṯîr — O dust, I wish thee to rise,
jenǧâl 'an ḳalbi ṣada' — So the dirt flies out from my heart!
aḫu šâha já 'anân al-'arûm — Šâha's brother is a check rein
elja' ṭâla' aṣ-ṣurba ḳada'. — And on sighting a troop he intones the ḳda' ditty.

●[721] Among the Šammar in al-Ǧezîre civil war once broke out, the 'Abde and Aslam tribes trying to destroy each other. At the head of the latter was the chief al-'Âṣi with his son, the war leader al-Hâdi, while the former were commanded by Ǧârallâh. Tlḥ, a son of al-'Âṣi, sought refuge with Ǧârallâh, with whose son, Abu Rweje, he formed a close friendship. The cause of the war was jealousy between the two tribes. The 'Abde had been despising the Aslam for a long time, and Ǧârallâh reproached al-'Âṣi with acting dishonorably and with having defiled his honor. These insinuations embittered al-'Âṣi's heart to such an extent that he finally declared war.

The chief and war leader of the Aslam is here called, briefly, the brother of Šâha, Aḫu Šâha, because he called the

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726* 539* from a tent other than his master's; also of a man who helps himself from a full platter set before others, without being invited. *Ḳarra* is a thing of value which some man finds and keeps. 13. Eben Ǧrajjed is a chief of the Beni 'Aṭijje. *Ṣafḥa* is the general name of the territory where the Ḥwēṭāt, Beni 'Aṭijje, and Šarārāt like to camp, because it slopes both east and west. *Ṯwe'*: the dead, buried. 14. Htejm is the term for the despised clans and tribes, thus also the Šarārāt, of whom [714] the poet is thinking. 15. *Šīāb* means attacking riders. Before the attack they divest themselves of their mantles and caftans, if they have any, entrust them to their returning comrades, *redd*, and are clothed only in their dirty gray, *šīāb*, shirts. 16. Al-'Alja, the name given by the Rwala to their white camel herds. *Medālīā* or *marākiḍ*, swift, flashing, terms applied to the Rwala owing to their mode of delivering attacks in quick succession with the suddenness of lightning. Whenever the sky is enveloped in black clouds, a wind storm rises in the desert, carrying and driving dust, fine sand, and dry plants before it and overturning all tents the pegs and ropes [721 577] of which are not tight. 18. Eben Hazzā' — i. e. an-Nūri, the commander of the Rwala — did not commit treason when he attacked the enemy. His face is without blemish, that is white. *Neḳa'* signifies integrity, honesty, which both parties to a peace treaty have to maintain. The party declaring war, returns the integrity, *neḳa'*, to the other party. He who attacks another without a declaration of war fails to return the *neḳa'* to the attacked party, commits treason, and blackens his honesty, his face. 19. *Nīādma* are gay youths, young heroes; *neāmijje*: a gay beauty, a heroine. *'Aǧǧat* is used alike for a violent passion, for rising dust, and for an approaching throng of raiders. Ḥmār maintained that *ṣubāha* meant "her youth," but 'Awde pronounced it "*ṣubāha*." According to Ḥmār the poet speaks of a gay beauty in whose veins was beating the blood of youth demanding its rights from another man, while 'Awde maintained that the poet expresses his admiration for a beauty who seeks to save, either by hiding or by flight, the camels burdened with household goods, against which a raiding troop, *ṣubāha*, was advancing, *'aǧǧat*. 22. *Ḥālāt* is an area covered with basalt and lava, where neither horse nor rider can move except by a few narrow paths. The Rwala drove the defeated enemy as far as the borders of such an area. The defeated mourned, the victors sang.

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guardian of my soul!" he cried. Then he wheeled his horse and raced off with his riders.

Tra'd ibn Sattam took the leading rope of Tuëma's camel from the slave and led her past the marching tribe. For all the dire distress, a festive spirit animated the whole people. It was a festal day, for the Ruala had a queen again—a virgin in the sacred Ark; and under her symbolic leadership they pressed forward to their destiny.

Evening came and the whole tribe made camp. But in the grey of the next dawn they were on the march again.

Armed motor-cars circled about the widespread herds and guarded the flanks of the great migration. Despite the fact that we marched in close formation, it was inevitable under the conditions that single families or even groups of them, with their camels, should lag behind or struggle in detachments; these would be an easy prey for the enemy, of whose presence we were fully aware from the surprise attacks made each day by strong mounted bands and the appearance of numerous hostile fighting-motors.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 asleep. Both men and dogs sleep under cover in order to protect themselves against the dew and chill. An attack launched at this time is called *bejât* and is dishonorable, as the surprised enemy cannot defend himself.

726 The order to attack is given by the leader with the words: "Gain success, O ye looters! *efleḥû jâ ṛânimîn*," and by a gesture of his hand to the cavalry to advance. For their part they shout: "O Allâh, by Allâh himself!" or: "O Allâh, thy will be done! *jâ-llâh 'ala bâbak*," and throw themselves on the herds without paying attention to the herdsmen. Every one tries to reach an animal with his spear, calling at the same time on his comrades to witness that it was he who captured it; he then drives it before him to a second and third, which he also makes his own. A long spear is very useful in this kind of work. Sometimes they succeed in surrounding and capturing all the herds, but usually some of the camels shy and gallop away madly. These animals can never be overtaken by the attackers unless they run towards their last quarters, for frightened camels will not stop until quite exhausted.

704 The captured herds are driven by the cavalry to the
725 leader, who waits for them with the camel riders. There the cavalry divides. One half, armed with spears, drives the booty to the last quarters, the other, armed with revolvers, pistols, and rifles conceals itself in some suitable spot between the leader and the camp of the enemy. These hidden warriors are called *čemîn*, the reserve.

Both the reserve and the leader with the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, wait for the counter attack, *faz'a*, which the enemy usually makes in order to rescue the captured animals and to drive the raiders back. The task of the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, consists in opposing the sortie, and in this they are supported by the reserve in their rear. If the sortie is beaten back and the enemy dispersed, the *ṣâbûr* fall on the camp, taking all the tents there with everything in them.

721 However, it is only on rare occasions that the enemy
704 can be taken wholly by surprise, because the chief of every
726 camp follows the rule of sending out riders on camels, called *fullâ'*, to observe the country on all sides. They usually start before sunrise, ascend the highest hillocks, survey the neighborhood in all directions, and do not return till after sunset.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 For the eyes of her who draws apart the tent wall and peeps out
Thirsting and longing for one of our glances,
Our custom is to rescue the captured herds,
And our task is to bring in mares whose riders we have hurled down.

[727] When, after repelling the attack, the warriors return with their booty to their tents, they are inspected by the women and girls from the tents. Being themselves invisible, the latter look through the small space between the tent wall and roof. This wall or tent side is called *aḏ-ḏera*. *"Ḏerrûna ʿan ha-l-bard*, hang up the wall to protect us from the cold." *Awâḳ* means to examine something thoroughly. The chief orders the *sbûr*, scouts on camels: *"Ewîžû ʿala ha-l-ḳowm*, examine this detachment of the enemy well." On their return they will report: *"Awaḳna ʿalejhom*, we have looked them over," and give a detailed report. With the same thoroughness will a maiden examine her lover when he returns from a raid, anxious to know if and what booty he brings. *Wsîž* is the same as *aḥîḏ*, i. e. a herd, *ṭarš*, captured from the enemy. *Ḳalâjeʿ* are the mares of the foes thrown from the saddle.

Mamdûḥ w-allâh mâ narûḥ
nahûš ʿenda dijârana
laʿujûn min ḳarnha jelûḥ
ḍabḥ as-swâri ḳârana.

O Mamdûḥ, by Allâh! we shall not depart,
But harass you from our lands instead,
For the eyes of her whose plait is appearing —
For the killing of troopers is our sport.

Mamdûḥ Pasha was the commander of the Turkish troops fighting the Druses in the Ḥawrân. When defeated he asked the Rwala for help, but this they refused and, instead, composed this poem. [721] *Nahûš* means guerilla warfare, in which small regular detachments and frontier guards are attacked. [725] The regular cavalry sent by Mamdûḥ against the Rwala were beaten by them because their horses could stand the heat and thirst much better than the army horses. They awaited the soldiers in ambush, surrounded, and killed them. *Ḳâr* means hunting by lying in wait or catching the game in snares.

VI

The Commander of Our Camel-Saddles

721 [202] WHEN WE DREW rein, slaves were already lighting a huge signal-fire to call together the warriors of the tribe. A strong raiding-party of the Bishri (the three federated clans of the Anaza: the Fid'an, Saba, and Amarat) was reported to be advancing. It was said to number five hundred camel-riders, with some hundreds of war-mares. Perhaps the numbers were exaggerated.

That night Amir Fuaz made all his dispositions. Before the first grey of dawn Faris was at my bedside. "Awake, if thou wouldst ride with us," I heard him say, with a laugh. I jumped up and hastened to make ready for the march. Faris handed me a filled water-skin, a lump of pressed dates, several balls of hard Bedouin cheese, the size of a fist, and a stack of fresh-baked [492] bread-cakes. With the help of Mnahi, who was to be my rider-attendant, I stowed everything in the saddlebags of my *dhalul* (racing-camel), saddled Sadha, my white war-mare, and tied her by her halter to the dromedary's cinch.

Amir Fuaz had appointed Faris leader of our camel corps.

• 726 It was still dark when we started. The moon had set. The night was calm and the voices of the riders chanting as they rode made no echo, but moved over the desert

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

like a wave of sound—eerie, magic, beautiful. In the darkness loomed the indistinct figures of the camels; now and then only was heard the faint padding of soft soles, or the creak of a saddle. Thus, like riders from another world, we made our noiseless way among the hills, till dawn broke over them and at last the sun rose. 726

Slender, silver chains, braided girths, and coloured halters, embroidered with blue and red beads, adorned the necks and flanks of our camels. At their sides cantered the riderless mares, necks gently arched, supple backs taut, tails high—held only by the gay-coloured top-piece of the woollen headgear; for the Bedouins of Arabia, in contrast to the African, use neither bit nor bridle. The thin saddle-cloths were made of panther or gazelle skins, secured by a narrow leather girth. [492]

Like wildcats, with glittering eyes and taut muscles, the companion-riders crouched behind their comrades on the high humps of the camels, carbines at the ready. From their shoulders floated the ends of their *kaffiyahs*, which they wore wound about head and neck. [291]

In the early afternoon, Faris, riding at our head in the midst of his black bodyguard, gave the signal to change mounts; he had seen a dust cloud which, it appeared, was caused by two automobiles now approaching rapidly.

In the twinkling of an eye, sixty-seven fierce fellows had flung themselves, rifle in hand, from their trotting dromedaries to the backs of their mares and had unslipped the lines from the camel-girths. Then they dug their bare heels into their horses' flanks, and leaving the camel-troop behind, forged ahead and were lost in a

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 cloud of dust. Only their wild yells, the neighing of their horses, and the drumming of the hoofs were audible. The mad rush of the horsemen had made Sadha, my mare, restive; she pulled at her line and gave me to understand that she wanted to be in it too. I grabbed my Mauser and vaulted from the high saddle of my *dhalul* to her back. With a whinny she responded to the pressure of my thighs and careened after the others, extending herself like a gazelle when I, with my face almost touching her mane, called her by name. Closer and closer to the band thundering ahead she carried me, and soon I had overtaken the rearmost and was coming up with Faris and his escort.

715 The automobiles now appeared on a ridge and we recognized them at once as battle-cars of the Ruala. We all stopped and waited for their coming. It turned out that they carried Amir Fuaz himself, accompanied by Mijhem and several other men. They had captured in the neighborhood of their camp a scout of the Beni Sakhr. This man had refused to answer questions, and the Amir had forbidden his men to force information from him by torture; yet from the appearance of the spy in that locality, the young chieftain thought it reasonable to infer that the tribe of the Beni Sakhr had also taken arms against the Ruala, who were threatened from the other side as well by the Bishri. He therefore divided our force: two thirds, now under the command of Mijhem, were to remain facing the Bishri; the other third, under Faris, was to swing southeast against the Beni Sakhr.

000 Naturally, I attached myself to Faris's command. Be-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

of the grey hills, and we bivouacked with them. All through the night they kept watering their herds at the deep well-holes, and we heard the incessant creaking of the small wooden rollers in the primitive wooden bearings, with their dripping ropes, some eighty feet long.

A few hours' ride beyond Mayku' we entered the wide dark tableland of Bsayta, the flattened remains of what is probably the oldest mountain range in the Arabian peninsula. A few inconsiderable summits, covered with a fine film of sand, still rise from its surface, which extends for more than sixty miles—a perfectly level waste without water, without pasture, on which it seems to have hailed black gravel. At one stroke the blithe world was changed; all round us was desolation. But gloomy and eerie as Bsayta appeared at first sight, a few days in it taught me to love this waste, with all its hopeless melancholy. The solitude and stillness as of an abandoned planet broded over it. Now and then an oryx-antelope or an ostrich fled at our approach. Very rarely did we pass a shrub that was knee-high or see a green leaf or a flower. No bird sang here; even snakes and lizards avoided this waste. Occasionally in summer, it depended on the rainfall, there grew a strange, rich crop in Bsayta —the *samh*, a low small-leaved plant, on whose twigs small berries ripen, containing reddish-brown seed granules. These the Bedouins roast and grind into a dark, bitter flour. Kneaded with sheep butter and dates, or boiled in water into a sort of porridge, it becomes edible.

After renewing our water supply at the Hausa well, we pushed on toward Bir Bair and into the northwestern Wadi Sirhan, the proper grazing grounds of the Beni

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Sakhr. One after another we reconnoitred the scattered camps of our supposed enemy, despatching after each such reconnaissance two couriers with messages to our main body, which was then camping near the Umm Wual. One night Faris himself, "Commander of our Camel-saddles", as we called him, crept close enough to the tents of the Beni Sakhr to be able to listen to their talk. The total result of our efforts seemed to be the comforting conclusion that the Beni Sakhr must have given up their plans for a raid on the Ruala.

We preserved caution, however; and one morning, soon after sunrise, as we were lying in ambush on the salt-crusted ground under cover of some bushes, long lines of free camels appeared on the plain and scattered to graze. Behind them came loaded camels and migrating families of the Beni Sakhr. We hoped they would make camp before noon, so that we might make sure whether their fighting-men were still with them. But it was already late afternoon when we saw them, from a great distance, halt their camels. Tent-rolls and props tumbled to the ground, and women, children, and slaves industriously started to pitch the new camp. Now there arrived also numerous horsemen and camel-riders—the guards who had been covering the flanks of the migrating band.

Almost without sound our *dhaluls* rose as we left our last hiding-place and with long strides trotted after Faris's she-camel. She was pregnant and had been restless all day. Suddenly she refused to go farther and lay down. This spelt danger for us, for scouts always range

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 the vicinity of a Bedouin camp. Moreover, there could be no better place for the enemy to ambush us: white lime rocks shut us in on one side, while the rest was a confusion of blackish glistening scree and bush-crowned clay tumuli.

231 Several of us helped Faris to unharness his *dhalul*, since it was clear that she would calve. She turned on her side. Faris looked at us crestfallen, as if expecting reproaches; but all merely laughed at this misadventure. There was not a harsh word, no cursing, no blaming of the innocent camel—only that calm and composure of the Bedouin that ever evokes my admiration.

Faris kept tenderly stroking his beloved *dhalul*, and when the moment had come, while I held down the animal's head, he and one of his slaves aided the delivery of the calf. It was as tall as a grown man. At first, I thought it was stillborn, but after its mother had licked it for some time, it gave signs of life. That night the baby camel could stand on its legs and was allowed to suckle; but toward morning it was led aside and killed. The poor mother wailed and moaned loudly for her offspring. But she quieted down when Faris came back to her. She kept nosing his arm and shoulder and sniffing the air. This aroused my curiosity and I went nearer. Faris had sewn a piece of the baby camel's hide on the sleeve and shoulder of his cloak. It was this that had soothed the mother. Later in the afternoon, before we remounted, she let herself be milked. She would still whimper from time to time, but instantly became quiet when Faris reached out his arm or pressed his shoulder to her nostrils.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

At length, about noon, we rode forward, our scouts 726 ● in advance.

Beyond a ridge we saw vultures circling. At the foot of its farther slope we found trampled ground and the dead bodies of a Bedouin and his riding-camel. The man's body had been stripped. Not a scrap of clothing could we find, neither saddle nor gear, to help us find out whence he had come and of what tribe he was.

One of our scouts came back just then to report that camels of the Beni Sakhr were grazing close ahead and that armed guards were with the herdsmen.

Suddenly we caught sight of a number of men on some rising ground, half hidden by the bushes, and the glint of rifles levelled at us. "Ho, there! Ye camel-riders!" they called to us.

"Friends!" Faris shouted back, as we pulled up. But shots cracked and bullets whistled over our heads. Faris laughed. "Beni Sakhr," he exclaimed. "Here stand Ruala. Here stands Faris ibn Naif. Peace—peace unto you!"

But the men did not trust us. It must, indeed, have seemed very suspicious to them that a *ghazu* of the Ruala should appear in so distant a region. They did not return our peace-greeting. Instead, cries of "Kill them! Kill them!" rose from many throats all around us.

New opponents seemed to rise out of the ground. Undoubtedly they had left their horses out of sight and had crept up under cover. At last, just when their shouts of "Kill them" sounded particularly ominous, and shots crackled repeatedly, and we were vainly trying to make ourselves understood in the general hubbub, one man strode from cover and called out: "Faris ibn Naif!"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 Our leader slipped from his *dhalul* and called back joyously: "Jirad ibn Jeneyb!" It was one of the *shiyukhs* of the Beni Sakhr, and an old acquaintance of Faris.

726 619 In a trice the Beni Sakhr broke cover and pressed about us. We were deluged with questions as they led us to their camp, a few hours' distant. On the way Faris told them of the capture of a scout of their tribe and of our peaceable journey of inquiry into their grazing-grounds. Ever and again Ibn Jeneyb protested that the Beni Sakhr were at "unclouded peace" with the Ruala and that the captured spy must be a robber and an outcast from the tribe, who wanted to plunder the Ruala on his own account.

[486] When we had dismounted in his camp, Ibn Jeneyb had a camel slaughtered before our eyes. A slave caught its blood in a bowl. He then tore up a bunch of herbs, dipped it in the blood, and with this brush painted the tribal emblem on the necks and flanks of our riding-camels. This was to serve, as it were, as a guarantee of our peaceful intentions and as a safe conduct among the rest of the Beni Sakhr.

A small detachment of them were still pursuing Bedouins of the northwestern lava region, who had broken into the Wadi Sirhan and, the day before, had fallen on Beni Sakhr herders, grazing their camels. The raiders lost one dead—it was his corpse we had found—while the Beni Sakhr had two men wounded.

763 I visited these wounded men and found one of them, with two ghastly bullet wounds in his chest and abdomen, lying at the point of death. I did my best to save him—I had my case of surgical instruments, mor-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours.

At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the centre of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab*, the "Ship", also called *Abu-Dubur*, "Father of the Ages"—the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,—the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

XVII

The War Goddess

778
788
726

TRA'D IBN SATTAM hurried with me to the sacred Standard, which rose high above the travelling-litters. We made our way through an agitated throng. The buzz of women's and children's voices intermingled with the grunting and complaining of laden camels. On nearer approach I noticed a group of women afoot, threading their way to the Standard; they waved their head-cloths and kept up a high-pitched chant. They were escorting a young woman, walking sedately in their midst. It was Tuëma. Her beautiful serene face was radiant and aglow with health. Her eyes under their long lashes were grave and devout, but she had a bright glance for Tra'd ibn Sattam, who had chosen her out of all the Ruala maidens for the signal honour of riding in the *Markab*, and on recognizing me her cheeks dimpled with a smile.

When Tuëma and her train of women had come up with the camel which bore the tribal symbol, a tall powerful animal led by a slave, she ran by its side for a space. The trilling and waving of the women rose to a joyous frenzy. Suddenly Tuëma broke away from her retinue, and with a running start grasped the camel's shoulder-girth and climbed nimbly on to its back and into the Palladium. In the left fore-corner of the sacred structure was a seat with a footrest, and on this she composed herself, enthroned on high like a desert queen above her

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab,* Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuëma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuëma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuëma,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

guardian of my soul!" he cried. Then he wheeled his horse and raced off with his riders.

Tra'd ibn Sattam took the leading rope of Tuēma's camel from the slave and led her past the marching tribe. For all the dire distress, a festive spirit animated the whole people. It was a festal day, for the Ruala had a queen again—a virgin in the sacred Ark; and under her symbolic leadership they pressed forward to their destiny.

Evening came and the whole tribe made camp. But in the grey of the next dawn they were on the march again.

Armed motor-cars circled about the widespread herds and guarded the flanks of the great migration. Despite the fact that we marched in close formation, it was inevitable under the conditions that single families or even groups of them, with their camels, should lag behind or struggle in detachments; these would be an easy prey for the enemy, of whose presence we were fully aware from the surprise attacks made each day by strong mounted bands and the appearance of numerous hostile fighting-motors.

2: Musil
721, 726, 727

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For songs, ditties, anecdotes and narratives of raids and warfare see category 116, pp. 512-522 and 532-661.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

6. Ah, sweet is their parade, when they ride before their chief shouting the war cry,
'Arfa and Sbê'i, when none hastens to their help.
7. They became our enemies, and we became their adversaries,
And I think that I shall not return after the parting.

A poet of the Sba'a tribe encamping with a kin of the Rwalá numbering less than thirty tents fell in love with a Rwala woman. After a short time war broke out between the Sba'a and the Rwala, and the Sbê'i returned to his own people. During the campaign, on riding across the previous camping place, he put his memories into this poem, which I heard from my companion Blejhân eben Meṣreb.

Verse 1. The *ženn* are low rectangular litters for women and children. The *neğe'* is a camp numbering less than thirty tents. 2. *Žedwa* is a track. *As-salaf ježdi al-mezâhîr*: the warriors on horses and camels indicate and prepare the way for the camels carrying the tents and supplies. 3. *Ahl ar-rbâ'* are the owners of the tents with a special compartment for the men. In the smaller tents there is only a corner reserved for the men, while the large tents are cut by a dividing partition into compartments for the men (visitors and guests) and for the women. 5. *Ji'âležen al-'anne*: in their high spirits they chew or champ the bit. *Zowm* means strength or endurance. The riders are so drunken with the lust of war that their mares by their neighing remind them to pay heed. 6. *'Arṣa* means a row of warriors riding in front of the chief and shouting the battle cry, *naḫâwa*, which among the Sba'a is: "*Ḥajjâl al-'arfa sbê'i*, the rider protecting the 'Arfa is a Sbê'i." A Sbê'i is a member of the tribe of the Sba'a, who call their herds 'Arfa.

1. *Abči ḥali jâ nâs mâni bmaljûm*
w-azonn min jabči ḥaleh mâ jiljâmi
2. *ğit al-mrâḥ w-ṣâr bel-ḳalb maḷ'ûm*
manâzel al-ḫullân ḥom w-al-'amâmi
3. *ḥâḍa mešabb an-nâr w-al-ḥafr maḷlûm*
marka' dlâlen mut'abâten aš-šwâmi
4. *w-hâği merâbaṭ ḫejlahom dâjmen dûm*
ḥoḳb al-'ujûn mrowba'ât al-hwâmi

2: Mus:1 5-4,6 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

and calls together the idlers from all sides to utter their greetings and to reply to greetings, only in order that as soon as possible they may gain the favor of those present. 4. Nine grains of cardamom are ground together with a pinch of

FIG. 29 FIG. 30

FIGS. 29, 30—Pack camels, *al-mazhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

saffron and mixed with the boiled coffee. The *hejl*, cardamom, gives the coffee a peculiar bitter taste, and the saffron makes it yellow in color. The coffee, when it has been allowed to stand and has been strained off, *mrawwaḳa*, is poured into beautiful cups, *as-snâfi*. *Har-raǧǧâl snâfi* means "this man is handsome, perfect." 5. *Ṣinijje* is the name of the shallow decorated metal dish upon which the cups are placed; such dishes were originally brought from China and hence were known as *ṣîni*. *'Oddah* for *'odah* (or *'odha*). He who protects the fugitives is to receive an additional drink of coffee. *Aḵfow* means "made their escape, retreated." 6. *Trâd* is the term for actual warfare. In the midst of the most dangerous and fierce fighting the girls encourage the warriors with words and gestures. With loosened hair and bared breasts they dash on she-camels where the danger is greatest, shout to their lovers and friends, remind the former of favors received, and threaten to desert to the enemy should they be disappointed

2: Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by their own people. 8. *Ṣâbûr* are the camel riders who during the raid ward off the attacks of the owners of the captured herds. 9. *Mirkâẓahom* signifies the galloping of the horse riders who from ambush attack the enemy engaged

726
539x

Fig. 31—Pack camels, *al-maṣhûr*, on the march (see p. 76).

with the *ṣâbûr*. 10. Most of the coffee is to go to the owner of the tent, who entertains the warriors returning from a raid, *ma'âwîd* (or *menâčîf*), with genuine unaffected kindness. For whether the raid has been successful or not, on the return from it all are hungry, riders as well as animals, because as a rule every raid lasts much longer than was planned. 11. *Al-čeǧûb al-ehlâfi* is the term applied to a man who pretends to rejoice at some news, while in reality he is seething with wrath. It is used of the host who embraces and kisses the guest, but does not give enough to eat either to the guest or to his animals.

[152]
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539x

1. *Kum saw mâ jeǧmod 'alâ-ṗ-ṗên jâ ḏijâb bedlâl jeddewn al-bṭûṭ al-maḥâčîb*
2. *w-ehmes elja min al-'araḳ fowkha ḏîb w-estaden mâ jeǧǧeb 'alejk al-ḥerârîb*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Ryala MD4

Verse 1. *Mâ jeğmed* means "that which adheres (sticks) and colors." The Bedouins prefer coffee which leaves dark-yellow stains on the white cups. The wild geese are called *maḥâdîb* from their fat bulging backs. 2. The roasting is finished when the fine drops resembling sweat disappear from the coffee beans. 3. Through prolonged use the inside of the mortar becomes very shiny, as does the spot outside pressed by the knees of the person working the pestle. *Jel'i*, the mortar bows because the beater inclines it from side to side when shaking off the coffee that sticks to its sides. *Dubb ad-dahr* means "as is the custom, life long." 4. *Čaffat aṣ-ṣîn* is the inside of a porcelain cup, *wars* (or *kurkub*) the plant from which the yellow dye is made. *Šfûf* was explained to me as lips, but it can also mean the stuff for a dress. 5. The first cup should go to the *'ažîd*, or leader of the troop. *Mafras* signifies the spot where the enemy's horses were repulsed when trying to free the captured herds. 6. *Ẓabẓâb* is the term applied to the warriors mounted on horses. If the enemy attack a migrating tribe they are opposed by the *salaf*, a troop of horsemen who attempt to drive them from the camels which carry the tents, household goods, supplies, and women and children. If the enemy is numerically stronger, the troop opposing them may soon be scattered, in which case only the bravest will persist in defending the camels of the different families. 7. The owner of the tent, who sets meat before the hungry fighters on their return from a raid, is entitled to the most coffee. 8. *Wafel* is the twice-boiled coffee, which not only leaves no dark-yellow stains on the white porcelain but is almost wholly gray, *šâb*. It is good enough for such visitors, *mela*, as press, *raṣṣâṣe*, into the men's compartment. Although they see that they are depriving the more esteemed guests and the tired fighters of their places, and that the host looks at them with an unfriendly eye, yet they do not leave the tent. At last the short stick, *miḥ'âb*, such as is used for urging on and driving away the donkeys, must be applied to them. 9. If the alarm cry is sounded, a true Bedouin instantly arms himself with his best weapon and runs to help, *jifza'*, his attacked countrymen, but a scamp of the sort just described will only snatch up a thick stake used for poking the fire, *miṣlâb*, thinking he can scare the enemy with that. *Sâheğîn* (or *târečîn*) *al-muğîlîb* are those who are unmindful of their duties towards their clan and tribe and are conceited braggarts, *kbârîn al-anfos*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The poet was Eben 'Ablân of the 'Adwân tribe; the reciter, Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. Eben 'Ablân reproaches Nimr with doing nothing but mourn for his wife.

Verse 1. *Mela'* are people not remarkable in any way. 2. *Frûḫ al-ǧerûmi* are young falcons who never leave their prey even though it crawls into the thorns to hide. 3. *Meẓâhîr* are she-camels carrying the chattels of the moving clan. As a rule they are led by the women, who beckon to the youths to defend them when attacked by the enemy. The youths utter their alarm cry and throw the enemy from their saddles, so that the mares run around without their riders. Such mares are called *amrâǧ*. The young men defending the laden camels are considered the real heroes, because the enemy will always hurl themselves at these animals when they have scattered the warriors who opposed them first. The fall of one of these youths is considered a serious loss to the tribe.

Elopements

Hîh jâ râ'i-l-bakrat al-ḫaz'ali
wuddi-rčab ma'ak mâr abûj jez'ali.

Hail to thee, who ridest the young she-camel captured from the Ḫaz'al!
I would fain ride with thee, but my father is angry.

The father will not let his daughter wed her lover. Ḫaz'al (for Ḫazâ'el) is the name of a tribe which camps on the lower Euphrates.

Wa' hêh jâ râ'i-l-bakrat an-nâjife
wuddi-rčab ma'ak mâr ana ḫâjife.

Ah, hail to thee, who ridest the she-camel taller than all others!
I would gladly ride along with thee but am afraid.

The maiden fears the fickleness of the lover, who intends to elope with her.

Jâ solejmân ḳalbî mḫâlef
'alleḳ al-ḥebb al-aǧnebijje
mâ ḫala-ṭ-ṭowb fowḳ ar-radâjef
w-al-ǧa'ad lejjeten fowḳ lejje.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 x
639 + The poet was Fejṣal al-ʿAnḳari; the reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, Ǧwâd al-ʿÂni, and Ḥmâr abu ʿAwwâd. Turki eben Ḥmejd eben ʿArejʿer, the chief of the Beni Ḥâled, camping by the Persian Gulf in the territory of al-Ḥasa, had a good friend in Fejṣal al-ʿAnḳari, the elder of a small village near al-Baṣra. Fejṣal negotiated in Turki's name with the authorities, sent him foodstuffs, cloth, arms, and ammunition, advanced him money, and took in exchange camels and horses, which he sold to Persia and India. With the approach of the mid-summer season, *al-ḳejẓ*, Fejṣal used to leave his village with his servants for a change of air on a visit to Turki; *bwaḳt al-ḳejẓ jiṭlaʿ ʿend al-bedw jebaddel hawa*. The latter had a daughter, Fejṣal a son, and the fathers agreed together that their children should marry. It happened that at the beginning of mid-summer both Fejṣal and his son came to Turki for a long visit. On the first day an old fat she-camel was killed in their honor. On the next day the Bedouins arranged an equestrian display, *leʿeb al-ḥejl*, depicting a fight with the enemy, in which both Fejṣal and his son took part, the women standing by their tents, meanwhile, to watch the riders circling around the camp. A female relative of Turki's daughter called her attention to Fejṣal's son's performance, praising his strength and dexterity. The girl's answer, however, was: "Let him be gone from us! A rider from a village is fit only for trade, *kubbih ʿanna ḥajjâl al-eǧra zejn at-taṣfîḥ*," and she would not hear of becoming the mother of settlers. This caused much laughter among the other women who heard the words; they shouted them from tent to tent, and before long even the children cried: "*Ḥajjâl al-eǧra zejn at-taṣfîḥ*." This insult naturally pained old Fejṣal deeply, especially coming from the girl whom he had selected for the wife of his brave son, and he made preparations to leave, but Turki succeeded in appeasing him.

Soon after this incident Turki's herds were suddenly attacked by the Fẓûl, a kin of the Ẓefîr tribe. Responding to the alarm cries, the riders hastened to defend the herds but encountered superior numbers and were slowly beaten back to the camp. In order to raise the courage and perseverance of his warriors Turki had a fancy litter fastened to a
● [726] she-camel, in which his daughter had to seat herself. A virgin sitting in fancy litters and inciting warriors to fight is called 'Aṭfa', the same name being also applied to the litters. Throw-

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Chattering and evildoing,
I would fain, when a slanderer comes to the Arabs,
Take his measure and make my dearest ready,
So that we might saddle our strong she-camels, mount
And ride directly for al-Ḥôr and Ṣfajje. [them,

The lover wants to settle with the slanderer and then depart with his beloved, Nîra, for the inner desert. The price Nîra's kin ask for her is very high; in order to pay it, the lover wishes for a hundred yellow she-camels.

Ačileh means "take his measure, settle with him"; *učajjel*, prepare, make ready, load, weigh. Al-Ḥôr is a depression in the center of al-Ḥamâd; the Ḥabra Ṣfajje is located there.

Jâ zejd lâ taẓreb al-maḥbûb
hw ṣâḥebi w-ent ḳowmâni
ḥowse low žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb
lâ jâ baʿad kill ḥajjâni.

O Zejd, do not beat my dear one!
She is my friend, thou mine enemy.
When Ḥowse lifts her garment,
Oh, that I may live longer than the whole kin!

Ṣâḥeb means a friendly tribe, *ḳowmâni* a hostile one. *Žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb*: she raises the dress covering her breasts in such a way that they show through the enlarged slit. If a girl or a woman wants to encourage her kinsmen to the greatest bravery in a dangerous fight, she does so not by words alone but also by significant deeds. So, for instance, she opens her dress on the breast as a sign of how she means to reward the bravest. Her lover then forgets everything else, only wishing not to perish in the fight, in order that he may enjoy the promised reward. *Lâ jâ baʿad* means "Oh, that I may not be absent, that I may not die." *Ḥajjân* are the kinsfolk, who keep together even in a fight.

Jâ wanneti wannejtaha
w-an-nâs mâ darjaw baha
lâ wâḥani min ǧâẓaʿaha
bên al-berîm w-ṭawbaha.

This is the lament which I utter,
And none knows of it;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters for the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-'ejd w-mežfîni
w-mnaššerîn ad-dallâli
'allemi bihom bel-maḳâṭîni
w-mrakkezîn al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite [direction,
Their best clothes donning. [to stay
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist.

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *aẓ-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Mežfin* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâṭîni*. The word *meḳṭân* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭanna 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 161). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munaššerîn ad-dallâl*.

Ed'û râ'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ḥala' howšeh
jâ mušarreden lar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Ed'û for *jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ṣîta's mother, Turkijje was the daughter of the head chief of the Fed'ân. Ṣîta's father, Saṭṭâm, usually selected a place for his camping ground where his clans were exposed to the greatest danger. Such a place is called *sâḳa*. His wife's father was a hero of renown whom no troop of riders could resist. 852 539x

Ṛazâlen daššakom A gazelle ran in amongst you
mâ hâb And feared not.
jâ bint muḫazzaʿ O thou daughter of him who chopped off
al-arḳâb. Heads!

Ṣîta was not frightened even when the enemy succeeded in entering the camp. She inherited her father's character.

Jâ ṣîta bintena-r-razne
čeṭîr al-mâl jašrîha
želîl al-mâl waʿ ḥazneh.

O Ṣîta, our cold-blooded daughter!
Only a rich man could buy her,
While a poor one would, alas, grieve vainly for her.

Ṣîta was both astute and cool-tempered. At times when an-Nûri trembled for his life Ṣîta watched over him day and night to prevent his being poisoned or assassinated in his own tent. Such a woman can be bought only by a rich man.

Ahal ṣîta jiḥellûn
sukkâra mâ jiḏellûn
ʿala-s-sâḳât juʿajjûn
w-hal ṣaḥnen jiḥoṭṭûn.

Ṣîta's kinsmen fall upon the enemy as if on sheep for
Like drunken men, nothing can frighten them; [sacrifice,
Careless they are of the most dangerous spots,
And their dishes they constantly fill.

The warriors act in the battle just as if they were merely slaughtering sheep, *jiḥellûn*. *Sâḳât* are places exposed to the direct attack of the enemy and therefore highly dangerous. A chief of renown not only ignores this danger but even selects localities of that kind in order to avert the danger from his people and to destroy the enemy himself. Thus praise is given [726 622]

524 *šẓâẓ*, on the highest stone near by, taps it with his large peg
857 enough to make it fly up a little, and when in the air gives it a good blow so as to make it fly to the other players who wait at a distance of about thirty or forty paces. Every one of them tries to hit the flying sharp peg with his own peg in order to send it back. As long as no one succeeds, the peg is returned to the first boy, who continues to bat it until one of his comrades finally strikes it and takes his place. When striking at the *šẓâẓ* peg the head or shoulders of a player often come in contact with it, with consequences easy to imagine.

Many a kerchief is torn to ribbons in the game called *dehdwa*. One boy rolls a large stone down a slightly inclined plane, while the others try to stop it, *'akašha*, with their kerchiefs. The one succeeding in this is entitled to roll it, *jedahdîha*.

'Aḳê 'aḳab is a game in which all the boys run for the goal, about a hundred paces away. He who reaches it first shouts: "*'aḳê 'aḳab*," a command for the others to turn and run back to the starting point. The first boy to reach it now calls out the same words, "*'aḳê 'aḳab*," and flies with the others to the goal again. This is repeated until all are exhausted. Finally the one to reach the goal first exclaims: "A pile of wood, *korkob ḥašab*," and sinks to the ground; the others follow his example, lie still for a while, but then begin to kick and strike out all around regardless of whom they hit.

DITTIES SUNG BY GIRLS

539x The girls have no such games. Occasionally at night they
857 form two choirs and alternately sing, *jesemran*, various ditties
533 called *summejr*:

Tafawwelû bel-faẓa	For a good sign take a great plain,
jâ-lli ṭalab fâlî	O all ye who ask me for a good sign!
fâli rŝêden w-ar-rašed	Fortunate is my sign, for luck
ṭajjeb al-fâli.	Is the best of all signs ye may want.

539x When the women and girls are about to start their *sum-*
857 *mejr*, the men and youths gather not far off. Before a raid
777 or any act of importance every man observes the first word
726 uttered by the woman or girl dear to him. That word they

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Bwala MD4

take to be their sign or omen, *fâl*, and try to guess from it whether their enterprise will meet with success or not. Knowing this the girls begin with the ditty quoted above. A *faẓa'*, or vast plain where the Bedouin cannot be ambushed, is to him a good sign. Better than any sign, however, is the luck itself or the successful result.

Enḥowderû les-summejr
w-az-zemel bel-misrâḥ
min hw jehedd aṭ-ṭejr
ma'lûḳ ḳlejbeh râḥ
jelfi 'ala marteh
jâ niğmet al-miṣbâḥ
erḥi ṭrejf as-sejr
žîfi 'ala-l-mebṭâḥ.

Gather for the *summejr*,
For the pack camels are out in the pasture.
Who is that training the hunting falcon?
The falcon to whom his heart clung disappeared and
Will soon reach its wife.
O morning star!
Loosen the end of thy leather belt
And stand leaning against the long litter pole.

The girls and women invite everybody to their entertainment, *summejr*, as it is unnecessary to get up so early next morning, since the chief's pack camels are not yet back from the pasture. They hear some one training his hunting falcon and later pity him, because the falcon has flown away and returned to its wife. When about to move they call out to the prettiest woman of the camp to stand up in her litter and shed light all around her like the morning star.

The word *enḥowderû*, gather down, come down together, is used because the *summejr* is always held in a low piece of ground protected against the wind. *Erḥi ṭrejf as-sejr* means "loosen the end of thy leather belt." Every woman wears a belt of small leather strips on her bare body. On entering a litter she loosens this belt in order not to be incommoded by it on the journey. *Žîfi*, stand leaning, for *žîfi*.

Jâ rabbi jâ ḥâlež al-lejl
hât al-maṭar min saḥâbeh

will be slain, their herds perish. The chief Ṣaḳr eben Meṣreb, a famous leader of countless raids, was greatly incensed against both the sorcerers and their disciples because of their incessant greed and was once heard to say: "Oh, may Allâh rid me of you all! If you have enough, you disturb everybody's rest by your music and your foolery; if you are hungry, there is no being rid of you, you beggars; *low šeba'tu awḏejtu w-low ǧi'tu arẓejtu.*" On hearing this the insulted sorcerers called a meeting and one of them, Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, cursed Ṣaḳr in the name of all present. A few days later the chief was dead.

Of the sorcerer's curse the Bedouins stand in much fear. If anybody hears that a seer has cursed him, he makes haste to find the seer and, falling on his face before the powerful man, crosses his hands behind his back as if fettered and says: "I ask the protection of thine ancestor and am willing to bring a lawful sacrifice as a gift to him, *ana dâḫel 'ala ǧeddekom w-ana ḥâṭṭ ḏebiḥat ǧeddekom mowhebha mowhebe šara'ijje.*" The sorcerer answers: "Agreed, it has arrived; *tâmma w-jâmma.*" The animal selected for the sacrifice is killed by the sorcerer at the edge of the tent, with its head turned south, while the sorcerer says: "O Allâh, this sacrifice is destined for my ancestor." Then he besmears with the blood of the sacrificed animal the center pole of the tent and the strip which strengthens its roof, *ṭarîžet al-bejt*; the meat he and his disciples eat, and the accursed is relieved.

At the time when this was written (1909) the following persons were recognized as true seers: men: Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, Ṛannâm eben Ǧel'ûd, Ṣajjâḥ eben Ǧlejdân, Za'al eben 'Awwâd; women: 'Ešba bint Hmezi, Baṭḥa bint 'Awwâd, and Dlejjil bint Mâzi.

A sorcerer can give information whether and for how long it is going to rain; whether a wife will bear a boy or a girl; whether the young produced by the mare or camel will be a male or a female; whether a raid will succeed, etc.

[726] War expeditions on a large scale are always accompanied by a sorcerer who instructs the commander in anything he may undertake. The latter asks the sorcerer's advice only on occasions when he is at a loss what to do. Then the seer stimulates himself with music and works himself into an ecstasy, which helps him hear the angel speak and proclaim the will of Allâh.

721 asleep. Both men and dogs sleep under cover in order to prote themselves against the dew and chill. An attack launched this time is called *bejât* and is dishonorable, as the surprise enemy cannot defend himself.

●726 The order to attack is given by the leader with the word "Gain success, O ye looters! *efleḥû jâ ṛânimîn*," and by gesture of his hand to the cavalry to advance. For their par they shout: "O Allâh, by Allâh himself!" or: "O Allâh, th will be done! *jâ-llâh 'ala bâbak*," and throw themselves o the herds without paying attention to the herdsmen. Ever one tries to reach an animal with his spear, calling at th same time on his comrades to witness that it was he wh captured it; he then drives it before him to a second an third, which he also makes his own. A long spear is very usefu in this kind of work. Sometimes they succeed in surrounding and capturing all the herds, but usually some of the camel shy and gallop away madly. These animals can never be over taken by the attackers unless they run towards their las quarters, for frightened camels will not stop until quite ex hausted.

704 The captured herds are driven by the cavalry to the
725 leader, who waits for them with the camel riders. There the cavalry divides. One half, armed with spears, drives the booty to the last quarters, the other, armed with revolvers, pistols, and rifles conceals itself in some suitable spot between the leader and the camp of the enemy. These hidden warriors are called *čemîn*, the reserve.

Both the reserve and the leader with the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, wait for the counter attack, *faz'a*, which the enemy usually makes in order to rescue the captured animals and to drive the raiders back. The task of the camel riders, *ṣâbûr*, consists in opposing the sortie, and in this they are supported by the reserve in their rear. If the sortie is beaten back and the enemy dispersed, the *ṣâbûr* fall on the camp, taking all the tents there with everything in them.

721 However, it is only on rare occasions that the enemy
704 can be taken wholly by surprise, because the chief of every
726 camp follows the rule of sending out riders on camels, called *ṭullû'*, to observe the country on all sides. They usually start before sunrise, ascend the highest hillocks, survey the neighborhood in all directions, and do not return till after sunset.

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Should the pastures be more than twenty kilometers from the camp, the herds are accompanied by a troop of cavalry, *ǧanab*, who stay with them all day and also return only after sunset. Besides this, on all the highest elevations at different points around the pastures and between them and the camp, sentinels lie hidden behind piles of stones. These keep a sharp outlook for anything suspicious that may appear on the horizon. If something unusual is noticed by one of the mounted pickets, *ṭullû'*, he ties his kerchief to the muzzle of his rifle, waves it in the direction of whatever has aroused his suspicion, and shouts at the top of his voice:

"At their backs, O riders, an attack threatens you! *ẓhawrahen* [sic] *jâ-hla-l-ḫejl 'alejkom ṛâra.*"

This shout is repeated and the direction indicated by the next sentinel, so that the whole camp is put on its guard in a few minutes. The girls and women hasten to open the iron fetters on the mares' forelegs, while the men put on cartridge belts and seize their rifles. One rider after another speeds in the direction from which the danger is expected, singing *ḥda'* ditties on the way. Those who own no mare wait, weapons in hand, for the next report. If the alarm cry, *ṣijâḥ*, proves false and thus that the man who gave it, *ṣâjeḥ*, called for help, *fazza' al-'arab*, unnecessarily, the sentinel shouts: "Forgiveness, *al-'âfje*," and the cavalry who came out return home in groups, singing. But if the enemy really appears and is near at hand, the warriors who have no horses run from the camp afoot to help the cavalry. In case the enemy flees and the cavalry cannot overtake them, they return to the camp, pick their riding camels from among the herds, saddle them, load them with water bags and food, and start as the *ṭalab* in pursuit of the hostile troop.

Should the rescuing cavalry who make the counter attack, *faz'a*, find out that the attackers are too numerous, they dispatch messengers to the neighboring camps, who shout from afar: "Come out to our help quickly! Your comrades have been robbed! *efza'û rab'akon. wuḫedû.*" As this cry is repeated by the sentinels of the other camps or by the herdsmen, it is often unnecessary for the messenger to reach the camp itself. He stops and waits for the first riders to respond to his call, and with them he then gallops to assist his people.

If, for instance, Eben Ša'lân is informed that a strong

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721 enemy is approaching, he orders all his tribal divisions to get
704 ready. Soon troop after troop headed by their chiefs arrive
726 at his camp, defile before his tent, *je'arẓûn*, and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyes, *'ajnâk*, O chief! The rider protecting the 'Alja camel herds rides before thine eyes, and that rider is a Rwejli, *'ajnâk ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli.*"

703 The battle cry, *naḫâwa*, uttered before the chief is in-
726 tended to rouse both his courage and that of his warriors, *ješiddûn maḥzam aš-šejḫ w-juḳawwûn* (sic) *'azmahom*. As a proof that they will not desert their fellow tribesman they defile before him on horseback; this is called *'arẓa*. The *'arẓa* is always connected with the *naḫâwa*. Without a *naḫâwa* there is no *'arẓa*.

Whenever Eben Ša'lân sets out to rescue his captured herds, he shouts to the enemy from afar:

"Oh, how many times have we freed herds like these from enemies like you. The rider protecting the 'Alja herds is a Rwejli! By Allâh himself! This day is the most ruinous of all days for you. Oh, how far are your kinsfolk from you! *Jâ mâ fakkejna miṭlehen min miṭlekom ḫajjâl al-'alja rwejli w-allâh hal-jowm aḳrad al-ajjâm 'alejkom w-ba'ad ahalkom al-jowm 'alejkom*. All of you must perish, your kins will not come to help you!"

If the victorious attackers expect a second counter attack, *faz'a*, stronger in numbers, before hiding themselves their cavalry defile before the commander and the camel riders and shout their battle cry:

"Before thine eyesight, O chief! Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting the 'Alja is a Rwejli!"

The commander answers: "We shall not desert each other! *lâ ḫala' w-lâ 'adam*," and is the first to throw himself on the enemy, with the words:

"If Allâh grants luck to us we shall capture your mares as we have already taken your camels!" for nothing inspires the troop so much as the bravery of its leader. On the other hand, if he betrays hesitation, all is lost. If the leader on his part notices that his men are wavering, he admonishes them with the battle cry:

"Before your eyes, O comrades! The rider protecting 'Alja is I, So-and-So. I fill even heroes with fear, I, So-and-So, *ḏa"âr as-sebâja w-ana flân eben flân*." If they answer: "Enough

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726

now and grace! *kafw w-na'am*," he is positive that they will not desert him.

If he sees a man fleeing, the leader cries: "Shame on thee for running away! Thou art not worthy to mount a she-camel! Thy daughter shall not marry lest she bear a scoundrel like thee, who desertest thy comrades!" If more try to run away, the leader shouts: "Shame on you, ye runaways! Face about, come back, ye are going in the wrong direction!" and beats them with the flat of his saber. This is effective. First one and then another rejoin him, howling: "At them! At them! O So-and-So! say not afterwards that thou hast not seen me throwing myself at them! at them! at them! *fowkahom 'alej-hom*." If it seems as if the enemy would win, the girls, if present, with words and gestures encourage the warriors to persevere. With their breasts bared and hair loosened they ride on camels where the greatest danger appears, call to their friends and to those dear to them, remind them of amorous moments spent together, and threaten to join the enemy if their own people disappoint them.

Many, especially the younger warriors, then with the left hands raise the hem of their cloaks before their eyes and, with the saber or dagger in the right hand, throw themselves on the enemy. During the fight they shout: "Away! Tremble! At you! at you! O faithless people! Ye shall not escape. We came from afar to get you!" And then the fight changes into a series of duels. Personal bravery, though greatly limited by the use of firearms, may even now be exhibited.

If the attackers learn that there is in the camp to be assailed a fighter feared for his bravery, they prepare to destroy him. The evening before the attack the leader takes a cup of black coffee in his hand and says:

"This cup is filled with the blood of So-and-So. Who will drink it?"

If one of the men present takes the cup and drinks the coffee with the words "I am drinking the blood of So-and-So," he is obliged to meet the aforesaid hero in a duel. During the fight he asks again and again:

"O riders, who of you has seen So-and-So?"

If the hero is not among the fighters on that day, a comrade of his will answer: "O thou son of an honorable family, he is not here. If he were, thou mayst be sure he would not hide from thee. But here is one who will take his

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703 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-*
●726 *ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittaḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ğâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḍa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâka'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâḳni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḫoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and
782 longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḫ w-fâṭer.*"

266 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood
727 of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for him-
782 self to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḥat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-fâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose
628 hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *tḥasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

avenge thy father, the fire of hell will be thy punishment; *daḫîlak bên abûk w-an-nâr*," or: "Higher than thy hand is the hand of Allâh, who is sure to prevent blood flowing from this neck of mine." If the one who is challenged does not feel guilty, he corrects the other: "O thou, suspect me not! Seek him not with me at any hour of the day or of the night; for it was not I who cut his skin and made his son an orphan! *Jâ flân lâ-tâhem mâ leh ʿendi medâr w-lâ sâʿat al-lejl w-lâ sâʿat an-nahâr w-anni mâ šaḳḳejt leh ǧild w-lâ ajtamt leh wild.*" Then, when the avenger looks at him more closely, he may answer: "And I do, by Allâh, believe it; *w-ana ballâh žanaʿat.*"

He who sees certain death before him asks for pardon in these words: "Give pardon, O rider! *emnaʿ emnaʿ jâ ḫajjâl.*"

The man addressed will answer: "Come hither and thou wilt save thy neck. Come hither, Allâh lies on thee," or: "Dismount before the face of So-and-So" — naming himself. The suppliant, coming nearer, says: "'*Aṭni allâh*, give me Allâh," or "*Ḥoṭṭ ʿalejji allâh*, lay on me Allâh!" When this is done, the pardoned man says: "'*Aṭâni allâh w-ʿaṭajteh allâh ʿan al-bowḳ*, he assured me by Allâh and I assured him by Allâh against treachery."

He then surrenders his arms and most of his clothing and receives from his captor either a kerchief or head rope, accompanied by the words: "Here, take my kerchief (or my rope) and tell any one who approaches thee that thou hast been pardoned by So-and-So, *hâk ḳṣâṣti* (*ʿaṣâbti*) *w-alli jeǧîk ḫabbereh ana manîʿ flân.*"

His mare or she-camel is taken by the victor, *mâneʿeh*, or the latter lets some comrade keep her for him a while and returns to the fight. The pardoned one waves the kerchief or the rope, crying: "I am the *manîʿ* of So-and-So." If both himself and his animal are wounded, his pardoner, *mâneʿ*, conducts him to his own party where assistance will be given him, or else the *mâneʿ* will allow him to return home at once. Should he live too far away, he is furnished with a she-camel, water bag, food, and a reliable guide, but must give his word of honor to return everything or to give compensation.

When a comrade of the victor is about to return home, *jenḳeṣ*, the victor says to him: "The man who stands before thee was pardoned by me. Conduct him to my relatives!"

He who asks no pardon while in danger is generally killed, *elja' mâ mâna' endabaḥ*. There are many who hide, concealing

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727 their arms and clothing among the rocks or in the sand, and at night manage to creep to some tent. If they see a little boy or girl, they salute the child; if the salutation is repeated or if they succeed in entering a tent, they are saved. But if the fugitive is seen by an adult man, he may be killed despite his crying: "Give pardon! *emna'*." For he should have asked for it during the fight, not now, they say.

Sometimes, however, the commander-in-chief declares that no pardon will be given. "O comrades, behold! the granting of pardon to them is abolished; *jâ ǧemâ'a tarâhom maḳṭû' al-man' 'anhom.*"

726 Frequently the fight lasts many hours. If the attacked party succeeds in scattering the horse riders, it then usually surrounds all the camel riders, *ḥâlow 'ala-l-ǧejš killeh*, captures them, and starts in pursuit of the raiding party which is driving off the captured herds. During the pursuit they encourage each other with the words: "At them! at them! *fowḳahom fowḳahom.*" Or: "It has come upon them [i. e. defeat] ê... ê... ê... Hail, I smell the fragrance of So-and-So from their tails. *Râḥat 'alejhom râḥat ê... ê... ê... hejh jâ rîḥat al-flâne bedijûlehen.*" Just as he would allow nothing to keep him away from the maiden of his heart, so he has now to overtake the fleeing enemy.

After the Attack

727 If the rescuing counter attack of the despoiled camp is repulsed by the *ṣâbûr*, camel riders assisted by the *čemîn*, reserve cavalry, the reserve starts in pursuit of the scattered enemy, while the camel riders surround the camp, take from the tents what suits them, roll up the tents, and load all on their camels. The women and children suffer no harm; on the contrary each woman is given at least one she-camel so that with her children she can reach her nearest relatives. The girls beg the raiders: *"E'ḳlû 'alejna*, give us something to fetter," and the she-camel returned to a girl by a raider becomes her property. As the saying is: "A girl's booty is the animals returned to her by the raiders, *časb al-banât 'oḳl al-ḥalâl.*" Should a raider accidentally rob a tent belonging to some fellow tribesman then camping with the enemy, he returns either to him or to his wife everything he has taken, *al-waḥama tarî'*. This is also done when the raiders rob on

Jâ ḍrajjem laḥa!fat 'alejk
ḥoṭemt w-'aḳabk al-felâḥ
min 'oḳob mâ rišak čeṭîr
w-al-jowm mak;ûm al-ǧenâḥ.

O Ḍrajjem! faith, it was measured to thee with the same measure.
A rap on the nose thou hast got, and thy success is gone.
Though many feathers thou hast inherited,
Yet today thy wings are broken for ever.

Faḳḳ al-ǧelam 'ajja jeṣûl
wa' dîreti ṛadaw baha
ešraw lmarat 'ali zebûn
ḥalawh jalbes ṭawbaha.

He opened his shears, refused to attack.
Ah, they occupied my territory!
They purchased a caftan for 'Ali's wife
And made him wear her dress.

Owing to the lack of good rain, there was no pasture in the Rwala territory at one time and consequently no affluence, *dîrt ar-rwala maḥal mâ baha rabî'*, but in the regions inhabited by their enemies, the tribe of Sba'a, the vegetation was luxuriant, *rîf*. So they agreed among themselves, *tawâzaw*, to move into the Sba'a territory, *dîra*, and said: 721 619

"We shall go there and encamp near our relatives, the 'Aneze; *eḥna ntawaǧǧeh ila had-dîra wa-nzel ḥawâli žerîbna 'aneza* (sic). If they accept our friendship we shall become their friends and conclude peace with them, *elja ḳbalaw ṣuḥebna ṣâḥebnâhom wa-tṣâleḥna ma'hom*; if they refuse we will fight them, *w-elja' mâ ḳbalaw aṣ-ṣulḥ willa nḥârebhom*. Either they will take us or we shall take them, drive them out and use the pastures in their territory, and thus save our herds and our own lives; *amma jâḥeḏûna w-amma nâḥeḏhom wa-nhaǧǧeǧhom w-nar'a al-mar'a alli bdîrthom wa-nsaḳḳem ḥalâlna wa-n'îš.*"

Remaining steadfast in this resolve, *ṛaṣabaw 'ala harra'j*, they marched into the Sba'a territory and soon reached the settlement of al-Mîdân, which belongs politically to the administrative district of Ḥoms, *tab' ḥoms*. There the Sba'a and Fed'ân tribes were already encamped and ready to fight. The Rwala, halting not far from them, at once formed a war 721 726

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

721 camp, *tenâwaḥaw menâḥ*. All camel herds were driven into
726 one line, and each animal was made to kneel and was fettered. The women and children sat down by their herds, while the men, posting themselves between them and the enemy, waited for the attack. This situation lasted for four days. On the fifth day, when a few young camels had already died of hunger, the Rwala assailed the Sba'a and Fed'ân with such fury that they drove them out from their tents in flight, *'addawhom ila wara-l-bujût*. Some succeeded in loosening the fetters of their camels and in fleeing with them, *minhom min ḳadar jeṭallek ba'arîneh w-inhazam bih 'ala-l-ḥala*, but others were surprised in this act and captured, *w-minhom min a'ğelûh ar-rağâl 'an taṭlîž ḥalâleh w-ḥâlaw 'alejh ar-rwala*. The Rwala took all the tents with the sheep which they found near them, also many horses and camels, and continued to pasture their animals in that territory undisturbed until the Sba'a finally made peace with them. The Sba'a asked 'Ali al-Fḳiḳi, chief of the 'Ebede division, to join them in assailing the Rwala in order to eject the latter from their territory, but 'Ali refused. Then they sang the preceding ditty about him.

539x *Faḳḳ*, he opened, is an insulting allusion to Fḳiḳi. 'Ali often called himself *al-ğelam*, shears, meaning that he would cut up
291] any hostile raid. *Zebûn* is a garment with narrow sleeves, open in front along its whole length and reaching down to the ankles. It is worn by men over the shirt. *Ṯowb* is a woman's shirt of blue fabric.

Jâ mḥammad jâ ḥedîn aẓ-ẓejf
râ'i-l-wa'îde ğâ' laha
slîmân 'ammar leh sebîl
min ḥufratak wa-dlâlaha.

O Mḥammad! O thou who hast sated thyself with the guest
Who came to the meeting agreed on!
Slîmân has surely well filled his short pipe
At thy fire and did drink from thy coffeepots.

539x Muḥammad eben Smejr sent word to his enemy Slîmân
721 eben Meršed, the head chief of the Ḳmuṣa division of the
726 Sba'a tribe, to come for a smoke to his tent. Slîmân answered that Muḥammad should not expect such a guest with much pleasure. Shortly afterwards Slîmân attacked Muḥammad's camp, scattered his warriors, took all his tents with their supplies, smoked Muḥammad's pipe, and drank coffee from his

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

pots. *Ḥufra* is the pit in which fire is made in the men's compartment of the tent. 539 X 721 726 ●

Slîmân law taḳ'od wa-tšûf
al-'arfa waš ğara laha
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala
ḥalğen tadûr 'ejâlaha.

Slîmân, if thou wouldst only sit down and look [thou wouldst see]
By the 'Arfa herds what has happened to them,
How between as-Swejda and al-'Ala
The she-camels now seek their young.

Slîmân eben Meršed, the chief of the Ḳmuṣa, who call all camel herds "al-'Arfa," made a raid against the Rwala but was defeated and pursued as far as the inner desert. Then, before he could return home, Eben Ša'lân attacked his camp between as-Swejda and al-'Ala and captured many of his herds. The riding camels of Eben Meršed's troop after returning to camp sought for their weaned calves in vain, for the Rwala had driven them away.

Al-mešrefe tarṭan raṭîn
tağâwabat hi w-al-'ala
eben ša'lân aḳâl surûğ
zowden 'ala ḥomṣ w-ḥama'

Al-Mešrefe all the time is jabbering,
Talking with al-'Ala
How Eben Ša'lân loaded corn at Surûğ
More than he would find in Ḥomṣ and Ḥama'.

Surûğ is a settlement between as-Swejda and al-'Ala, inhabited by *fellâḥîn* who cultivate the fields of Eben Meršed's house. Al-Mešrefe is peopled by Circassians, who also own some settlements in al-'Ala. Their language is not understood by the Rwala, hence the phrase: "She [al-Mešrefe] is jabbering, *tarṭan raṭîn*." After defeating the Ḳmuṣa and plundering Eben Meršed's camp, the victorious Rwala took all the corn stored at Surûğ. [563] 539 K

Jâ lâbeti tawen širebt al-kejf
w-al-čabd ğalejna ṣadâh
min 'ağğeten ṣârat 'alejhom
bên as-swejda w-al-'ala'.

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727 765 A sister cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! alas, thou brother of mine!"

A daughter: "Alas, woe is me, alas, thou father of mine!"

Then they sit down, cry till their eyes are dry, and return quietly to their tents. There is no other mourning.

LARGE BATTLES, OR *MANÁḤ*

721 726 The fight called *manâḥ*, as distinguished from the *razw* or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame, *zowd al-i'tibâr*, it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter, *ṣâl 'alejh ṣowla*, and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows, which behind the herds graze; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue. In these few tents there is nothing except the utensils for making black coffee, meals being prepared in the tents behind. All the mares stand saddled by these war tents, *bujût al-ḥarb*, while the riding camels lie fettered between the other tents. The men on foot are posted right and left of the war tents. Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents. 721 726 The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within rifle shot. Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhûr is 703 fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback. These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting:

"He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi ješred al-jowm mâ leh 'endana ḥakk*." Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zaṛârît*, are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa, a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, likewise, mount she-camels and shouting *zaṛârît* hasten to join the melée in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa to conceal

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4 .

herself, as the capture of the 'Aṭfa by the enemy would mean the greatest disgrace for both the reigning kin and the whole tribe. Thereupon the girl on the 'Aṭfa drives her animal to her father's tent, makes it kneel here, and either jumps off, unbuckles the litter, and pulls it inside the tent, or flees with it from the camp.

When the tribe is attacked while migrating and the women driving the camels laden with all their household goods fear that the enemy may rob them — the men, meanwhile, being engaged in repelling the attackers — they beg every passing rider to defend them, and the girls, especially, at the top of their voices, call out the names of their sweethearts:

"Bring me So-and-So, ye men! Call So-and-So hither, ye who like to amuse yourselves with girls! I want So-and-So, him of whom all talk!"

If a man passes by whom the woman expects to help her, she cries: "Thou wert praised to me so highly, and yet I have not seen thee do anything today."

When a lover reaches the woman of his heart, she breaks into an inspiring shout, uttering in a high-pitched tremulous voice the syllables of the word *zaṛârît*. The lover greets her: "Oh, how I rejoice before thine eyes! *jâ mâ 'ajnêč wa-fraḥi*," or: "To thy joy, O So-and-So! *farḥateč jâ fiâne*."

Ditties Sung by Defenders of Their Camps

While speeding through the camp or the moving throng in order to repel a hostile attack the men sing short ditties.

Jâ rabb naṭlobak al-huda'
w-as-sitr w-al-'elm al-maliḥ
rab'i medâbis al-'uda'
w-en ḥarrafaw 'enda-ṭ-ṭariḥ.

O Lord! we beg thee for a lucky guidance,
For protection and good news!
My comrades, cudgels for the enemy,
Will not turn their mares save when a rider is thrown from his saddle.

They pray to Allâh for lucky leadership and favorable news about the position of the main force of the enemy, that they may attack at once and thus avoid being taken on the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

726 539[a] flank. *Dabbûs* is a heavy wooden staff, about 120 centimeters long. *Medâbis* (sing., *medbes*) are youths armed with such staves. They beat the enemy with the staves, pursue those who flee, and if they turn their mares in another direction it is only to save a comrade swept from his saddle. *Ḥarrafaw:* turned their mares about for a new attack, *taḥrîf*. *Ṭariḥ* is a rider thrown from the saddle. He is usually seriously wounded and calls to his comrades to help him. It is considered dishonorable, a shame, *'ajb*, to give a *ṭariḥ* the finishing stroke.

539[k]

Jâ rabb jâ rabb ar-raḥûm
tarmi-l-ḥaja bidijârana
narmi-l-'aša lalli jaḥûm
la'ujûm ǧillen bikârana.

O Lord! our gracious Lord!
Thou wilt pour forth a copious rain on our lands,
Whilst we shall pour forth a supper for the circling birds,
Before the eyes of our big she-camels.

Ḥaja are abundant rains which assure a luxuriant growth of annuals. If the latter cannot thrive, it is because there has been no *ḥaja*, and no affluence, *rabî'*, will follow. [619] *Dire* means territory belonging to one tribe or subject to one emir. Thus Eben Sa'ûd is obeyed by many different tribes, and their territories all form the *dîret eben sa'ûd*. [264] The Rwala eat to satiety only once a day — in the evening — and therefore use the word *'aša*, meaning supper, to express a meal in general. *Jaḥûm*, it circles, is used of a white vulture with reddish wings and yellow beak. It accompanies the warriors on almost all their trips and flies above the battle ground untiringly. *Ǧill* are strong, big she-camels. The enemy tries to capture them, but their defenders come in time to repel the attack.

Habbî lana hbûb ar-riḥ habbî lana
elja' mâ tekâmel ḫejlana.

Blow luck to us, O wave of the wind! blow,
Until our riders are assembled.

The first riders on reaching the attacked herds must, together with the herdsmen, repel the first attack of the enemy; therefore they appeal to the breeze to be favorable to them, for, if they have to fight against the wind which

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of Eben Fâjez near Žerjet Abu Gâber and remained there for thirty nights. One fat she-camel was killed in his honor every day. The peace treaty ends with the words: "Interred and buried, *ḥafûr w-defûn*," or: "Interred and buried under a steep bank, *damdûm w-ǧurfen mahdûm*; a steep river bank has fallen upon its shadow, *ǧurfen inhadam ʿala ẓelleh*; no wolf will hurt the sheep any more, *mâ ḏiben jaʿdi ʿala-š-šaʿ*."

The chiefs then grasp each other's right hands and say: "I give thee Allâh and the peace of Allâh. And whoever would deceive thee, may Allâh deceive him! I give thee Allâh against all instigation and calumny. *Aʿṭajtak allâh w-amân allâh w-min bâḳak jebûḳeh allâh aʿṭajtak ʿan al-mesmesijje w-al-maḥâči-r-radijje.*"

THE TRIBAL EMBLEM, ABU-D-DHÛR

The Rwala have no flag of their own. They go on raids without any special device; but when waging war, whether of aggression or defense, that endangers the whole tribe, they take with them a special kind of a litter, called Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab. This is perhaps the old decorated litter ʿAṭfa destined originally for the prettiest girl, who used to lead the tribe to the decisive battle. But there is nobody now who can remember that a girl has ever sat in it. The Markab litter (Fig. 59) is constructed of stout poles, the frame being about 90 centimeters high, 270 centimeters long at the top, and 190 centimeters long and about 50 centimeters wide at the bottom. All the poles are wrapped round with ostrich feathers; to the upper poles are tied 12 short pegs, *zerânîž*, with plumes of bent ostrich feathers, *ṛalab*. To be loaded, the Markab is placed in the litter called *ḥaraǧ*, and this is tied to a camel with ropes, *mečârib*. The *ḥaḳab* rope is drawn through under the breast, the *bṭâne* under the belly, the *ṭafar* under the tail, and the *lebab*, twisted from variegated camel's hair threads, under the neck. The single parts of the Markab litter (Fig. 58) are called: *ḥaraǧ* (*a*), *ʿidân al-ḥaraǧ* (*b*), *bdûd* (this because they rest on the cushion, *bedd* (*c*), *ḥoṣra* (*d*), *mibṭâḥ* (*e*), *ǧenûb* (*f*), *ǧerâjed* (*g*), *zerânîž* (*h*), and *ṛalab* (*j*).

The Rwala believe that the litter is called Abu-d-Dhûr, Father of Indefinite Periods of Time, because it is inherited from generation to generation, from age to age, *min ǧîlen îla ǧîl*, and that it will last forever. Al-Markab forms the visible

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of white color, is selected. The animal then, as a rule, walks between the laden camels and the herds, thus forming the center of all the migrating families.

When attacked by an enemy in force on the march, the

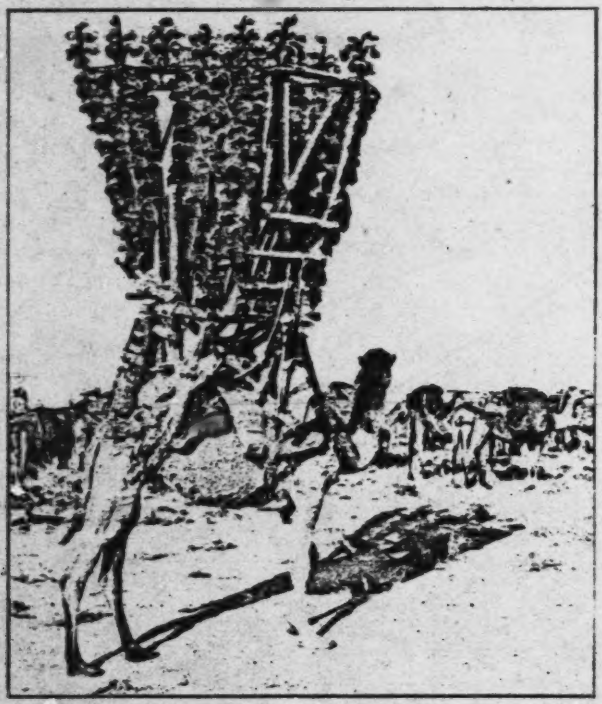

FIG. 59—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

best fighters at once surround the Abu-d-Dhûr to protect it. If it seems that the enemy will push back the fighters resisting his attack and that he will break through to the pack camels, the commander of the chosen troop of fighters (called *ṣanam*) who defend the Markab will take the camel carrying this symbol by the rein and lead her at the head of his troop against the enemy. The *ṣanam* are accompanied by girls seated on she-camels, who encourage the men to persevere, and behind them follow women who threaten to beat to death any one who deserts the Abu-d-Dhûr and flees. So far no enemy has succeeded in defeating the Rwala sufficiently to take the Abu-d-Dhûr away from them. The prince, it must be said, is very

726 prudent — the more dangerous the region through which the
718 tribe has to pass when migrating, or where it encamps, the nearer together stand the tents of the various camps.

When the Rwala engage in a war of *al-manâḥ* (see above, pp. 540f.), during which they move with all their herds and tents into an enemy's territory, the camel carrying the Abu-d-Dhûr walks at the head of the whole tribe, surrounded by warriors who follow every movement of the animal with the closest
787 attention. They believe that Allâh gives signs by means of
718 the Abu-d-Dhûr,[1] from which the outcome of the fight can be foretold. Sometimes, in a dead calm, the ostrich feathers adorning the Abu-d-Dhûr begin to flutter. At other times the litter leans to the right or left, but suddenly straightens itself, remains quietly upright, and then rocks a few times from side to side. All this, the Rwala think, happens by the power of Allâh, *kudrat min allâh*, who sends them help, *ʿenâje*, from al-Markab, where He is believed to seat himself for a while. The waving of the feathers and the straightening of the Abu-d-Dhûr are signs that Allâh has touched it with his power.

782 After each victory a camel is killed before the Abu-d-Dhûr in honor of Allâh. This is also done every year, even if the Rwala have had no war to which the Abu-d-Dhûr had to be taken.

NARRATIVES OF RWALA WARS AND RAIDS

539x 726x *Ad-Drêʿi eben Šaʿlân's Raid on the Ẓefîr (Early Nineteenth Century)*

Of their wars and raids much was related to me by the Rwala.

In bygone days (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) they had a head chief named ad-Drêʿi eben Šaʿlân, who was celebrated for his bravery, *w-leh ṣît bel-furse*. Once, while encamped with his Arabs west of the Ḥawrân mountains, he heard of the defeat of Eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the ʿAmârât, who, while migrating with his tribe, was attacked by the Ẓefîr chief, Sulṭân eben Swejṭ, and despoiled of all he had. During the fight one of the enemy's warriors had tried to seize a pack camel guarded by Ḥoṣṣa, Eben Haḏḏâl's daughter. She had defended her animal from the man as best she could, but when he struck her she had cried out: "Ad-Drêʿi, O my hero! *W-ṣâḥat ad-drêʿi jâ raǧǧâli.*"

1 [See pp. 571–573, cat. 116, — Analyst]

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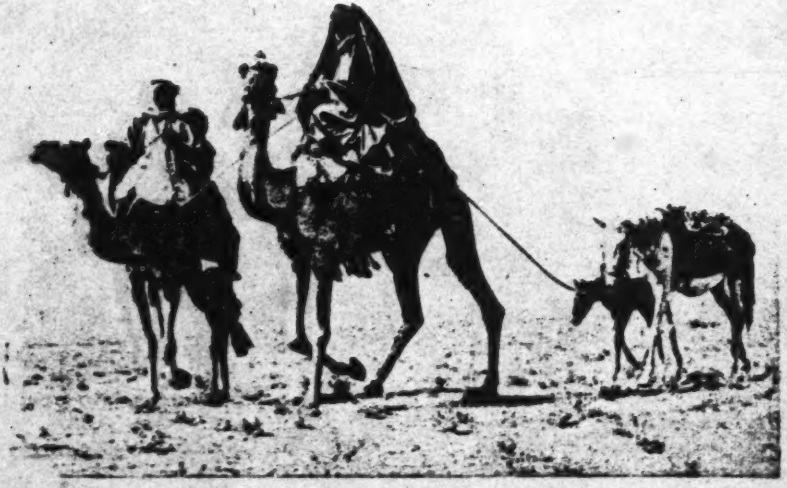
701

Raswan and Prince Fuaz with the Great Horsemen of the Ruala

[727]

Return from the Raid



following p. 128 (a)

2: Musil
721, 726, 727

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For songs, ditties, anecdotes and narratives of raids and warfare see category 116, pp. 512-522 and 532-661.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

583 or on a mare. The *sijâḳ* is not strictly stipulated. If the *eben al-ʿamm* asks much, much must be given him. It is always to him that the *sijâḳ* is delivered. Only when he dies and there is nobody else to care for the girl, the whole *sijâḳ* goes to her father as soon as the wedding is over, *aʿras ʿalejha*. The usual compensation for the bride is one or two she-camels and the first mare captured after the wedding. One she-camel always goes to the mother of the girl for having nursed the bride. This animal is called *baʿîr al-kûʿ*, elbow camel, because the mother used to lean her elbow against the ground when suckling her daughter.

LOVE DITTIES AND POEMS

831* 539* The delights and sorrows of love are expressed by the Rwejli in short ditties known as *heǧejni* or *taṭwîḥ*. Some compose their own, others borrow and adorn them with their own name, as if they were the authors. It is said in this respect:

Heǧejnijjeten ḳalladawha-l-ʿaḳâl
ḳalladawha-l-brijjesem w-rîš an-naʿâm.

The *heǧejni* ditty they adorned with a head rope,
Adorned it with silk and ostrich feathers.

[727] When a warrior pardons his enemy, he lays his head rope, *ʿaḳâl*, around the latter's neck as a sign that this particular enemy belongs to him with all he may possess, and then he throws himself into the fight again. The composer of a *heǧejni* song adorns it not merely with his head rope but with silk and ostrich feathers as well, so that nobody can steal it from him — but all this without avail. There are many who like to appropriate a pretty song, although it does not belong to them.

[424]

In Praise of Lovers; The Delights of Love

Jâ ʿammi waʿ bint al-ṛarâwi
tabṛîni w-ana-rîdaha
w-elja taḥaṭṭat bel-ḥazâwi
aḥadat ḳlejbi bîdaha.

Oh, uncle, Ṛarâwi's daughter
Wants me and I long for her;

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

making them kneel there, shouted to Ḳrejṭân: "Behold, of God and of thee I ask protection for these she-camels, as they are the property of my *ahl*, kin, by right." No sooner had she said this than one of her relatives came running to her and, rolling his eyes in a frenzy, *ṭâjerât ʿajûneh*, tried to drive the animals away. But the protector spoke sternly:

"Stand still, fellow! Art thou blind? I was asked to protect them. Not until thou allowest right to take its course and they are adjudged to thee, canst thou have them. *Jammak jâ zelema ent ʿamjân haḏôlen mdaḫḫalât ʿalejji bel-ḥaḳḳ elja-mšejt al-ḥaḳḳ w-ṣârat lak ḫoḏhen.*" The woman then chose a security, who took her opponent to the *ʿârefa* judge, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd:

"Tell your story, *eḥtečû*," ordered the judge. The woman's representative began:

"What dost thou think, O ʿAwejnân, of a woman crushed by the will of God? *wêš ʿendak bel-ḥurma maḳṭûʿat aṣ-ṣejḥa.* We wish, if it be God's will, that thou shouldst not deprive her of her share of her parents' estate."

The opponent argued thus: "What dost thou think, ʿAwejnân eben Saʿîd, of a wedded woman, *alli birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl*, who wants to divide with me the herd of my relatives? *tabi ṯâšerni beḥalâl hali.* And yet she is no desolate orphan, having a noble husband living and two sons; *w-hâḏi mâ hi jetîme alḥîn hi birḳubet ar-raǧǧâl w-laha waladejn.* I desire of God and of thee that thou deprivest her of the share of the herd of my *ahl*."

ʿAwejnân declared: "A case like this has been already decided. That decision is more than five years old and is therefore valid for this woman too. Both she-camels are hers."

In the spring of 1899 the Ḥwêṭât, *sanat al-ḥwêṭât*, attacked the Ḳmuṣa in their camp at al-Ḳrejjât. The latter resisted bravely, but it was long before the enemy was finally beaten off. Many warriors were killed and many wounded. One of the Ḥwêṭât, while fleeing, shot dead the grandson of Eben Ḳardûš. Then, realizing that it was impossible to escape, he drove his horse right into the Ḳmuṣa camp, leapt intoRšejd eben Meṣreb's tent, and asked for protection, *ṭâḥ bel-bejt w-daḫal ad-daḫîl w-silem.*Ršejd's daughter shouted instantly to the pursuers:

"Stand still! There is a tent before you. He is our protégé," and sent a female slave for her father.Ršejd, though he was

727 577 wounded in the left hand and bespattered with blood, posted himself in front of his tent and liberated the Ḥwêṭi, *fakkeh*, from the enraged crowd. But no sooner did Eben Ḳardûš learn that the enemy who had slain his grandson was inRšejd's ṭent, than he came there galloping on his mare and offeredRšejd twenty camels if he would deliver the Ḥwêṭi to him.Ršejd declined with these words:

"Wouldst thou tarnish my ṭent, *mâ tebûž bejti*, so that I should become an object of contempt? *atašajje' beh*."

Protection of Enemy Who Voluntarily Surrenders

727 The Bedouins hate to shed blood and therefore spare the lives of their enemies as much as possible. Thus, when repulsing an attack and pursuing an enemy, they urge him to surrender, *ḳâmow jamna'ûn*, with the words:

"Yield it (thy mare, camel, or arms) for thy neck as long as I can help thee, *ruddha 'ala rḳubtak meṭûli anfa'ak*."

The enemy answers: "Lay God on me! *ḥoṭṭ 'alejji allâh*."

"God on thee! *'alejk allâh*."

"I yield."

An enemy who has surrendered voluntarily is called *manî'*, pardoned or saved, because his adversary has pardoned him and saved his life, *mana'eh 'an rukubteh 'an aḏ-ḏabeḥ*.) All the possessions of such a *manî'*, such as his horse, camel, clothes, arms, etc., become the property of his captor. The latter, however, lets him keep them for a while, merely taking the precaution of giving the *manî'* his headband, kerchief, or jacket as a sign and a warning, *amûrijje*, that nobody must harm him. The pardoner, *mâne'*, then throws himself into the fight anew, and not until the victory is complete will he look for his *manî'* in order to take him and the booty to his tent. There he despoils the captive of anything he desires and then dismisses him with a gift of some kind. Yet sometimes the *manî'* chooses to break his word and tries to escape. If his animal is unwounded and the fighters draw away to some distance, he creeps out of the enemy's troop and flees into the desert, *jeḥoṭṭ al-ḳowm šanaḳ w-jenîr al-ḫala'*. On his return home, *elja' ṭabb 'ala haleh*, he will send, at the next opportunity, the part of the dress received from the *mâne'* back to him. A pardoned *manî'* of this kind is called *bâjeẓ*, faithless. This will not injure him much with his fellow tribes-

men, but among the enemy he must, if recaptured, expect death, as no one will pardon him again. 727

Bâjež, faithless, is also said of one who attacks a friend. Such a stain fell on the name of the Rwala when, in the spring of 1898, they attacked the ʿEbede in al-Kaʿra. The ʿEbede, under the chief Barğas eben Hdejb, asked Eben Šaʿlân for peace. This was granted, and the messengers returned home in the evening; but on the following morning Eben Šaʿlân's, Eben Meʿğel's, and Eben Mğejd's warriors attacked Barğas' camp again and completely looted it. To excuse himself Eben Šaʿlân asserted that this particular troop had left twenty days before on a raid against the ʿAmârât in the vicinity of Kerbela but, when repulsed, attacked the ʿEbede on their way home, in ignorance of the fact that peace had just been concluded. The ʿEbede, however, do not believe this subterfuge but still maintain that they were attacked treacherously, *bâḳowhom bowḳa*, and, whenever they sight a Rwejli in the desert, they utter their battle cry, *jentaḥûn*: "I am a rider protecting the ʿArfa herds, I a Sbêʿi. O those faithless ones! O those blackened faces! Have you forgotten the peace dinner? *Ḥajjâl al-ʿarfa sbêʿi al-bowḳân sowdân al-wğih wên mṛaddâkom.*" A breach of faith is always condemned, for it is punished by God. Hence the saying: "A faithless one will never rise above the dogs, *râʿ al-bowḳ mâ jarḳaʾ fowḳ al-člâb.*" 577 727

PROTECTION IN CASES OF THIEVERY

To despoil a stranger belonging to a tribe not related to one's own is a proof of cunning and strength. But no chief will stoop to stealing. It is usually the sons of poorer families who go out in twos or threes to steal or to rob. A thief on foot is called *ḥâjef* or *ḥanšûli*; if mounted on horse or camel he is known as *muʿajjer*. When the *maʿâjir* arrive near the enemy's camp they hide and try to acquaint themselves with the whole terrain. After sunset they leave their horses or she-camels in a safe place and crawl near to the tents. One of them remains at a certain spot about five hundred paces from the tents; the other advances cautiously till he finds a good horse or a she-camel which he thinks worth stealing. If he succeeds, he hurries back with the capture to his comrade and then to the place where their own animals are hidden. Tying the stolen animals to their own, he then leads them all 579 674

701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *râšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lenowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *'ažîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels; *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-[782] camel for sacrifice, *al-'ažîre*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid.

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-munîḥ al-muṭîr*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-munîḥ al-muṭîr* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazîzateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 ● 727 425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḥišer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṛejr ḥišer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *'ažîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behal-ṛazw 'oḳob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiğihom ḥoḏ illi tarẓîk.*" The she-camel he thus takes is called *ṛazwa*. If stray horses, *mâreğ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hâreğ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

701 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner
●727 who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures
425 only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *meǧidijjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *'âjde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *rubâša*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *jetaḫâšarûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *'ažîd* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called
[825] *'ajn* (pl., *'ujûn*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittaḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḍa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâḳni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḫoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḫ w-fâṭer.*"

266 ● 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḫat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-fâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṭarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *tḫasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

avenge thy father, the fire of hell will be thy punishment; *daḫîlak bên abûk w-an-nâr*," or: "Higher than thy hand is the hand of Allâh, who is sure to prevent blood flowing from this neck of mine." If the one who is challenged does not feel guilty, he corrects the other: "O thou, suspect me not! Seek him not with me at any hour of the day or of the night; for it was not I who cut his skin and made his son an orphan! *Jâ flân lâ-tâhem mâ leh ʿendi medâr w-lâ sâʿat al-lejl w-lâ sâʿat an-nahâr w-anni mâ šaḳḳejt leh ǧild w-lâ ajtamt leh wild.*" Then, when the avenger looks at him more closely, he may answer: "And I do, by Allâh, believe it; *w-ana ballâh žanaʿat.*"

He who sees certain death before him asks for pardon in these words: "Give pardon, O rider! *emnaʿ emnaʿ jâ ḫajjâl.*"

The man addressed will answer: "Come hither and thou wilt save thy neck. Come hither, Allâh lies on thee," or: "Dismount before the face of So-and-So" — naming himself. The suppliant, coming nearer, says: "'*Aṭni allâh*, give me Allâh," or "*Ḥoṭṭ ʿalejji allâh*, lay on me Allâh!" When this is done, the pardoned man says: "'*Aṭâni allâh w-ʿaṭajteh allâh ʿan al-bowḳ*, he assured me by Allâh and I assured him by Allâh against treachery."

He then surrenders his arms and most of his clothing and receives from his captor either a kerchief or head rope, accompanied by the words: "Here, take my kerchief (or my rope) and tell any one who approaches thee that thou hast been pardoned by So-and-So, *hâk ḳṣâṣti* (*ʿaṣâbti*) *w-alli jeǧîk ḫabbereh ana manîʿ flân.*"

His mare or she-camel is taken by the victor, *mâneʿeh*, or the latter lets some comrade keep her for him a while and returns to the fight. The pardoned one waves the kerchief or the rope, crying: "I am the *manîʿ* of So-and-So." If both himself and his animal are wounded, his pardoner, *mâneʿ*, conducts him to his own party where assistance will be given him, or else the *mâneʿ* will allow him to return home at once. Should he live too far away, he is furnished with a she-camel, water bag, food, and a reliable guide, but must give his word of honor to return everything or to give compensation.

When a comrade of the victor is about to return home, *jenḳeṣ*, the victor says to him: "The man who stands before thee was pardoned by me. Conduct him to my relatives!"

He who asks no pardon while in danger is generally killed, *elja' mâ mâna' enḍabaḥ*. There are many who hide, concealing

727 their arms and clothing among the rocks or in the sand, and at night manage to creep to some tent. If they see a little boy or girl, they salute the child; if the salutation is repeated or if they succeed in entering a tent, they are saved. But if the fugitive is seen by an adult man, he may be killed despite his crying: "Give pardon! *emnaʿ*." For he should have asked for it during the fight, not now, they say.

Sometimes, however, the commander-in-chief declares that no pardon will be given. "O comrades, behold! the granting of pardon to them is abolished; *jâ ǧemâʿa tarâhom maḳṭûʿ al-manʿ ʿanhom*."

726 Frequently the fight lasts many hours. If the attacked party succeeds in scattering the horse riders, it then usually surrounds all the camel riders, *ḥâlow ʿala-l-ǧejš killeh*, captures them, and starts in pursuit of the raiding party which is driving off the captured herds. During the pursuit they encourage each other with the words: "At them! at them! *fowḳahom fowḳahom*." Or: "It has come upon them [i. e. defeat] ê... ê... ê... Hail, I smell the fragrance of So-and-So from their tails. *Râḥat ʿalejhom râḥat ê... ê... ê... hejh jâ rîḥat al-flâne beḏijûlehen*." Just as he would allow nothing to keep him away from the maiden of his heart, so he has now to overtake the fleeing enemy.

After the Attack

727 If the rescuing counter attack of the despoiled camp is repulsed by the *ṣâbûr*, camel riders assisted by the *čemîn*, reserve cavalry, the reserve starts in pursuit of the scattered enemy, while the camel riders surround the camp, take from the tents what suits them, roll up the tents, and load all on their camels. The women and children suffer no harm; on the contrary each woman is given at least one she-camel so that with her children she can reach her nearest relatives. The girls beg the raiders: "*Eʿḳlû ʿalejna*, give us something to fetter," and the she-camel returned to a girl by a raider becomes her property. As the saying is: "A girl's booty is the animals returned to her by the raiders, *časb al-banât ʿoḳl al-ḥalâl*." Should a raider accidentally rob a tent belonging to some fellow tribesman then camping with the enemy, he returns either to him or to his wife everything he has taken, *al-waḥama tarîʿ*. This is also done when the raiders rob on

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the march travelers unknown to them and later discover they were their friends. 727●

To spend the night in the camp of a friendly clan which maintains amicable relations with the plundered clan is not allowed.

The Rwala bury their dead friends; their wounded they carry off on their camels, having first bandaged their wounds as best they can. To the dead enemy no attention is paid. At the same time whoever has swept an enemy from the saddle and sees him writhing on the ground is obliged, as a man of honor, to help him. Should he kill an enemy in that condition, *ṭarîḥ*, he would commit a dishonorable deed, *ʿajb*, in the same manner as he who kills a man he has pardoned, or one sleeping, or a woman, or child. Likewise it is considered shameful to attack a related tribe, even if hostile, after the appearance of the morning star, *bejât*, or to cripple or kill captured animals when to escape with them proves impossible, *ʃedaʿ bel-ḥalâl*. 727 577

The successful bringing of captured herds from a distant territory to the home camp is the highest proof of a leader's sagacity, especially if he undertakes raids against tribes encamped as far as 600-800 kilometers away. A prudent leader will at once separate the camel calves from the grown animals and have them driven back; he will occupy the more important mountain passes and try to retreat through a country where the camels will find sufficient pasture. If he returns with the booty without any considerable losses, everybody talks of booty and success, *časab w-salâme*, but if the booty is taken away from him by some ambushing party on the way, the raiders come back, one after another, very much depressed, for besides having gained nothing they have lost many comrades, *ḫasâra*. If the defiles have been occupied they can march and rest at their leisure, for, as they say, "our little brothers follow in our tracks, *ḫwijjâna ḳzabaw aṯârna*." The troop following the returning raiders and protecting them against the pursuers, *ṭalab*, is called *ḳaẓb*. 727

Returning Raiders' Songs

As soon as the returning warriors feel safe, they intone ditties, *ḥdaʾ*, appropriate to such occasions; *elja kʃejna naḥadaʾ* (sic). 727 533

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Run as the hunted beast runs from the face of the heroic youth,
From the faces of those whose beards and moustaches are covered with fat.

Haǧǧ means a panic, helter-skelter flight. *Ṛulma'* or *ṣabıwa'* are youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, who are ever making raids, from which they always return with rich booty and then feast on the fat camels they have captured until their budding chin beards, *lḥa*, and mustaches, *šawâreb*, shine with fat, *dasmîn*. They are well fed, of great endurance, and never abandon the pursuit of the enemy's fleeing mares or camels until they have captured them.

Songs of Booty

The returning victors are not met by the women or girls of the camp. When near they break into songs of booty.

1. *Jowmen wald al-hejs jabḥa mažża'eh*
   wa' mâ ḳaṭa'na lejleten ḥarmesijje
   wa' hâj jâ lallâh wa' hâj jâ lallâh.
2. *Jâ nâšeden 'anna min ajje žebîle*
   'ejâl ar-rwejli min aḥjâr al-ḥamâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
3. *Ḥowfân aẓ-ẓulma' maṛâwîr aẓ-ẓaḥa'*
   nowda' 'ala čâbd al-ma'âdi debâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
4. *Elja-ddejt mağhûdi w-mağhûd fâṭeri*
   mâ-ni 'ala-d-dinja čeṭîr al-ḥasâjef
   wa' hâj . . .

1. While the idler shook up his bed,
   Hey! through how many dark nights have we ridden!
   Hey! glory be and by Allâh himself!
2. O thou who askest about us of what tribe we were,
   (Know that) we are descendants of the Rwala, counted among the best of tribes.
   Hey! glory!
3. Like thieves in a dark night, like attackers after the passing of the dew
   We are wont to plant ulcers in the enemy's stomach.
   Hey! glory!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x 4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

[833] Verse 1. *Mažža'* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebîle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating unpleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

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Jâ mâ ḳaṭa'na dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâzi 'ejâlaha
wa' hâj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

● 727 Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *ḳaw flân.*" Answer:

"O greeting to thee! *jâ hala.*"

"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:

"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"

"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalaḳ hal-fowd.*" Answer:

"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalaḳ wa-tfid.*"

[431] Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-ḥažijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *bešš behal-'aṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

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574 Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Loosen your spittle! Look at the abundance! The *ğîre* oath rests on you!" Should they be reluctant to accept the invitation, they usually declare their readiness to have the oath rest on them and continue on their way. (On the *ğîre* oath see above, p. 460.) But if some one implores them with the words: "The *ğîre* oath of the slave Râšed rests on you, *'alejkom ğîrat al-'abd râšed*," they must stop and eat something. Who the slave Râšed may have been, nobody knows. It is said of him that he was most hospitable and even forced travelers to eat with him.

Within three days after his return either the leader or the man appointed by him offers the customary sacrifice, *'ažîre*. He kills a she-camel and exclaims:

"O Allâh, this is our custom! This belongs to the face of Allâh and to the face of our ancestor! *Jâ-llâh hâḏi 'âdatna hâḏi liwağh allâh w-liwağh ğeddina*." Every kin reveres its ancestor but never knows at what period he lived or where he was buried. The blood of the sacrificed animal is caught into the bulging iron sheet used for baking bread, *sâğ*, and with it the humps of the captured animals and the necks of the riding camels are besmeared. This is done in order to make sure of fresh booty.

A boy who has taken part in his first raid and brought back booty with him tries to buy a goat or a sheep in order to sacrifice it. Its blood he then sprinkles over his booty, *ḏbîḥa rušûš al-čâseb*; if a she-camel, he besmears her whole hump, if a mare, her whole forehead. From the tail of the captured mare he cuts a lock of hair, which he hangs up in his tent. This he does with every horse he captures to let all the guests know how many he has already taken; this custom is called *šeḏeb*.

After the return from a raid the story of who has fallen, where, and in what manner, quickly spreads. The female relatives of the slain men then walk out of the camp to a distance whence even a loud cry cannot be heard, there to bewail their dead.

A mother cries: "Alas, woe is me! alas, my child! alas, woe is me! alas thou whom I bore in my womb! alas, woe is me! alas, thou little son of mine! *Wa' wâjli wa' waledi wa' wâjli wa' ğenîni wa' wâjli wa' bunajja*."

A wife cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! ah, ruined is my tent! *wa' wâjli wa' hadem bejti*."

727 765 A sister cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! alas, thou brother of mine!"

A daughter: "Alas, woe is me, alas, thou father of mine!"

Then they sit down, cry till their eyes are dry, and return quietly to their tents. There is no other mourning.

LARGE BATTLES, OR *MANÂḤ*

721 726 The fight called *manâḥ*, as distinguished from the *razw* or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame, *zowd al-i'tibâr*, it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter, *ṣâl 'alejh ṣowla*, and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows, which behind the herds graze; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue. In these few tents there is nothing except the utensils for making black coffee, meals being prepared in the tents behind. All the mares stand saddled by these war tents, *bujût al-ḥarb*, while the riding camels lie fettered between the other tents. The men on foot are posted right and left of the war tents. Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents.

721 726 703 The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within rifle shot. Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhûr is fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback. These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting:

"He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi jeḥred al-jowm mâ leh 'endana ḥakk*." Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zarârît*, are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa, a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, likewise, mount she-camels and shouting *zarârît* hasten to join the melée in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa to conceal

539 For the eyes of her who draws apart the tent wall and peeps out
Thirsting and longing for one of our glances,
Our custom is to rescue the captured herds,
And our task is to bring in mares whose riders we have hurled down.

[727] When, after repelling the attack, the warriors return with their booty to their tents, they are inspected by the women and girls from the tents. Being themselves invisible, the latter look through the small space between the tent wall and roof. This wall or tent side is called *aḍ-ḍera*. *"Derrûna ʿan ha-l-bard*, hang up the wall to protect us from the cold." *Awâḳ* means to examine something thoroughly. The chief orders the *sbûr*, scouts on camels: *"Ewižû ʿala ha-l-ḳowm*, examine this detachment of the enemy well." On their return they will report: *"Awaḳna ʿalejhom*, we have looked them over," and give a detailed report. With the same thoroughness will a maiden examine her lover when he returns from a raid, anxious to know if and what booty he brings. *Wsîž* is the same as *aḥîḍ*, i. e. a herd, *ṭarš*, captured from the enemy. *Ḳalâjeʿ* are the mares of the foes thrown from the saddle.

Mamdûḥ w-allâh mâ narûḥ
nahûš ʿenda dijârana
laʿujûn min ḳarnha jelûḥ
ḍabḥ as-swâri ḳârana.

O Mamdûḥ, by Allâh! we shall not depart,
But harass you from our lands instead,
For the eyes of her whose plait is appearing —
For the killing of troopers is our sport.

Mamdûḥ Pasha was the commander of the Turkish troops fighting the Druses in the Ḥawrân. When defeated he asked the Rwala for help, but this they refused and, instead, com-
[721] posed this poem. *Nahûš* means guerilla warfare, in which small regular detachments and frontier guards are attacked.
[725] The regular cavalry sent by Mamdûḥ against the Rwala were beaten by them because their horses could stand the heat and thirst much better than the army horses. They awaited the soldiers in ambush, surrounded, and killed them. *Ḳâr* means hunting by lying in wait or catching the game in snares.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

One in that condition cannot be frightened. The fatter a camel, the more spirited and nervous it is. *Muṭrašâni* is a camel used mostly on shorter journeys. 2. Muḥammad eben Smejr lost his honor, therefore he should lose his beard too. To shave a man's beard is the greatest punishment among the Rwala. *Eḥsân* or *ḥsâni* is a razor used in shaving, *jeḥassenû*. 4. Ṭwîl al-Felǧ, the High Mountain Covered With Snow, here means Hermon, inhabited chiefly by the Druses. 5. *Zahhâd, 'ajjâf*, or *za'lân min roll* are men who cannot show their hatred. *Al-man'* means pardoning an enemy who yields. The pardoned enemy, *mani'*, may remain in the tent until he has an opportunity to return home. Muḥammad and Ḥasan Pasha, the commander of the Turkish soldiers, declared that every Rwejli — even if he had yielded — should be slain. 6. The *awlâd meǧles* were members of the Ša'lân reigning kin. They with their servants and slaves were the first to attack the Ešâǧe'a, Muḥammad's allies, whose war cry was: *"Râ' al-ǧed'a anaben me'ǧel*; O protector of Ged'a, I am Eben Me'ǧel!" 8. *Snâd* denotes a definite course. *Mâ beha snâd* means either that the Ešâǧe'a were compelled to change their direction or that their counter attack did not meet with success. Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ and Ḥamâmde are kins of the Weld 'Ali, subject to Muḥammad eben Smejr. 9. Awlâd Ġam'ân was the name given to Da'mân, Nṣejr, and Šlâš, the three heroes of the Ša'lân kin. The Kurdish volunteers wore red waistcoats and red tunics. 10. *Makrûra* is a rifle of the original make, not an imitation. *Ṣowb beṣmâd*, direction to the goal; *ṣâmed ṣowb* signifies a marksman who hits his target, *mâ jiḫṭi*. 13. *Mowtch ḥakîk*: as if a sacrifice, *ḥakîka*, had been brought for him; his death is atoned for. In the opinion of the Rwala fallen warriors are allotted wide pastures in Paradise by Allâh. 14. *Turṭumâni* is a derisive name for the Turks, Turcomans, and Kurds, whose languages the Rwala do not understand. 17. Aš-Šejḫ Aḫu Dinja alludes to Nâjef aḫu Dinja, the first of the Ša'lân family to rule the Rwala. 18. The camels of the attacking Rwala were so spirited that they neighed as if rutting and dashed at the enemies as if they were camels for whom they were craving. Sbejbeḫ was the commander of the regular cavalry. 19. 'Âǧel al-Jâḳîn, an officer subordinate to Sbejbeḫ, wanted to ambush the camels carrying grain and other foodstuffs to the Rwala before their return to the inner desert. A horse usually has two halters, one without a bridle, which holds the rope for

I: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

619 721 576 the slave's hand and presented it to me with, "Welcome! May it please thee!" Twice he repeated these words, which are a guarantee of peace and safety. Then Faris and Mijhem also drank with him.

000 To us, used to the ways of Western civilization, such a train of events and their result must seem incomprehensible. But after one has lived a length of time with the Bedouins, one learns to understand that the unwritten laws of the Bedouin social code are closely adapted to the conditions of life in the desert and have sufficed, from time immemorial, to meet its manifold circumstances. Without these rules of the game, indeed, all human life in nomad Arabia would have become extinct long since.

619 728 After I had asked, and Ibn Meheyd had granted me, leave to speak, I set forth the object of my mission and exhorted the assembled *shiyukhs*, with what persuasive eloquence I could muster, to make peace with the Ruala, and, as in former years, share the grazing-grounds like [186] brothers. I dwelt on the advantages of unity and the evils of dissension, and drove home my argument by pointing out that by their present policy they were only playing into the hands of foreign powers, who, after all the Bedouin tribes had been weakened individually, would encompass the complete destruction of them all.

My exhortations and arguments were received in cold silence. Most of the chiefs sat with bent heads and tapped the ground with their camel-sticks in apparent boredom. I felt pretty sure, however, that their indifference was assumed, and I would not let myself be dis-

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

couraged. Once more I returned to my task and, mustering all powers of persuasion, I redoubled my effort to bring the benefits of good will and a just peace before their eyes. At length I succeeded in persuading them to abandon their hostile silence and to enter into a sort of discussion with me. But anyone who believes that Bedouins can be persuaded at short order is mistaken. Hours passed. It was close on midnight, when Faris begged to be allowed to speak in the name of Amir Fuaz. Ibn Meheyd nodded. "Peace!" said Faris. "Truly, the Enemy of Life is pressing back the living. The milk from the breast of the desert has turned into dust. Like bitter myrrh does it taste to them that thirst. Our wells are dried up, our pastures are scorched by the sun, our camels are perishing in the land of hunger and thirst, thousands are dying on the paths of the earth. Praise unto God that he still keeps his hand open above your heads, but to the Ruala he has closed his heaven. Far be it from us to come as enemies. We would enter your grassland as your guests."

The words made a deep impression. Faris had spoken as a Bedouin. He had spoken a language they had all understood.

The *shiyukhs* withdrew. For perhaps a half-hour they stood under the stars, among camels, horses and sheep, debating and gesticulating. Then they returned and in silence seated themselves in a circle by the camp-fire. Only Rakan, the Chieftain of the Saba, was missing—an indication that he must have fallen out with Ibn Meheyd and the others with regard to the peace conditions. We knew him to be the wiliest of our enemies

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623 and the idea came to me at once that he would try to
728 ambush us on our return journey.
619 After the coffee-cup had circled once more, Ibn Meheyd leaned back on his cushions and said solemnly:

"O ye assembled ones! It is our wish to keep peace with the Ruala. But it is God's will that there is war between Fuaz ibn-Sha'lan, Tra'd ibn-Milhem (Chief of the Wuld'Ali) and our *shiyukhs*. We decree therefore that there be peace between the tribes, but war between the chieftains."

Thereupon Ibn Meheyd offered me his hand. I grasped it and thanked him and the others in the conclave for their willingness to share their grazing-grounds during the coming summer with the Ruala and Wuld'Ali and for allowing the peoples to live side by side in neighbourly amity. I also expressed my hope that the belligerent chieftains would also soon conclude peace among themselves.

It would have been useless to waste more words on the healing of the breach between the *shiyukhs*. If Ibn Meheyd fulfilled their promise of peace between the tribes, I could be more than content with the result of my journey. It would be no less than a miracle.

619 It was still dark when I was roused from sleep by the
728 clatter of cooking utensils. The cook was just putting
577 his water-pots on the glowing fire. Enveloped in its acrid smoke, by the threshold, stood the old mare that had carried me to this tent after the conference. I stepped into the open. It was still night, but the stars were paling and in the east the greenish-grey of dawn mantled the

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desert as with a fine veil. Between the tent-ropes lay our host's camels, chewing the cud. Beyond them spread the softly undulating steppe, and a wonderful fragrance exhaled from it. Everywhere was a stillness and a peace which filled me with awe.

But where were the tents and the herds that at midnight had covered the whole neighbourhood?

I ran into the open a little way and looked about. Far and wide no other tent. Our black shelter lay like a derelict ship on the ocean.

A curious feeling of loneliness came on me for the first time in my life among the Arabs. I had been left with a few companions only, where the evening before thousands had camped round us. Silently the Bedouins had broken camp and they—their women, their children, and their animals—had melted away like a mirage; I could not understand it all.

"Faris! Mijhem!" I called and went to wake the sleepers. Sheykh Nauaf-es-Saleh, in whose tent we had slept, also appeared. I took his hand and asked:

"What does this mean?"

"What doth it mean, thou askest?" he replied. "Ibn Meheyd never breaks his word. The promise he made thee last night he fulfils even this morning."

Ibn Meheyd had evacuated his grazing-grounds to make room for the Ruala!

Nauaf pointed to a group of persons some distance away, now visible in the stronger light. They seemed to be resting, just about where Ibn Meheyd's tent had stood the previous evening.

We rode over and found Ibn Meheyd himself, with

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six men of his bodyguard. They rested on their rugs, Bedouin-fashion, on crossed legs. Beside them was a heap of dead ashes and the three soot-blackened stones on which last night the cook-pots had stood. A brass brazier shed a little warmth, comforting in the chill of the morning. Ibn Meheyd sat holding the wide sleeves of his cloak over it.

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He stood up at our approach and, when I had dismounted, he came up to me and put his arm paternally round my shoulders. "My son," said he pleasantly, "dost thou see that Ibn Meheyd has been true to his promise?"

His eyes said more than the few words. I seized his right hand and pressed it gratefully in both my hands. "May God grant thee all thou wishest!" I said in farewell.

"Come to visit me this summer," he called after me, "and pitch thy tent with the Fid'an. Thou art indeed a Rueyli, but we count thee also as one of us. God be with thee wherever thou goest!"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539K *Ṭejr* is a trained falcon. *Ḥabâri*, bustards, are ash-gray birds, rather smaller than hens, distinctly clumsy in flight. A falcon trained to catch them is very valuable. A passionate hunter when losing an old falcon will not fail to get a young one and to start at once to train it so that he can hunt again. A passionate fighter does not appreciate peace, but seeks all the time for a reason to fight and to get booty. — This poem is attributed to the widow of the fallen al-Hâdi. He was her trained falcon, while Zejd is her young, whom she has not yet tried.

TREATIES OF PEACE

●728 It is long before a chief decides to sue for peace. He can do so only when he hears from all sides that after all it would be better if both tribes became friends again. A request for peace is hardly ever refused. And yet Prince an-Nûri eben Sa'lân declined three times when Eben Meğlâd, the chief of the Dahâmše, sued for peace, because the latter had not ordered three clans of the Kwâčbe tribe, rebellious subjects of an-Nûri, away from his territory. The offer of peace either verbally or in writing is generally brought by a traveler, very seldom by a slave of the opposing chief. Such an offer is nearly always worded as follows:

"As is known both to you and to ourselves, our people attack yours and your people ours. Ours harm yours, yours harm ours. There is no profit in it either for you or for us. Why this constant injury? Are we not relatives? We do not want to fight you any more. From today we are your friends. All that has happened we have already buried. Decide as you like and then let us know. Greetings!"

The answer usually is: "After a thorough consideration of your offer we inform you of the great joy we feel because you desire our friendship. We do not reject it but must request that our enemies be not allowed to march through your territory to attack us from there, *lâ jetamaṭnâkom w-jaṛirû 'alejna*. This much for your information. Farewell!"

To conclude peace in a solemn manner the prince rides with his suite to the chief of the tribe with which he wishes to be reconciled, or the latter comes to him, and they agree on all points. After the defeat of the Beni Ṣaḫr Prince an-Nûri rode with fifteen companions from al-Azraḳ to the camp

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of Eben Fâjez near Žerjet Abu Ğâber and remained there for thirty nights. One fat she-camel was killed in his honor every day. The peace treaty ends with the words: "Interred and buried, *ḥafâr w-defân*," or: "Interred and buried under a steep bank, *damdûm w-ğurfen mahdûm*; a steep river bank has fallen upon its shadow, *ğurfen inhadam 'ala ẓelleh*; no wolf will hurt the sheep any more, *mâ ḏiben ja'di 'ala-š-ša'*."

The chiefs then grasp each other's right hands and say: "I give thee Allâh and the peace of Allâh. And whoever would deceive thee, may Allâh deceive him! I give thee Allâh against all instigation and calumny. *A'ṭajtak allâh w-amân al'âh w-min bâḳak jebûḳeh allâh a'ṭajtak 'an al-mesmesijje w-al-maḥâči-r-radijje.*"

THE TRIBAL EMBLEM, ABU-D-DHÛR

The Rwala have no flag of their own. They go on raids without any special device; but when waging war, whether of aggression or defense, that endangers the whole tribe, they take with them a special kind of a litter, called Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab. This is perhaps the old decorated litter 'Aṭfa destined originally for the prettiest girl, who used to lead the tribe to the decisive battle. But there is nobody now who can remember that a girl has ever sat in it. The Markab litter (Fig. 59) is constructed of stout poles, the frame being about 90 centimeters high, 270 centimeters long at the top, and 190 centimeters long and about 50 centimeters wide at the bottom. All the poles are wrapped round with ostrich feathers; to the upper poles are tied 12 short pegs, *zerânîž*, with plumes of bent ostrich feathers, *ṛalab*. To be loaded, the Markab is placed in the litter called *ḥaraǧ*, and this is tied to a camel with ropes, *mečârîb*. The *ḥaḳab* rope is drawn through under the breast, the *bṭâne* under the belly, the *ṭafar* under the tail, and the *lebab*, twisted from variegated camel's hair threads, under the neck. The single parts of the Markab litter (Fig. 58) are called: *ḥaraǧ* (*a*), *'idân al-haraǧ* (*b*), *bdûd* (this because they rest on the cushion, *bedd* (*c*), *ḥoṣra* (*d*), *mibṭâḥ* (*e*), *ǧenûb* (*f*), *ǧerâjed* (*g*), *zerânîž* (*h*), and *ṛalab* (*j*).

The Rwala believe that the litter is called Abu-d-Dhûr, Father of Indefinite Periods of Time, because it is inherited from generation to generation, from age to age, *min ǧîlen ila ǧîl*, and that it will last forever. Al-Markab forms the visible

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Roasted, I found them more palatable; crisp outside, and inside something like tender spinach. In neither case did they taste at all like meat. They are clean animals and as food not at all unpleasant, but one soon gets very tired of them, when one has to eat nothing else day after day.

All round the camp and all day long smoke screens were kept going, into which women and children drove the locusts. Next morning mountains of these insects lay drying in the sun, and when we left this camp site a few days later, there was not an empty sack or saddle-bag, and our camels carried gigantic loads of the dried insects. Men and women, dogs and camels, fed on them —but only for a few days; after that, they turned one's stomach. But what was left was carefully preserved for other and leaner times, for when the locusts swarm in vast numbers, one can safely predict drought and famine.

As we followed in the wake of these marauders, we found the land stripped bare; every bit of herbage had disappeared under their greedy maws. But I came to realize that the "plague of locusts" is not so utterly devastating in the desert as it is to the tillers of the soil in Transjordania, Palestine, and Egypt. In the desert it is a great blessing for all creatures. Buzzards, ravens, bustards and other desert game-birds fattened on the locusts, and flocks of storks trailed after the red clouds. Even to the human desert-dwellers they may be most useful. Faris told me that tens of thousands of Bedouins had to subsist for weeks on locusts alone, and that at times their camels and horses too can have no other fodder. During four-days' march northward—forty-five

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

136 to fifty miles from our last camp by the Jabal Tawil—
●731 we found all the pasture gone, consumed to the last blade by the locusts. It was only in the plain of Biyaz that we found a depression which was untouched and with plenty of forage. There we made camp under the shelter of a *wadi.*

342 The women and slaves unloaded the camels and at once proceeded to put up the tents. The tent-cloth is spread on the ground, looking like a long, black, hairy hide; the lines are drawn east and west, tent-pegs driven home with wooden mallets, and the long tent-poles, properly spaced, are inserted under the roof-strip. Then, by dint of lifting and pushing, up goes the structure; first one pole in place, then the next, and so on until the whole goat-hair "house" rests securely on its supports. Row after row of tents rose, casting long shadows as the last sun-rays gleamed on their peaked roofs.

264 I bought a weakly camel from my fellow-travellers, had it slaughtered and the meat distributed to all and sundry. The flesh-pots of Ishmael were soon steaming and the savour of them attracted a horde of hungry dogs. One of the tribesmen was to play host to myself, Faris, and a number of others. Out of the dark his troop of camels stole up silently, showing suddenly in the light of the fire as if they had come from nowhere, and lay down before his tent. It was comfortable and homely there by the fire, in the wide circle of men and beasts.

272 Our cook had transferred a turbid, muddy mess of old coffee grounds and water from a goatskin bag to a pot with a long spout, which he put on the hearth. Now the black, bitter brew foamed up again, and after it had

1: Raswan
221, 731

MD4 Rwala MD4

[For a discussion of the problems arising on the annual trek of the Rwala when their usual grazing lands are desiccated see complete text, category 116, pp. 83-138.]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at as-shejl nušarreẓ*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṭrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṭrûwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-štai*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-wasm*, *aš-*
132 *šitwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *as-shejlâwi*, *aṭ-ṭrûwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious
● [731] rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen as-sejl wa-tlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-herfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arṣ mawsûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

The chaff, *kišr*, which floats on the top is then thrown away, while the clean seed are spread on blankets and allowed to dry. Or the Bedouins lay the filled sacks when still moist in the sun, shake them until the seed fall to the bottom, throw away the chaff, and clean the seed once more, so that they may serve as an article of food in a poor season. This is called *semḥne* or *sebîb*.

The fertility, or abundance, *rabî'*, depends entirely on a luxuriant growth of the grasses, or annuals, not on that of the woody plants, or perennials. The latter become green even after a good *ṣejfi* rain, when the earth is well watered, *maṣjûfa*; but no *ṣejfi* rain can relieve the annuals, for the heat of the sun soon burns them. In the same year one tribe may have no *rabî'* at all, while another tribe, even a neighboring one, has abundance of everything. This difference is the more noticeable when the tribes are enemies. Of such a year they say: "This year has queer teeth; men live well (have something to bite into), and men die of hunger; *hâḏi-s-sene w-laha snûn nâs ja'išûn w-nâs jemûtûn.*" The Bedouin also refers to a *rabî' al-mâš*, meaning a season when the entire growth consists of solitary grass patches insufficient to feed even the youngest camels; a *rabî' aṣ-ṣafâra*, when nothing grows except the *ṣafâra* with its yellow blossoms; a *rabî' ad-dimne*, when the grasses, though they may have sprouted and grown luxuriantly after the *wasm* and *šitwi* rains, fail to receive the *smâk* rain and become yellow as early as the end of March; a *rabî an-nafǧân*, when all the plains and lowlands are thickly carpeted with grass; and, finally, a *rabî' aṭ-ṭafḥa*, when not only the lowlands but all the slopes, as well, afford luxuriant pasture.

Just as the Bedouins long for the *rabî'* years, so they fear the years of want, or *ḫawa'*. If for two or three years the rains in the autumn months have not been copious enough there are no grasses and the camels must live on the woody plants alone. The winter rain, *aš-šitwi*, makes these perennials swell, but during the hot *smâk* days they dry up, become unpalatable to the camels, and thus the actual *ajjâm al-ḫawa'*, or days of want, set in, a period in which many camels perish. But if the rains of the *ṣejfi* also fail, then not a single perennial shoots up, last year's offshoots fall to pieces, to be broken and scattered by the wind, and the region soon changes into

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a dead and death-dealing desert. This[1] is the work of the woman sun, whose sole aim is to burn and destroy.

HOT AND COLD WEATHER; DEWS; WINDS; FOGS; MIRAGES; SAND STORMS

The greatest heats, called *ḥâmm al-ḳlejbên*, occur in the season of *al-ḳêẓ*; *ḥamm aš-shejl*, the season immediately before the rise of Canopus, is the next hottest. When the Pleiades, *aṭ-ṭrajja*, disappear from the heavens, every stalk dries up, *ilja ṛâbat aṭ-ṭrajja kîl ʿûden jibes.*

The season of *aš-šta'*, with a few days before and after it, is the coldest of all; from about December 11 to January 20 is the time of the real winter, *al-marbaʿanijje*. The *šta'* cold is followed by the seven poisonous nights, *saba' semm*; then come the seven bloody nights, *saba' demm*; and finally seven nights in which the fat (of the camels) is either increasing or decreasing, *jisir ad-desem w-lâ jisir*. In explanation it should be said that the nights of the first and second week following the *marbaʿanijje* are often so cold as to make the life of both human beings and animals miserable; the noses of the camels even bleed from the effects of the cold. Not until the third week, or about the middle of February, do the cold nights begin to alternate with warm ones. In the daytime the earth is warm but at night the air stratum more than one meter above the ground cools off; wherefore the two giants (i.e. the camel and the palm) suffer much from cold, *bard aṭ-ṭawilên*. In winter, *al-marbaʿanijje*, all of Palmyrena, all the territories of al-Ḥamâd, al-Wudijân, al-Ḥeǧera, al-Ḥunfa, Ḥesmaʾ, and even the Nefûd are covered with white frost, *ḥalît*. In Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and al-Wudijân trees and bushes become white with hoarfrost, *ǧelîd*, at that time. Snow falls, *feleǧat ad-dinja*, in Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and Ḥesma in large flakes, *ṭwêrât*, regularly every year, but as a rule it remains on the ground no more than one day, excepting in Palmyrena, where it sometimes stays longer, causing great losses to the owners of sheep and goats.

The dew, *ṭall*, *ʿeda'*, or *ṭofal*, is plentiful all the year round, especially during the summer months. It is sent by the moon to refresh both the annuals, or grasses, *ʿêleb*, and the perennials, or woody plants, *ǧaǧar*, which otherwise could not support the sun's heat.

[1] [The drought--Anely st]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

752
course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, 758
neǧes, would make the wound still worse, *mustaṛfer*: The visitor 831
salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiǧîk*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, [576]
and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have 761
a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *Ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednes- 777
day and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṭ-ṭaḳîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mḥarfal*. As such they consider the 732●
imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur 752
is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot 758
nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent 752
for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* 755
learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young 763
children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what 429

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
602 compensation.

When he has complied with every demand, the powerful
627 man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *kazejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh wağheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-akbalat el-menijje fakk ar-rukubat al-mâlijje.*"

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêża al-mabnijje.*"

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêża ṛlâmen 'ana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh.*"

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

●735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

They are of the Ṣlejb and Šarârât tribes. Such a pauper, *ẓa'if*, comes to the women's compartment in the tent and whimpers: 735

"O mistress of this tent! behold, I am, by Allâh himself, naked and my family hungers. Therefore I come to Allâh and to this tent; *w-ana ǧâj jamm allâh w-jamm hal-bejt.*"

If there is want in the tent, too, or if they are not willing to give anything, they simply say:

"Run along, we have nothing to give! *ḳawṭer mâ 'endana šieṉ.*"

A chief could not, of course, let a beggar go away in that manner, and other Rwala also try to do as much as they can for him. They do it, partly from love of Allâh, *lâhijje*, partly because they like to hear the beggar's thanks and hope that their charity may be extolled elsewhere, *ješkor jeḏkor.*

To conceal a lost article is not considered dishonest as long as nobody calls for it. The finder is not required to search for its owner; he must search for his own property. 425 626

Many things get lost during the migrations. The camels laden with tents, furniture, rugs, garments, etc., rub against each other or against bushes, roll in the sand, start trotting suddenly, and lose one parcel after another of their load all along the route. Many of these lost things can be easily hidden and appropriated for the finder's own use, as the dress and personal effects of the Rwala and the furnishings of their tents are almost without exception similar in their appearance. It is hard to prove that this or that article does not belong to the person in possession. A dishonest person or one who has no fear of Allâh will not return what he has found even when asked to do so by the owner himself. The latter usually either hires a public crier or, mounting a horse or camel, himself rides slowly through the camp in the evening when all the people are in their tents, shouting: "Oh, thou who hast seen such and such a thing and esteemest Allâh more than that which thou hast concealed! O thou who wilt keep quiet about a thing of no value, be careful that thou takest it not for that which is dear to thee, that the place where thy camels rest at night will not be left empty; and that thou mayest not call for help with no man willing to hear thee! *Já min 'ajjan aš-ši al-flâni w-hw jeḏkor allâh 'an al-ṛaba' já ḍâmen al-bâli ta'awwaẓteh bel-ṛâli jaṣbaḥ mrâḥak ḥâli tṣiḥ w-lâ lak wâli.*"

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

233 but it took me more than two days to learn the knack of it—how to anchor your knees in the camel's hip-bones and then, by sprawling forward and using the woolly hump of the beast as a cushion for your stomach, to ride in amazing comfort. We guided the animals with our camel-sticks, tapping them lightly, now on one shoulder, now on the other. Thus we drifted slowly along, side by side, the animals feeding as they went and halting only occasionally; but we had to keep an ever-watchful eye on our troop of camels, which were always up to some trick or other.

231 In those three days I learnt much. I learnt to appreciate in all their significance the noises peculiar to a camel; to realise that in the loud diapason of its stomach rumblings and in the gurglings of its throat there lies a meaning too deep for words. Even its full-throated belching is an expression of its lordly thoughts. I learnt how to deal with the sharp thorns that pierce through leather footwear, and how to treat the sting of a bee which caused the camel's lip to swell to an enormous size. My companion also taught me how to plug the udder of a mother camel, to prevent dripping and the consequent loss of precious milk, and how the baby camel could be prevented from "drinking out of hours" from the mother's udder by means of a wooden peg, fastened to its nose. I learnt to tell from the tracks on the hard gravel soil whether the camels which had passed were saddle or pack animals, and I was taught the lore of age, sex, breed and many other mysteries.

231 751 I listened with bated breath as my companions explained to me that a blue bead tied to the hairy withers

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

of a camel was a most effective charm against the evil eye. I was told of the great ticks, as large as stag beetles, found in the camel's pelt, and of the lovely blue-black crows which hop about undisturbed on its back, helping themselves with prying beaks to these ticks and other parasites, which lie snugly in the thick, matted hair.

The delight of watching the little baby camels made my three days of wandering worth while. What quaint, lovable creatures they are! How they enjoy licking and smelling each other! They sprawl awkwardly on their overlong legs in groups of five or six, and rub their long, slim necks against some strange mother, making her happy in the delusion that she has brought into the world such a large brood of dear, ridiculous creatures.

When the warm rain fell on the coats of the camels, large or small, they developed "marcel" waves, curls, and fringes, which would have delighted a fashionable ladies' *coiffeur*.

And when we sat down before a fire, with our backs to the rocks, and my companion chattered away, telling me story after story, it was amusing to see how the camels would press close up, and listen intently, as if they understood him. True, now and again, they would interrupt the story with a hearty belch and go on placidly chewing the cud of flowery herbage and thistle-fodder, to the accompaniment of a loud and discordant grinding of teeth. But that is the way of camels.

Every morning I awoke to see the sun rising or just risen through a perfect forest of legs, for all the world like stilts, or under an archway of long necks.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala.

The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥân as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazel.

The *kurṭa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Ḥeğera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ẓab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the at-Ṭawîl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies.
224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena
262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is
825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round
751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of
278 the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink,
757 assuages fever.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the powers that he had not bewitched any one on that day, but was seized by the enraged brothers of the girl and dragged to her bed where she was still lying unconscious. Na"ûs took his spittle, *rîżeh*, in his three fingers, besmeared the girl's throat and neck with it, and then walked round her seven times, after which the girl awoke as healthy as before. This sudden recovery confirmed all the women there in the belief that Na"ûs' eye could bewitch, and they took counsel together as to how they could destroy this injurious power of their neighbor. Knowing or taking for granted that the eating of human excrement was the best remedy in this particular case, they appointed a woman whose tent adjoined that of Na"ûs to apply it to him. So she watched him till he went to fulfill the needs of nature, *jetaḫalla' bel-ḫala'*, took up some of his excrement, *neǧaseh*, on a stalk, mixed it with flour, from which she then baked a thin loaf of bread, dipped it into melted butter, and inviting Na"ûs to dinner gave it to him to eat. Na"ûs, who was a frequent guest in his neighbor's tent, ate the bread and butter, praising its taste. From that time on no one complained of having been bewitched by him. His uncanny faculty had left him forever.

With some people the power of the evil eye is so strong that it can even bring down a bird from the air. Thus a troop of the Rwala were once riding through the desert. In one place they scared two birds called *ḫabâri*, which flew up, then alighted, and rising again flew some distance in the direction followed by the riders. Finally Ṣabr âl Murabbaṭ exclaimed: "Faith, we shall roast one of the birds; *wa' ḫalôla jâ ḫada ḫal-ḫabâri naštwiha.*" At the same moment one bird fell down to the ground as if struck by a bullet.

For protection against the evil eye small sea shells with red, white, and green spots, called *ḫarazt an-nafs*, are recommended, also two marbles, *neḳżên*. Both the shells and marbles can be bought from wandering merchants. If there are none in the neighborhood, the Bedouin selects seven pebbles, *samḥ ḥeṣwât*, pares off a splinter from the left (north) side pole of the tent, takes a grain of salt, *ṭowr melḥ*, and a small piece of alum, and sews all in a piece of new black cloth, *ḥebbe*. Still more effective is a fragment of a turtle shell, *'aẓm al-leǧa'*, fastened to a peg made of almond wood. Of the *neḳżên* balls or marbles there must be always two, a black and a white one. The latter gives protection in the daytime,

751 the former at night. Both are wrapped in pieces of soft skin,
754 *ṣiḥtjâne*. Any of these preventives are tied to the head cord, to the kerchief lappet, or to the belt. Little children carry them fastened to their hair on the forehead, to their caps, or hang them from their necks. The mares, which also must be protected against the evil eye, have them twisted into their forelocks or manes, or hung about their necks, while the camels wear the charms in the tuft of hair growing on their humps.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

576 721 bade asking direct questions of a stranger. A Rueyli called out: "Khalati—it is a great prince who comes, O blessed daughter, to honour thee."

"And where is his *dira* (pasture) that I may send Hamar, our old slave, to proclaim him to our neighbour?"

"His name is 'The Young Falcon', and his *dira* extends as far as his eyes rove. It is thy son, O mother of Amir Fuaz."

[752] 721 685 648 In this foray, Rasheyd, the leader, had his right hand severed by a sword cut. He fainted from loss of blood. Our slaves then plunged the mutilated arm in boiling fat—a desperate remedy but successful, for Rasheyd recovered. He carried his amputated hand from that day forward in the saddle of his racing-camel. It dried up completely, like the hand of a mummy.

When we reached Bahr Saigal, not far from Dumeyr, the first Turkish fortress in Syria, its Commandant sent a cavalry detachment to our camp. He had been informed by telegraph of our illicit operations in the vicinity of the cultivated lands of Mesopotamia. His troopers were seeking Rasheyd, who was to be made answerable. But Rasheyd could not reconcile himself to the prospect of a Turkish dungeon. He placed his withered hand in a leather bag and dictated to Nauaf's *katib* (scribe) the following letter addressed to the Commandant at Dumeyr:

"In the name of the Benevolent and Compassionate! As *askar* (soldier) I cannot serve thy *Padishah* (Sultan), for I have but a stump of an arm. As thy prisoner I could do no work for thee; nay, as a friend I could not

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Sahr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and roasted on the fire. 252

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into suet it is known as *maḥlû'* or *widač*. In the kettle in which the fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḥalî'*, something like swards, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into a leather bag, *ẓarf* (or *naḥw*), and kept for as long as three years. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because it is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very stingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppurating wounds. [752]

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*, between four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-camel, especially a lean one, *helîme*, cannot be properly boiled. It always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young camels less than three months old, *ḥwâr*, has a bad effect on the stomach. 262 825

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they throw away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He has a bird's heart, *ḳalbeh ḳalb aṭ-ṭejr*," means: "He is easily frightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals in the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into the men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with them together with his eldest son. 264 574

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour water for the men so that they can wash! *ṛasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A slave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *žedaḥ*, wooden vessel, with water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon the contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is waiting with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his daughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *ḳalleṭ ena-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him, saying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest is present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accompanies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it either in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of the fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take supper first, *tafwît*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

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831x
539x

Zall ar-rabî' w-ḥawdarow lal-ḳejẓ
w-al-ṛarw mâ waḳna 'alejh
jâ-bu nhûd čannehen al-bejẓ
w-al-ḳalb waǧlânen 'alejh.

Gone is the time of plenty, and they have departed to the pastures of the midsummer;
But the beauty we nowhere saw.
Oh, for her with breasts like eggs!
My heart is grieving for her.

[484 221] In the time of the sultry heats of midsummer, *al-ḳejẓ*, the Bedouins camp in the lowlands, where water is found in abundance; therefore they have descended, *ḥawdarow*, from the plateaus.

Abṛi aṭaṛaṭṭa bel-manâm
w-al-'ajn mâ hi nâjime
'eddi ṣawîben bel-manâm
mâ žawwedû ḥazâjimeh

I desire to cover myself in my bed,
But my eyes cannot close in sleep;
I feel like one lying wounded on his couch,
Whose bandages they have failed to renew.

[752] *'Eddi* or *čanni* means: "I feel like." *Ṣawîb* signifies to be wounded seriously, but not fatally. *Ḥazâjem* are poultices and bandages. If not applied well and renewed, *mâ žawwedû*, they cause still greater pain.

Ḳilt a'arẓûni 'ala-z-zarḳa
čann-ar-ramad ṣâjeben 'ajni
ḥabb al-ṛaẓi bel-ḥaša jarḳa
muḫṭar 'ala-l-čabd čâwîni
wa' šejb 'ajni min al-farḳa
čân al-'arab bên šowrîni.

I said: 'lay me across a gray horse,'
For it seems as if blindness had struck my sight.
Love for the desired one grows in my entrails,
And burns me like red-hot iron laid on the stomach.
Ah, my eyes will become gray from the parting,
If the Arabs take different courses.

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When yawning the Rwejli must also be very cautious, as the throat opens wide during this process and the demon then may let a drop of its urine, *jebûleh*, fall into the man's throat; the urine enters the stomach and causes various diseases.

The Bedouins should also watch the stars most carefully, because they have more properties unfavorable to man than favorable. Wounds will not heal when pierced by the rays of either the stars or the sun. Therefore the wounded person is laid, wrapped in all sorts of covers, in some corner of the tent so as to keep the rays away from him. Whenever people came to me with one of their wounded relatives, they first pitched a small tent behind the one occupied by me, closed it tightly, and then — not before — proceeded to uncover the wound. If a Rwejli loses his way at night, the stars are to blame, for he took his course from a certain star which changed its position imperceptibly, making the man take a wrong direction. Therefore he will not say *"Tiht*, I lost my way," but *"Enğemt*, I was led astray by the stars." When the stars begin to play with a Rwejli in this manner, even the North Star cannot be depended upon. The best thing to do in that case is to lie down and wait for sunrise. Then the Rwejli can take his bearings himself according to the landmarks and continue his journey.

757 On falling sick a Rwejli instantly ties into his hair or to his head rope some red or green thread as a preventive, *heğâb*, against pain. If he gets worse and the home remedies will no longer suffice, his relatives send for a seer, *ṣâheb as-sirr*, entreating him to come and help the patient. A she-camel is promised to Allâh as a sacrifice for restoring health to their sick relative in these words: "O thou face of Allâh, if thou curest this man and liberatest him from the captivity of his disease, I will give thee this she-camel in sacrifice; *jâ waǧh allâh in ṭajjebt hal-walad w-fakkejteh min hal-maraẓ ilak hal-ǧezûr*."

752 Fractures are healed by a Bedouin versed in the art. He sets the broken bone, lays the limb between narrow boards, and then packs it round with dough made of barley flour, salt, and eggs, or lacking these of tragacanth, *ḥelbe*. This composition hardens like rock. After the expiration of twenty-five days the bandage is loosened but it is not removed until after forty days. During that time the patient must not eat anything sweet and is fed on meat only, or, if that cannot be had, on milk.

752 757 A small wound is called *ṣwâb*, a large one *ǧurḥ*. The wounded man, *ṣawîb*, is assigned a separate corner in the tent always on the windward side, so that no bad odor can reach him. Any scent, *rîḥa*, opens the wound anew, increasing the pain and swelling, *tirfer* or *tizerr*. Harmless are the odors of tar, *ḳuṭrân*, and the drugs of *ḥantîta*, *ǧawelijje*, *ebhel*, *se'ed*, *hawağawwa*, *'ûd al-hawa*, *damm al-eḫwên*, the smoke from the camel manure, *ǧelle*, tobacco smoke, and sulphur. The wounded person stops his nose with the *ḳejṭarân* or *ḥantîta* drug as a protection against injurious odors. Also he must deny himself sweet dishes, which according to the local belief would cause the wound to fester, *jiddi*, still more. At first soap is applied to the wound, later the *subl* drug. The urine of little children, *bowl al-wuḍdân*, is used in cleaning wounds. [821] As the wound could not heal if reached by the light of stars, the couch of the wounded person is curtained on all sides by clothing and carpets, and he must not leave it even to satisfy his natural wants. If it is intended to camp in the same place for some length of time, a separate small tent is put up for the patient, closed on all sides, *ḥeğra*, and at some distance from the camp. Visitors sit round the tent and converse with him, but no one will go inside except his nearest relative. For there might be a visitor who, having just had sexual inter-

752 758 831

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course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, *neǧes*, would make the wound still worse, *mustaṛfer*: The visitor salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiǧîk*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

[576]

761 777

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednesday and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṭ-ṭakîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

732

A demoniac is called *mharfal*. As such they consider the imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

752 758

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalûṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

752 755

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *mêǧîdijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

763 429

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what

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3. Memories of your distant sweethearts will come to your mind; for them you will long.
Her neck is like a gazelle's alarmed by a shot.
4. Her teeth glisten like Egyptian sugar,
Sugar, the food of rulers, of sweet taste.
5. She is not of those who emit a disgusting odor,
But an odor appreciated only by men of sense.
6. The fragrance of *ḫzêra* her tresses emit,
Oh, may the eye be blinded that is incensed at this beauty!
7. When, O people, she comes nearer, her eyes enchant,
And when she ascends from the valley, O people, she slays with her charms.

The poet was a member of the as-Sba'a tribe; the reciter, Blejhân eben Meṣreb. The poet went out on a plundering expedition, *muḥanšel*. On his return he was told that his kin were camping east of Salamja. On arriving there he saw from the tracks that the camp had been removed farther west. He therefore ascended a high hill and looked over the western horizon, hoping to see a few tents he knew, among them the tent of his sweetheart.

Verse 1. *Al-ferîž mužim* signifies a few tents, which remain for a considerable length of time in the same place. 4. The cane sugar, which contains more of the glittering crystals than the best European sugar, is made in Egypt. 5. The Bedouins hate all strong odors, believing that some odors give rise to many diseases, or at least irritate old wounds; for this reason they stop the nostrils of sick persons. It is considered a matter of individual taste which odor is harmful and which helpful. 6. He who cannot tell an injurious odor from one that is beneficial looks with disfavor on the person or the object by which an odor is disseminated. 7. *Šeṭanjaha* or *šṭûnaha* are the several charms of a beauty, in this case the girl's full hips.

1. *Jâ meḥsen al-wejlâd 'ankom ṛadû bi*
hal-ḥzûz alli wasi'en ṭenájâh
2. *kazzejt mirsâl w-lâ radd nowbi*
w-lâ ğâb li 'elmen šefijjen w-lâ ğâ
3. *jâ rabb lâ tarzoḳ ḥaṭât al-čeḏûbi*
alli jeḥumm al-'elem min dûn melfâh
4. *m-âkel w-low ḥaṭṭû 'ala-š-šetel ar-ṛowbi*
barbûr ṣejfen sâḥenâten šwâjâ

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When yawning the Rwejli must also be very cautious, as the throat opens wide during this process and the demon then may let a drop of its urine, *jebûleh*, fall into the man's throat; the urine enters the stomach and causes various diseases. 827 776 753

The Bedouins should also watch the stars most carefully, because they have more properties unfavorable to man than favorable. Wounds will not heal when pierced by the rays of either the stars or the sun. Therefore the wounded person is laid, wrapped in all sorts of covers, in some corner of the tent so as to keep the rays away from him. Whenever people came to me with one of their wounded relatives, they first pitched a small tent behind the one occupied by me, closed it tightly, and then — not before — proceeded to uncover the wound. If a Rwejli loses his way at night, the stars are to blame, for he took his course from a certain star which changed its position imperceptibly, making the man take a wrong direction. Therefore he will not say "*Tiht*, I lost my way," but "*Enǧemt*, I was led astray by the stars." When the stars begin to play with a Rwejli in this manner, even the North Star cannot be depended upon. The best thing to do in that case is to lie down and wait for sunrise. Then the Rwejli can take his bearings himself according to the landmarks and continue his journey. 821 [752]

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and plants on cool days. 8. *Jankûš* is said of one who delights in quarrels and in setting people against each other by carrying gossip and distorting their words. *Zibdet al-mḏâb*, melted butter, signifies invented, false stories, or calumnies. Melted butter is liked by everybody but cannot be the exclusive food, as it would cause death from dysentery; thus it is also with false stories. Pleasant to listen to, should the hearers make them a foundation for their acts, they would not meet with success. 9. He that cannot work, but lives and thrives on the sweat and toil of others, must perish as soon as they cease to support him.

Prudence

1. *Al-ḥâjeṭ bâlak tebni*
   illa-s-sâs ḥeǧâreh kbâr
2. *w-al-bâjeh ḥaḏrak teẖnih*
   damhât al-bawwâh kṭâr
3. *w-al-mar'i ḥaḏrak ter'ih*
   elja' ra'ejt er'a-n-nwâr.

1. Beware of building a wall,
   Except when the foundation is of big stones.
2. Beware of taking an ingrate for thy companion,
   For much trouble he will cause thee.
3. Of land that has been grazed upon beware;
   If thou desirest to pasture, on blossoms pasture.

The poet was a settler from the oasis of al-Ǧowf; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. As the houses in al-Ǧowf (as in all the settlements of inner Arabia) are built comparatively high, their walls must have solid foundations. During the fights in which the settlers frequently engage among themselves a weak foundation could be easily broken through by the enemy, and the wall would collapse. For this reason only big boulders are used in foundations. 2. *Al-bâjeh* is a man without a heart, *mâ beh ḳalb*, devoid of sympathy, gratitude, and even of morals. Whoever takes such a man for his companion, *ḫawi*, on a long trip will suffer more troubles than could be found even in hell. 3. *Al-mar'i* is either a woman divorced by her husband or a widow. Do not marry such a one; rather take a blossom, a virgin.

831x
539x

O Mdaḥraǧ! put the saddle on my gray camel,
Tighten the saddle on the riding camel.
Heaven avert the evil omen, but how disastrous art thou, night!
For thou hast pierced my entrails in many places.
I complain to thee, my little sister Dwejle,
For your kin have urged their camels elsewhere.

The lover rode out at night to call on his sweetheart. Her kin were moving that very day and intended to pitch their tents at a certain place. There the lover went when darkness set in, but the camp was not there, his sweetheart's people had moved to another place.

Mdaḥraǧ was a negro or a Bedouin serving as *feḍâwi*, free servant, with the lover. *Ša'ejle* is a light-gray she-camel. The word *aḳšar* (fem., *ḳašra'*), disastrous, should not be used, as it might provoke the demon to do the speaker harm; therefore *al-'afw*, pardon, is added. Dwejle was the name of his beloved, whom he addresses as his little sister. *Ḥajjân* means kin, *ahl*, with whom the maiden is camping. *Ṛâdi* (or *ṛâd*) is an object lying elsewhere, either further on or in an unexpected direction.

[754]

Jâ-l-fedne w-edni lana ḳhejle
'an direten mâ biha ǧâze
emši w-ana mṛaṭijjat al-bâl
w-atli-l-aǧânib min al-'âze
šaffi ṛrêwen ma' al-ḥajjân
w-min al-ḥala jinḳol ḥrâzeh.

O Fedne! bring us the *ḳhejle* mare;
I desire to leave the land of ill luck,
To leave with a mind distressed,
And of necessity to follow the strangers.
I wish for my darling to camp with my kinsfolk,
Then he would carry away all the sweetness he could hold.

The lover camps far away, so that the maiden cannot meet him. Therefore she wants to escape on a mare of the *ḳhejle* breed to another clan, where the loved youth is probably serving as a *feḍâwi*. *Šaffi* is equivalent to *šahwati*, my desire, my longing.

852 539 to Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ǧebri. O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejh min aḏ-ḏahab šebrî. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṯowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ǧemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ǧa'al min tabṛoẓeh tenlâ'
jamût wlêdaha-r-rẓâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [842 554] thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's [586 754] happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mohra ẓîdat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
mîn bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḳawwâdha ḥâled She was led by Ḥâled,
lâ jâ ba'ad 'êni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mohra means in this case the young wife of Ḥâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḥorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf

the *munâbi* is to appear. They come to the seer on Thursday night, accompany him on his visits to the sick and on raids, and join him whenever he commands them. One part of their duty is to carry little drums and other musical instruments, *dfûf w-šiš* or *dirbâš*. If the sorcerer wants to call the spokesman-angel to him, he beckons to the disciples to play, while he himself squats with his head bent down. After a while he begins to move, stands up, stretches out his hands, jumps about, contorts his body, and puts his hands, feet, and even his head close to the fire, clapping his hands. The Bedouins say of this that he is just playing, *jel'ab*, but his disciples call it yielding to the influence of the *islâm*, ecstasy. When his enthusiasm reaches its climax, either Allâh's spokesman or some of the seer's ancestors appear on the scene. After the climax has subsided, the seer, greatly exhausted, complains that he can do nothing. The Bedouins, however, who cannot be made to believe that this ecstasy is a mere preparation for the angel's appearance, deride the sorcerer, imitate his gestures, and call him one possessed and a juggler. Especially those of the new sorcerers whose ancestors were not known as seers are the target of their ridicule when trying to establish themselves. In this the Rwala are assisted by the acknowledged seers themselves, even by the new seer's temporary master. The new sorcerer is called *maṛši*, a fool; *masdûf*, bereft of reason; *ḫabel*, feeble-minded; *wâše'eh kejfarân*, full of unbelief; *maṣfûḫ*, drunk; *ma'rûz*, one possessed, etc. Should he declare something as the will of Allâh, all will laugh at him, for he could not learn anything from his ancestors who were not seers themselves, and the speaking angel does not know him. Yet even if, after all, he achieves something extraordinary, they say he was helped by some spirit, *ǧânn*, and with such the sorcerers never associate. However, by perseverance, patience, and courage a sorcerer-to-be in a few years will gain recognition not only from the Bedouins but from the hereditary sorcerers as well. The advance of such a sorcerer's son in his father's calling is, as a matter of course, much easier and speedier.

In defense of their honor the seers sometimes resort to curses. They are unable by their own strength to ruin the scoffers, but their ancestors and the spokesman-angel with whom they communicate will ask Allâh to punish those who dare to persecute them. These will die prematurely, their sons

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791 will be slain, their herds perish. The chief Ṣaḳr eben Meṣ-
754 reb, a famous leader of countless raids, was greatly incensed against both the sorcerers and their disciples because of their incessant greed and was once heard to say: "Oh, may Allâh rid me of you all! If you have enough, you disturb everybody's rest by your music and your foolery; if you are hungry, there is no being rid of you, you beggars; *low šeba'tu awḏejtu w-low ǧi'tu arẓejtu.*" On hearing this the insulted sorcerers called a meeting and one of them, Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, cursed Ṣaḳr in the name of all present. A few days later the chief was dead.

789 Of the sorcerer's curse the Bedouins stand in much fear.
782 If anybody hears that a seer has cursed him, he makes haste to find the seer and, falling on his face before the powerful
754 man, crosses his hands behind his back as if fettered and says: "I ask the protection of thine ancestor and am willing to bring a lawful sacrifice as a gift to him, *ana dâḫel 'ala ǧeddekom w-ana ḫâṭṭ ḏebiḥat ǧeddekom mowhebha mowhebe šara'ijje.*" The sorcerer answers: "Agreed, it has arrived; *tâmma w-jâmma.*" The animal selected for the sacrifice is killed by the sorcerer at the edge of the tent, with its head turned south, while the sorcerer says: "O Allâh, this sacrifice is destined for my ancestor." Then he besmears with the blood of the sacrificed animal the center pole of the tent and the strip which strengthens its roof, *ṭarîžet al-bejt*; the meat he and his disciples eat, and the accursed is relieved.

791 At the time when this was written (1909) the following persons were recognized as true seers: men: Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, Ṣannâm eben Ǧel'ûd, Ṣajjâḥ eben Ǧlejdân, Za'al eben 'Awwâd; women: 'Ešba bint Hmezi, Baṭḥa bint 'Awwâd, and Dlejjîl bint Mâẓi.

789 A sorcerer can give information whether and for how
791 long it is going to rain; whether a wife will bear a boy or a girl; whether the young produced by the mare or camel will be a male or a female; whether a raid will succeed, etc.

[726] War expeditions on a large scale are always accompanied by a sorcerer who instructs the commander in anything he may undertake. The latter asks the sorcerer's advice only on occasions when he is at a loss what to do. Then the seer stimulates himself with music and works himself into an ecstasy, which helps him hear the angel speak and proclaim the will of Allâh.

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791 back through the whole neighborhood, searching for the animals
787 all day, but without avail, *ʿağaz*. Returning and saddling their camels in the evening, they began a new search, from which they did not return for fifteen days, *ḫansṭaʿaš wağbe* (sic), again without finding a single trace of the flock. Then the owner decided to visit a soothsayer. Scattering her twenty-three objects on the ground before him, she said: "Hurry after thy flock with the wind, with the wind! Thou wilt find one half, thou wilt find the other half. Thou wilt find one after another." When the owner asked what was meant by these words, the woman put him off with the remark that she did not know. Returning to his tent, he related to his people what the soothsayer had told him. The air was perfectly quiet at that time, but suddenly a strong wind began to blow from the south-southwest, which gave one of the relatives an idea. "Allâh sends us a leader," said he, "let us follow him." And exactly at noon they set off north-northeast. About the middle of the afternoon, *ʿaṣejr*, they found a piece of the skin of the first sheep, which by a mark on its head the owner recognized as belonging to his flock. Before sunset they found the skin of a second and then of a third sheep with the same mark. All three sheep had been torn to pieces by wolves. Greatly fatigued with their long ride, they lay down to sleep. Continuing their search next morning, they found one dead sheep after another until they reached the pasturing ground of the Rfede kin, where they learned that, a few days before, one of their members named Ḥsejni had found seventy-five sheep wandering aimlessly in the vicinity. This was exactly the half of the lost flock, the other half having perished in the meantime.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF ṢLEJB WOMEN

●764 The Rwala also believe that many women of the Ṣlejb tribe can exercise a good or bad influence. They are said to be able not only to awaken love, but also to smother it; to strengthen and also to destroy the faculty of begetting; to increase as well as to hinder the growth of children; to lengthen and shorten life, etc. No one knows if they have direct connections with evil spirits, but the people are inclined to believe so. Such women are called witches, *saḥḥâra*, although none of them may be directly so called. Should that be proved of any Ṣlubijje, the Rwala would certainly kill her.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

About four years before my stay with the Rwala, a young Rwala chief fell in love with a beautiful young girl. The chief was already married and father of two boys, whom his healthy young wife had borne to him. Driven by jealousy, she went to a witch, *saḥḥâra*, complained of her husband, and begged the witch to prevent his taking a second wife but not to harm him. The witch asked her to bring a piece of the wool of a sheep killed on the day of her husband's new wedding and dip it into the blood of the sheep. At that time the Rwala were camping east of Damascus, where they could buy a sheep for their supper. The young wife promised to do as she was asked. When the sheep was killed before the chief's tent a little after noon, she tore out a bit of wool as if by accident, dipped it into the blood, and gave it to the Ṣlubijje. The witch pressed the wool with both her hands, mumbled strange words, and then returned it to the wife with instructions to take good care of it, to press it thoroughly, *temûṣah*, every Friday night, and to continue doing so until the new wife was divorced by her husband. Cheered by this advice, the young wife gave a suitable reward to the Ṣlubijje, who was camping with some families of her kin on the outskirts of the Rwala encampment, and returned to her tent. At the side of this a small tent was already being put up, shut in from all sides, into which the young chief meant to bring his new bride after the wedding ceremony. This took place in the evening, the young couple entering the tent immediately afterwards. After midnight the chief returned to the big tent. All the next week his mien was dark, and the new wife did not show herself at all. After two weeks he gave her a severe beating and before the month was out divorced her because she scoffed at him in public and said that he was incapable of having intercourse with a woman; and as matter of fact she returned to her parents a virgin. The witch had caused the man to become impotent at the very moment when he approached the second woman, but reinvigorated him on his return to his first wife.

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THE EVIL EYE

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The evil eye is universally feared among the Rwala. Every Rwejli knows that there are persons of either sex who can cast a spell over him, yet he is never able to say who it was

754 that has thus harmed him. A person having the evil eye is called *madri*, and the person he bewitches *ma'jûn*. A man who [826] lacks both upper eyeteeth or one who has blue eyes is undoubtedly able to bewitch and is therefore carefully avoided by all his acquaintances. If a traveler is seen approaching his tent, he hears from all the neighboring tents: "Avoid the bewitcher's tent! Go to the right, to the right! *Lâ temarr 'ala bejt al-madri jeminak jeminak.*"

754 A bewitched person feels at once great weakness, his eyes
755 become dim, and he is subject to fainting fits. Above the heart of a bewitched child a blue spot soon appears, as if caused by a hard blow. A bewitched animal gets a tumor on the heart the size of a fist, and clotted blood is found under it when killed. Fumigation is the usual cure in such cases. If the bewitcher is known, two or three threads are torn from the hem of his garment and laid on red-hot coals, and the stricken person is fumigated with the smoke from them. The head of a bewitched animal is held over a dish of red-hot coals and smoldering *šîḥ* plants in such a way that the smoke must enter its nostrils. Frequently the bewitched has much difficulty in urinating. To help him, the Bedouins shoot a porcupine, from which they extract the gall bladder and, pressing out its contents into a little water, *jemûṣûn mrejreh bel-moje*, they drip it into the nostrils of the sick person. Bewitched people and even animals are the most easily bitten by poisonous snakes.

754 Whoever is possessed of the evil eye also has the power to restore the bewitched to his former health. In the Rassâlîn clan there lived at the time when these studies were made a fellow named Na"ûs eben 'Ajde to whose evil eye much misfortune was attributed. Once he bewitched, *ẓarab*, a young girl pretty both in face and figure, *ḥsejjene min židdâmah w-min warâha*. It happened while she was fetching water; when she returned to her tent, she began to stagger and finally fainted. On recovering she was unable to stand on her feet. When asked by her frightened mother the cause of her condition, the girl only said: "Na"ûs looked at me fixedly; he bewitched me," and fainted again, *ertamât min ǧedîd*. With much lamentation the mother then reported to the father what the daughter had just told her, and he, calling his sons and relatives to his aid, ran to Na"ûs' tent, threatening him with death if he did not take back instantly the look which had injured his daughter. Na"ûs swore by all

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

the powers that he had not bewitched any one on that day, but was seized by the enraged brothers of the girl and dragged to her bed where she was still lying unconscious. Na"ûs took his spittle, *rîžeh*, in his three fingers, besmeared the girl's throat and neck with it, and then walked round her seven times, after which the girl awoke as healthy as before. This sudden recovery confirmed all the women there in the belief that Na"ûs' eye could bewitch, and they took counsel together as to how they could destroy this injurious power of their neighbor. Knowing or taking for granted that the eating of human excrement was the best remedy in this particular case, they appointed a woman whose tent adjoined that of Na"ûs to apply it to him. So she watched him till he went to fulfill the needs of nature, *jetaḫalla' bel-ḫala'*, took up some of his excrement, *neğaseh*, on a stalk, mixed it with flour, from which she then baked a thin loaf of bread, dipped it into melted butter, and inviting Na"ûs to dinner gave it to him to eat. Na"ûs, who was a frequent guest in his neighbor's tent, ate the bread and butter, praising its taste. From that time on no one complained of having been bewitched by him. His uncanny faculty had left him forever.

With some people the power of the evil eye is so strong that it can even bring down a bird from the air. Thus a troop of the Rwala were once riding through the desert. In one place they scared two birds called *ḫabâri*, which flew up, then alighted, and rising again flew some distance in the direction followed by the riders. Finally Ṣabr âl Murabbaṭ exclaimed: "Faith, we shall roast one of the birds; *wa' ḫalôla jâ ḫada ḫal-ḫabâri naštwiha.*" At the same moment one bird fell down to the ground as if struck by a bullet.

For protection against the evil eye small sea shells with red, white, and green spots, called *ḫarazt an-nafs*, are recommended, also two marbles, *neḳzên*. Both the shells and marbles can be bought from wandering merchants. If there are none in the neighborhood, the Bedouin selects seven pebbles, *samḥ ḥeṣwât*, pares off a splinter from the left (north) side pole of the tent, takes a grain of salt, *ṭowr melḥ*, and a small piece of alum, and sews all in a piece of new black cloth, *ḫebbe*. Still more effective is a fragment of a turtle shell, *'aẓm al-leğa'*, fastened to a peg made of almond wood. Of the *neḳzên* balls or marbles there must be always two, a black and a white one. The latter gives protection in the daytime,

751 the former at night. Both are wrapped in pieces of soft skin,
754 *ṣiḥṭjâne*. Any of these preventives are tied to the head cord, to the kerchief lappet, or to the belt. Little children carry them fastened to their hair on the forehead, to their caps, or hang them from their necks. The mares, which also must be protected against the evil eye, have them twisted into their forelocks or manes, or hung about their necks, while the camels wear the charms in the tuft of hair growing on their humps.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Very often a sorcerer is summoned to the bedside of a person who is seriously ill. He comes either with all or a few of his disciples and settles down in the tent as a regular guest. During the day, but especially in the evening, he orders his disciples to play, while he squats by the fire with his head wrapped up and his face in his hands, listening to the music. After a while he begins to contort the upper part of his body, jumps up, seizes a small drum, beats it wildly, circles around the fire, and, dancing around the patient, raps him with the drum on the head and legs; then, throwing the drum aside, he lies above the patient, supporting himself by the feet and hands, breathes into his mouth and nostrils, kneels down, rubs the patient on the breast, stomach, and back, jumps up, dances around, and, then, lying on him again, mumbles unintelligible words. Sometimes he cures the sick person by this process; sometimes the patient dies. 755

Ṣulhân's little son, Feǧer, six years old, fell ill. Greatly troubled, the father entreated a sorcerer to cure his child. The seer soon appeared with his wife, and the first thing they did was to lay the boy's head south and his feet north. The woman began to play, while the sorcerer bent down to the fire, waiting for the *islâm* to take hold of him. Then he jumped up, danced, lay on the boy, covering him with his body, breathed on his cheeks, and made curious grimaces, *la'ab 'alejh*, the woman beating a little drum all this time and dancing around them. The boy recovered.

A certain woman was paralyzed for many years and unable to stand on her feet. Finally Mnâhi eben Dabbâr was brought to her and played over her, *la'ab*, for three evenings. On the third evening the sick woman suddenly jumped up and began to dance with him, and was well ever after.

Feǧer eben Ṭajjeb of the Mwâhîb clan suffered from gout and was unable to walk, *mḥarwal*. On being sent for, the sorcerer stayed with him seven days, played over him every evening, daubed him with his spittle, spat on him — and Feǧer became well.

The sorcerers are accustomed to sing: 533 791

Hala b'ali az-zêni Welcome, 'Ali, thou benefactor,
jâ šeǰǰ al-ǰeddêni Chief of my ancestors both;
w-'ali jâ-bu ḥsêni. 'Ali, thou father of Ḥsên.

754 that has thus harmed him. A person having the evil eye is called *madri*, and the person he bewitches *ma'jûn*. A man who [826] lacks both upper eyeteeth or one who has blue eyes is undoubtedly able to bewitch and is therefore carefully avoided by all his acquaintances. If a traveler is seen approaching his tent, he hears from all the neighboring tents: "Avoid the bewitcher's tent! Go to the right, to the right! *Lâ temarr 'ala bejt al-madri jemînak jemînak.*"

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 belonging to human beings would die of hunger there. Camels and horses are not raised by them.

776 Woe to the Bedouin who falls asleep in a region inhabited by the spirits! For if a *ǧânnijje* observes him, she crawls into 828 his body either through his nostrils, forefinger, or big toe, and, as soon as she gets hold of him, she makes him jump ●755 up and run into the desert, whence he can be brought back to his tent only by force. A man so possessed is known as *maḫšûš* or *muharfal*. To cure him, a seer, *râʿ as-sirr*, is called in, who, after working himself into an ecstasy, commands the female spirit to come out: "Crawl out, crawl out! *eṭlaʿî eṭlaʿî*," her answer being: "I will not, I will not crawl out, *mâ-ṭlaʿ*." Then the sorcerer orders his disciples to play louder and faster, he himself circling and dancing round the possessed with increasing vigor, finally lies down upon him and again shouts: "Crawl out and away with thee to the place whence thou camest! *eṭlaʿî maʿ makâneč min alli ǧîti minneh*." It takes some time for a female spirit to be driven out, because a woman is headstrong and will not obey.

A Ḳmâṣi spent a night in some ruins west of the al-ʿAzîb valley and perceived a *ǧânnijje* there, who instantly entered his body. He then ran into the neighboring hills and would not return home when found by his relatives, but threw himself on the ground, struck out at them, and frothed at the mouth. This showed him to be possessed, *maḫšûš*. A sorcerer was sent for. He played over him, *laʿab*, for several days, but the *ǧânnijje* tormented him still more. Then they began to beat him so that blood began to trickle from almost every limb of his body. The beating of a man possessed is permitted, for the blows are not meant for him but for the female spirit, and it is she who feels the pain, not the man. It is observed that the *ǧânnijje* shakes her victim less violently after the beating, and they then beat him only at intervals. On the twenty-fourth day the *ǧânnijje* finally left the bruised body for good, the prolonged beating having proved too much for her. The man, of course, recovered immediately afterwards.

513 The Bedouin does not like to sleep long, as many dangers lurk about him during sleep, not only from men but also from the earthly spirits, and, moreover, sleep reminds him of death. A Bedouin saying is: "He that sleeps one third of the night has done as well as he that sleeps all night, and he that sleeps the whole night will wake up an idiot; *min nâm ṯilṯ al-lejl*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, 758
neǧes, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*: The visitor 831
salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiǧîk*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, [576]
and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have 761
a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-* 777
ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh." The patient gets worse every Wednesday and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṯ-ṯakîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mharfal*. As such they consider the 732
imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalûṯ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur 752
is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot 758
nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent 752
for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* 755
learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧîdijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young 763
children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what 429

CHAPTER XIV

SUPERNATURAL GIFTS

SEERS OR SORCERERS

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●756 Among the Bedouins there are persons, both male and female, who know and see hidden things and are able to heal the sick. The Rwala call them collectively *ahl as-sirr* or *as-serrijje*, and individually *râ' as-sirr*, a lord (or owner) of secrets, seer, whereas they are known among themselves as *aṣḥâb al-islâm*, owners of *islâm*, possessing the protection of God. They maintain that they inherit their supernatural qualities, their *islâm*, from their forefathers and that, therefore, the ability to heal the sick, discover what is hidden, foretell the future, etc., is confined to certain families. This the Rwala refuse to believe and often deride the seers openly. If, however, both the seer's father and grandfather were also known as seers or sorcerers, then the Bedouins may admit the claim to be justified; but they scoff the more at the men and women who, having joined the seer, begin after some time to claim that they too have been endowed by Allâh with the gifts of *islâm*.

The seer maintains that he communicates with an angel, *malak*, who announces to him the will of Allâh. Such an angel, an intermediary between Allâh and the sorcerer, is called *munâbi* or *mnâbi*, spokesman. As a rule the *munâbi* appears in the shape of a rider seated on a white mare. He tells the seer what to proclaim in Allâh's name, and woe to him should he say something different from what the angel told him, *mâ jeḥči kowd ḥači al-malak*, for the angel would kill him on the spot. The *munâbi* simply says: "O So-and-So, this or that is going to happen; this or that thou wilt proclaim; this or that do!" Besides the angel the seer's ancestors also appear to him in the night between Thursday and Friday, instructing him how to behave. Yet neither the angel nor the ancestors ever appear without a thorough preparation on the part of the seer.

Every seer has his disciples, *ṭallâbt as-sirr*, who are taught all the external performances necessary to display if

791 the *munâbi* is to appear. They come to the seer on Thursday
●756 night, accompany him on his visits to the sick and on raids, and join him whenever he commands them. One part of their duty is to carry little drums and other musical instruments,
[789] *dfûf w-šiš* or *dirbâš*. If the sorcerer wants to call the spokesman-angel to him, he beckons to the disciples to play, while he himself squats with his head bent down. After a while he begins to move, stands up, stretches out his hands, jumps about, contorts his body, and puts his hands, feet, and even his head close to the fire, clapping his hands. The Bedouins say of this that he is just playing, *jel'ab*, but his disciples call it yielding to the influence of the *islâm*, ecstasy. When his enthusiasm reaches its climax, either Allâh's spokesman or some of the seer's ancestors appear on the scene. After the climax has subsided, the seer, greatly exhausted, complains that he can do nothing. The Bedouins, however, who cannot be made to believe that this ecstasy is a mere preparation for the angel's appearance, deride the sorcerer, imitate his gestures, and call him one possessed and a juggler. Especially those of the new sorcerers whose ancestors were not known as seers are the target of their ridicule when trying to establish themselves. In this the Rwala are assisted by the acknowledged seers themselves, even by the new seer's temporary master. The new sorcerer is called *marši*, a fool; *masdûf*, bereft of reason; *ǧabel*, feeble-minded; *wâše'eh kejfarân*, full of unbelief; *maṣfûḥ*, drunk; *ma'rûṣ*, one possessed, etc. Should he declare something as the will of Allâh, all will laugh at him, for he could not learn anything from his ancestors who were not seers themselves, and the speaking angel does not know him. Yet even if, after all, he achieves something extraordinary, they say he was helped by some spirit, *ǧânn*, and with such the sorcerers never associate.
[555] However, by perseverance, patience, and courage a sorcerer-to-be in a few years will gain recognition not only from the Bedouins but from the hereditary sorcerers as well. The advance of such a sorcerer's son in his father's calling is, as a matter of course, much easier and speedier.

791 In defense of their honor the seers sometimes resort to
754 curses. They are unable by their own strength to ruin the scoffers, but their ancestors and the spokesman-angel with whom they communicate will ask Allâh to punish those who dare to persecute them. These will die prematurely, their sons

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala.

The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥân as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazel.

The *kurṭa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Ḥeǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ẓab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the aṭ-Ṭawîl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies. 224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena 262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is 825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round 751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of 278 the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink, 757 assuages fever.

136 The *'aḳâb*, eagle. Not even a *bâšeḳ*, nor a *ǧeleme*, nor the falcon itself is safe from the *'aḳejb al-ǧerdân* species.

223 825 757 The *nisr* (pl., *nsûr*), vulture, especially the *ḥabaši* species, is shot and eaten, for its flesh is healthful. Seven pieces of its flesh dried in the sun are the best remedy for rheumatism and hemorrhoids. The patient should eat these seven pieces at once, cover himself with seven quilts, and sweat, and Allâh will help him.

136 825 The *raḫama* (*Vultur perenopterus*) migrates at the beginning of the autumn rains and does not return until the beginning of the *smâk* season. The Bedouins greet its return with joy, for they know that within ten or fifteen days there will be warmer weather. The *raḫama* is unwilling to give up its booty and exerts all its strength to get possession of it. Hence the saying: "So and so craves for something like a *raḫama*. *twaḫḫam twaḫmet ar-raḫama*."

The *sa'adi* or *abu sa'ad* is the stork.

The *ṛarḳ* is a water bird.

The *ṛurâb*, raven, is found in three varieties: the *zâṛ al-baḳ'*, the smallest, is black with a bluish or greenish luster on its chest; the *ǧab'a*, somewhat larger, has a short tail and very tasty flesh; the *ṛurâb al-'aḳ'aḳ* is the largest. All three species accompany the camels far into the desert and from them they pick ticks, *ḳarâd*, and the larvae of the gadfly, *ḥeleme*; but they also gnaw at the blisters under the saddle, and for this reason the herdsmen drive them away. If they see a raven settling on a camel, they call to it: "Fly away into the inhabited regions! *ṛarreb ṛarreb*." Or: "Beware of the awl! The awl will prick thy throat! *mḫejriz jibeṭṭ leḥâtak*!"

777 825 If a man undertakes an important journey and observes a single raven, he laments: "Oh! weary with weeping is the eye of him whom a single raven has approached. *jâ ḳard al-'ejn min ǧâḥ al-ṛurâb wḥîd*." He knows that he will have bad luck, and therefore he will prefer to return. If, however, he sees two ravens, he exults: "Oh! blissful is the eye of him whom two ravens have approached. *jâ ḥaẓẓ al-'ejn min ǧansah al-ṛurâbên*."

539 825 The young ravens are more wary than the old ones. An ancient raven was giving instruction to its great-grandson: "My son, do not trust people. If thou perceivest a man approaching thee, fly away as soon as he bends down. He might

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

are always led by their mother, while their father walks behind them and protects them from wolves, hyenas, and *nsûr*. The ostrich has very bad hearing; on the other hand its sight is excellent. It is easiest to hunt near its nest. When there is no wind the spoor of the ostrich is very plain in the sand. The hunter follows it, hides behind every shrub, crawls on his stomach, and so draws near to the bird. If the male observes from a distance any suspicious movement of the shrub or the hunter, it flees with the whole flock, which cannot be overtaken in the sand even by the swiftest horse. Near the nest the hunter can fire at the birds he is stalking. The fat of the ostrich, known as *zihem*, is a remedy for various diseases.

The *ḳandara* is a pinkish bird about the size of a hen. It flies badly and runs in a clumsy manner. It is found solely in the Nefûd, especially on the precipitous slopes of the pits.

The *ḳaṭra* is larger than the *ḥabâra*. It flies very little. If attacked by the falcon, it lies on its back and defends itself with its claws.

The *ṭarše* is a dark bird the size of a small duck. It lives only in pairs in al-Ḥamâd. It has no sense of hearing.

The *bawwa* is half the size of the *ḳandara*. Two varieties live in al-Ḥamâd, of which the darker and larger is the *kidri*.

The *ḳaṭa'*, sand grouse, is found in the interior of the desert only as long as the various natural reservoirs are filled with rain water. When these dry up, it migrates to the edge of the desert about a hundred kilometers distant from permanent water The *ḳaṭa'*, *ḥaǧal* (see next page), and the pigeon are the only birds which regularly drink water after sunrise and before sunset. The *ḳaṭa'* never lays eggs near a watering place, but in a remote valley covered with grass and bushes. It digs a tiny hole alongside a shrub, and the female lays three or four eggs, gray in color with dark spots, the size of a pigeon's egg. The birds leave their nests only when flying to the watering place; otherwise they always keep close by them. In such valleys there are usually at least a thousand nests. When the young are hatched they run about like countless tiny chickens and search for seeds. The *ḳaṭa'* never flies alone, but always in flocks. If the flock does not contain more than ten birds, it is known as *firs*; otherwise as *raff*. The Bedouins express surprise that the *ḳaṭa'*, when flying to a watering place — even though it may be a hundred kilometers

539* 825 dug dens for himself and his numerous family. To the rest of his subjects he said nothing. When he used to come from his work into the assembly, his whole forehead was gray with dust and clay. His companions asked him: "What makes thy forehead gray?" "Constant praying, during which I touch the earth as is prescribed." One day the guards who had been posted on the boundary came running up, shouting: "The Arabs are approaching with dogs and weapons." *Abu ḥamad* and his family at once hid themselves in the dens which had been prepared, so that none of them perished.

136 825 The Rwala divide serpents into *ḥajje* and *dâbb*, the former being any short snake and the latter any long serpent, irrespective of whether it is venomous or not. In poetry the latter appellation is always used for venomous serpents. Of the short serpents they are afraid of the viper, *efâ'i*, which is found in the rocky desert, as well as of the *batra* and the *ḥaẓaf*, which live in the sandy desert. The latter crawl out only by night. During the daytime they dig themselves into the sand, so that the tips of their heads alone project.

Of the long serpents the *ḥaniš* is particularly venomous. It is one meter long, covered with patches of color, and swims in pools of rain water.

[757 262] The skin shed by a serpent, *silb*, serves as a remedy for various diseases of the eye. The Rwala all eat the long serpents. The flesh of the short snakes they give to camels suffering from the disorder of the stomach known as *rošš* and from caries, *rasîs*.

The *ḥarḏawn*, chameleon, basks in sunny spots and nods its head at passers-by.

The *ab-aṭ-ṭhejḥ* is smaller than the *ḥarḏawn*. It lives exclusively in the Nefûd, where it hides in the sand, leaving its head alone uncovered.

[278] The *malas*, a reptile similar to the *ḥarḏawn*, is found likewise in the Nefûd. It is spotted with red and black patches. Its flesh dried in the sun and ground to powder is eaten by impotent old men.

The *solejmâni* (or *ǧlejmâni*) and the *ḥabananijje* are harmless lizards.

136 825 The *ba'erṣi* (or *brejṣi*) is a venomous lizard of the Nefûd. When a man is bitten by this lizard, he becomes very restless. He cannot remain in one place. If he is lying in the shade, he craves for the sun, and if he is carried into the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḫama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled. 825 492 [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'dwdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of 787 721

CHAPTER XXIII

DEATH AND AFTER DEATH

DISEASES AND WOUNDS

165 Few Rwala reach a very old age. More than four-fifths of the men either fall in war or perish in consequence of wounds received,
164 while the women die mostly when suckling their babies. Such women as survive this period generally grow to be very old. From diseases the Rwala suffer chiefly in the months of July and August, when they camp in the neighborhood of Damascus, in al-Ruta, Gowlan, al-Mzerib, and Kerajat al-Meleh (the vicinity of Etra and Caf). Kerajat al-Meleh are notorious for their ague, hemma, and malaria, shune; in al-Guba the flies are a real pest; likewise the strong winds which blow there all the time, whirling up the fine sand and dust, are very injurious to the eyes. All these districts are called bilad mabijje by the Rwala, who therefore prefer to camp in either the Nefud or al-Hamad, where the atmosphere is both clear and salubrious, bilad 'adijje.

The following are the diseases most universally known.

164 Hubta: pains in the spine and the head combined with a strong
757 fever. The patient wants to lie only on the flat of his back. For a cure he is burnt with a red-hot iron about the head and temples. This occurs most frequently in winter.

Gederi: smallpox. Treated with red clay diluted in water, which is then poured into the patient's eyes. This disease breaks out towards the end of the sferi season (October--December).

Sarba: pains in the stomach combined with fever and endless thirst. Its cure: the root of the nose is cut through so that it bleeds profusely, and the shoulders are burnt all over. Sometimes a thick thread is pulled through the skin of the shoulder and left there until the wound suppurates. The disease appears in winter, especially after one drinks cold water.

Mwallje: pains in the intestines, accompanied by swelling; also the abdomen hardens. It is treated by laxatives;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

appears mostly in summer, eating of meat being most frequently the cause. 164 757

Ḥemma: ague. The cure: burning about the neck. Appears in midsummer.

Sḫûne: a violent fever; lasts two or three days, ceases for a while, and reappears in the months of July, August, and September. The cure: drinking tamarind water.

Ḥeben: ulcers. They are treated with poultices of the *ḥaltîta* and *mbâraka* drugs till the pus flows out.

Šoṭob: hemorrhoids. The cure: a piece of clay is kneaded, shaped like a large nail, allowed to dry, burned to a white heat, and then inserted into the rectum in order to burn out the hemorrhoids.

Riḥ: rheumatic pains, especially in the *ǯferi* season (October—December). The afflicted limb is burnt for a cure.

Ramad: diseases of the eye. The cure: *ḳoṣt al-eḫt* or *ḳaṭra* and *twejtijjân* drugs are bought, crushed, mixed with woman's milk, and applied to the eye.

Aba ẓhejr: pains in the small of the back compelling the afflicted person to walk with a stoop. It is treated with burning about the small of the back.

Sâbe': chronic fever combined with headache; otherwise the patient feels well but has no appetite, grows thin and weak, and finally dies. This is treated by burning from the nape of the neck across the top of the head down to the nose.

Ḥubejǧe: measles. The cure: dates mixed with pepper and butter warmed up and given the patient to eat. Occurs mostly in winter.

'Akankaš: eruption on parts of the body, with itching of the skin. This is treated by drinking the *ḥebbḥâr* and *ṭûm* drugs in milk. It occurs in the months of January and February.

'Anḳûd: a severe cough accompanied by vomiting, *jaǧdef*. As a cure the sick man drinks asses' milk. Occurs mostly in winter.

Aba waǧh: stiffness of some part of the face. As a cure they burn the corners of the mouth and stick three lead balls under the skin of the part of the face affected, which is then covered with a red cloth.

Lwêṛef: venereal disease. Cured by inhaling the smoke of some drug strewn over hot coals. It is very rare among the Rwala.

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757 On falling sick a Rwejli instantly ties into his hair or to his head rope some red or green thread as a preventive, *heğâb*, against pain. If he gets worse and the home remedies will no longer suffice, his relatives send for a seer, *ṣâheb as-sirr*, entreating him to come and help the patient. A she-camel is promised to Allâh as a sacrifice for restoring health to their sick relative in these words: "O thou face of Allâh, if thou curest this man and liberatest him from the captivity of his disease, I will give thee this she-camel in sacrifice; *jâ waǧh allâh in ṭajjebt hal-walad w-fakkejteh min hal-maraz ilak hal-ǧezûr.*"

752 Fractures are healed by a Bedouin versed in the art. He sets the broken bone, lays the limb between narrow boards, and then packs it round with dough made of barley flour, salt, and eggs, or lacking these of tragacanth, *helbe*. This composition hardens like rock. After the expiration of twenty-five days the bandage is loosened but it is not removed until after forty days. During that time the patient must not eat anything sweet and is fed on meat only, or, if that cannot be had, on milk.

752 757 A small wound is called *ṣwâb*, a large one *ǧurḥ*. The wounded man, *ṣawîb*, is assigned a separate corner in the tent always on the windward side, so that no bad odor can reach him. Any scent, *rîḥa*, opens the wound anew, increasing the pain and swelling, *tirfer* or *tizerr*. Harmless are the odors of tar, *ḳuṭrân*, and the drugs of *ḥantîta*, *ǧawelijje*, *ebhel*, *se'ed*, *hawağawwa*, *'ûd al-hawa*, *ḍamm al-eḫwên*, the smoke from the camel manure, *ǧelle*, tobacco smoke, and sulphur. The wounded person stops his nose with the *ḳejṭarân* or *ḥantîta* drug as a protection against injurious odors. Also he must deny himself sweet dishes, which according to the local belief would cause the wound to fester, *jiddi*, still more. At first soap is applied to the wound, later the *subl* drug. The urine of little children, *bowl al-wurdân*, is used in cleaning wounds. [821] As the wound could not heal if reached by the light of stars, the couch of the wounded person is curtained on all sides by clothing and carpets, and he must not leave it even to satisfy his natural wants. If it is intended to camp in the same place for some length of time, a separate small tent is put up for the patient, closed on all sides, *heğra*, and at some distance 752 from the camp. Visitors sit round the tent and converse with 758 him, but no one will go inside except his nearest relative. For 831 there might be a visitor who, having just had sexual inter-

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and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

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a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednes- 777
day and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṯ-ṯakîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeh al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mharfal*. As such they consider the 732
imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalṯṯ*, bites, *ji'aṛṛ*, a man, sulphur 752
is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot 758
nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent 752
for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* 755
learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nukra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧîdijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young 763
children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what 429

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CHAPTER XIII

OMENS

NATURAL PHENOMENA AS OMENS

The Bedouin does not think deeply on religious matters and follows no rules in his religious observances. Nevertheless, he guides himself in all his social and private undertakings by certain fixed customs, observes the various natural phenomena, and pays heed to internal impulses and dreams which he holds to be signs or warnings sent to him by spiritual beings who wish him either good or ill. He is a firm believer in the existence of spirits and thinks it absolutely necessary to do all that is agreeable and avoid what is disagreeable to them. Woe to him, if he should anger them! To do so would frustrate all his undertakings. And anger them he would, should he not be careful in his words and actions nor give due regard to days of portent and certain signs both visible and invisible.

When a Rwejli despatches a man on an affair of importance, he must not use the word *"Ruḥ,"* "Go!" or "Run!" He must not say: "Ride in the direction of the settlement of Baḳ'a" or "of the al-Lmât wells." All these words invite death. For the verb *râḥ, ruḥ*, is used in connection with death or departure from this world. *Baḳ'a'* signifies a violent death, and *al-lmât* also reminds one of destruction, or death. Therefore they are likely to say *"Erked"* for "Go!" or "Run," instead of *ruḥ* and to substitute for the topographical names Baḳ'a' or al-Lmât the term Ṭajjebt Ism, which, referring to a settlement or a well, means "the name is a good omen."

More important matters the Rwejli prefers to leave either till noon or at least till the dew has fully departed or to despatch them before the fresh dew has fallen. These times of the day he considers the most favorable, because the spirits are then resting. But there is no day without some meaning attached to it — it is either suitable for an undertaking or not. These significations are called *waǧba* or *waǧḥ*; the favorable ones being *zên*, the unfavorable *šên*. The best days on

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bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḥama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled. 825 492 [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'âuḍi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of 787 721

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hang the cradle, *rûğâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sar'a* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *sa'aluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurki*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the 'Ebede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *sa'aluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûz* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it. *ḥakk al-ḳârûz*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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which they kill with the words: "O Allâh, this is the supper of our deceased." Or they take a small piece of bread and a bit of butter, throw and drop them into the fire, and say: "O Allâh, this belongs to our dead." 765

He who passes by the burial place of a person dear to him can do him much good if, taking a pebble from his grave, he says: "I take this in order to lighten the soul of So-and-So. May Allâh have mercy on him. *An-âḫeḏ hâḏa muḫaffefen 'an rûḥ flân allâh jarḥameh.*"

That which keeps life in both man and beast is called *nefes*, *nesem*, or *rûḥ*. The *nefes* (or *nesem*) of both the man and the animal is alike, *wâḥed*. Whether the *nesem* of an animal ever dies is known to Allâh alone, yet, in all probability, not even an animal will die completely but will go with the man either to paradise or to hell, because animals live merely for man. The *nefes*, *nesem*, or *rûḥ* are put into the man as well as into the animal by Allâh. As long as the child lies in its mother's womb, it has no *nefes*, but the moment its head comes out at birth, Allâh opens its nostrils, *jeftaḥ allâh ḫšûmeh* or *manâḫereh*, and puts the *nefes* into its body, *jeḏḫel an-nesem beh*. This *nesem* had never before been in any other living being, for Allâh creates an entirely new *nesem* in every case. 774 761

Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i told me that every living man has a soul, *nesem*. If there were no soul, he would not live. The soul cannot be seen but can be heard, being identical with the breath, *ar-rûḥ hiw an-nesem*. The soul of the first man was breathed by Allâh into the nostrils, hence the human soul originates from Allâh's breath. This original soul exists in human beings to this day, because Allâh not only did not take it away from them but is still augmenting it. When a child is born, it receives the *nesem* from its mother, to whom Allâh adds from his own breath every time she conceives. The *nesem* dwells in the man's inside, *bečabdeh wa-bṣadreh*. On the man's death the soul leaves his body through the nostrils, returns to Allâh, and waits till another mother conceives a man, *insi*, when Allâh will add the waiting soul to that of the mother. 774 775

As long as there is a *nesem* in the man, he lives: *illi nesemeh beh ḥajj*, but when it leaves his body, he dies. The *nesem* departs through his nostrils, *jeṭla' min al-manḫar*. After his death the deceased is suspended in the air above his grave, head upwards. His *nesem* floats over his head. 775

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. 836 As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help 847 her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should 762 the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as ● the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often [693 commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that 684] his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *ahl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. 848 Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it 851 would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its 783 illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs 836 of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḥef min allâh.*"

684 Only when the girl has been raped, *marṭûba*, will her 847 relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the [848] murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot be left alive, as it would have no kin, *ahl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

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726 Our leader slipped from his *dhalul* and called back joyously: "Jirad ibn Jeneyb!" It was one of the *shiyukhs* of the Beni Sakhr, and an old acquaintance of Faris.

726 619 In a trice the Beni Sakhr broke cover and pressed about us. We were deluged with questions as they led us to their camp, a few hours' distant. On the way Faris told them of the capture of a scout of their tribe and of our peaceable journey of inquiry into their grazing-grounds. Ever and again Ibn Jeneyb protested that the Beni Sakhr were at "unclouded peace" with the Ruala and that the captured spy must be a robber and an outcast from the tribe, who wanted to plunder the Ruala on his own account.

[486] When we had dismounted in his camp, Ibn Jeneyb had a camel slaughtered before our eyes. A slave caught its blood in a bowl. He then tore up a bunch of herbs, dipped it in the blood, and with this brush painted the tribal emblem on the necks and flanks of our riding-camels. This was to serve, as it were, as a guarantee of our peaceful intentions and as a safe conduct among the rest of the Beni Sakhr.

A small detachment of them were still pursuing Bedouins of the northwestern lava region, who had broken into the Wadi Sirhan and, the day before, had fallen on Beni Sakhr herders, grazing their camels. The raiders lost one dead—it was his corpse we had found—while the Beni Sakhr had two men wounded.

●763 I visited these wounded men and found one of them, with two ghastly bullet wounds in his chest and abdomen, lying at the point of death. I did my best to save him—I had my case of surgical instruments, mor-

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●763 phine and bandages with me—but it was too late to help. I could do no more than ease his last hours by alleviating his pain. He could not have been over forty. Friends carried him presently the short distance to Ibn Jeneyb's 763 tent and laid him down there. Then a slave led up a 231 handsome riding-camel. It was touching to see how the intelligent animal seemed to sense that its master was dying. It caressed him repeatedly, and with large, anxious eyes circled round, touching the strange men with its slit lips and its soft silky nostrils.

The dying man was speaking to Ibn Jeneyb, his chieftain, when a severe hæmorrhage caused him to faint. When he came to again, he whispered some words to the slave; and before I could take in what was happening, the Negro, bending back the camel's head, killed it with a lightning plunge of his dagger into the jugular vein.

Other slaves immediately skinned the animal and spread out the hide, the bloody side up, before the tent. Then they undressed the dying man and laid him on it. His last wish had been to be buried in the skin of his cherished *dhalul*, and the thought that his wish was to be realized made him happy as he lay dying. But I was not the only one to regret the purposeless death of the splendid animal.

When, toward evening, the man had breathed his last, four or five of the watchers, his friends, got up, one after another, and lightly touched his forehead with their finger-tips. Ibn Jeneyb, who knelt beside the dead man, put his hand under his left armpit; after a while he called out: "In truth, he is cold!"

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763 [764] Getting up hastily, he folded the wet, bloody winding-sheet over the corpse and directed his slaves to dig a grave for him in the sand. Without ceremony or any show of emotion, it was borne away and given into the keeping of the earth.

619 After parting from the Beni Sakhr, we moved back by slow marches toward the hill lands of Bir Hausa, which abound in game.

At the wells we fell in with camel-riders watering a herd. They were Sharrarat, and friendly to the Ruala—luckily, as it turned out. They helped us to draw water from the holes fifty feet deep; and in the evening we withdrew with them into the protecting hills, camping in a rocky hollow, with sentries posted on the black pinnacles. The stars sparkled down on us as we ate supper. [262] It consisted of the roasted flesh of a camel calf, very tender, crisp bread-cakes and fresh camel milk, followed by the customary "dessert" of dates mixed with sour sheep butter. It was after midnight before we rolled up in our cloaks, each man with his loaded carbine under his head. For we did not completely trust the Sharrarat, even though we had eaten and drunk together and they lived under Nuri Sha'lan's "heel." But the night passed peacefully, and on the morrow, after we had exchanged trifling presents, we bade good-bye to our hosts.

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000 the men's rifles, revolvers, and ammunition. They all had been slaves of Rakan.

Meanwhile, it had become nearly dark. My eyes strayed to the tragic vehicle loaded with our dead and with Faris, as I thought, lying beside it, perhaps dying. Still and ghostlike it loomed in the gloaming. But, was I dreaming? Faris, whom we had left lying on the ground unconscious, was sitting in the front of our car!

He raised his hand and waved it at us! It was no hallucination! I left Mijhem standing there and ran to Faris.

When I sat down beside him, he slowly extended his right arm and laid it over my shoulder. So he leaned on me; and we rested awhile, side by side. I had switched on the lights on our instrument-board, and a faint glow fell on his pallid face. A sickly, sweet odour came from his blood-soaked garments. He tried to speak, but he was in much pain and could barely draw his bloodless lips away from his teeth.

When Mijhem had come back, we made ready to get under way. With some trouble we got our engine going. One of our head-lamps still worked and could be lighted; the other one had been shot to pieces.

•763 I wanted to drive Faris straight to Damascus, where there was a number of French surgeons, one of whom I knew. But he only shook his head and begged us to carry him to his family and Tuēma. He was convinced he had only a short time to live and that no physician could help him.

I, too, had little hope of his recovery and ceased to persuade, feeling loath to assume the responsibility for

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his death far from his kin and without having seen his beloved one again.

"If we go now," said Faris, with pleading voice, "God will extend my time so that I may see Tuēma, and take her as my wife. And so I shall raise a 'name' to honour my father's house, even if it please God to take me away."

Faris—the true Ishmaelite!

Bedouins (and for that matter the Wahabees also) do not honour the tombs of their dead, but they revere the wombs of the living as blessed.

So we resolved to do the will of Faris. But, before setting our faces homeward, we drove to the Saba car and its three dead. We removed a good tyre and some parts, which Mijhem thriftily thought could be put to use, and also poured most of its petrol into our tank. What remained Mijhem splashed over the car and then set fire to it. As we drove away into the night, this funeral pyre lit up the dark desert and its unseen horrors.

We drove slowly and carefully,—it was morning when we came in sight of the Ruala camp.

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XX

"The Cloud in My Eyes"

●763 THE SUN HAD just risen when, from a ridge, we saw the black tents in the valleys between gently undulating hills. Some camel herds were already stringing out to pasture. I stopped the car and we looked at the peaceful scene spread out before us. The world could not be more beautiful than it was that morning.

On Faris's face lay the same still light that glorified the land. His eyes shone as with the gleam of a new light; and I was happy to bring him home.

To-day he looked on everything with the eyes of one about to say farewell. What at other times he hardly noticed, to-day he regarded with wonder, as if he saw it for the first time.

He asked me if I thought that the "other" life would be like this earthly one.

"Yes!" I replied. "But it is a life of peace and not of strife."

He looked at his bloodless hands. "Once upon a time they were strong," he said, "but now no strength is left in them. They are yellow like ripe seed. They will be laid in the earth." He looked into my face and said earnestly in a low voice: "Let us go to Tuēma."

As we made our way through the camp of the tribal division to which Faris belonged, a grave-faced throng pressed round our car and in silence accompanied it to his father's dwelling. Supported only by me and holding

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 his head high, Faris dragged himself from the car to the tent. He would show no weakness. But the deathly pallor of his face betrayed his sad condition. There were also Mnahi's wound-dressings and the shot-riddled car to tell their tale. But though hundreds crowded close, grown-ups and children, and looked at us with anxious and inquiring eyes, not a mouth was opened to put a question. The very dogs, usually so joyful and vociferous on the return of a party, were silent; they only snuffed the blood-stained car, laid back their ears, and slunk off as if they had received a beating.

Faris's father, informed of the disaster by the word that had flown from tent-row to tent-row, came in gravely and sat down beside his stricken son. It cost him a terrible effort to preserve the appearance of composure prescribed by the Bedouin code. He made no inquiry as to his son's condition until after coffee had been handed round, and even then he could only ask, according to established usage: "God willing, Faris, mayst thou stay with us?"

"I am alive, Father, God be praised! And there is peace."

"Peace?" asked Naif and some others in obvious surprise.

"Ibn Meheyd proclaimed peace in the council of his *shiyukhs*. Yesterday he had already removed his herds to the northern grazing-grounds."

"Peace—peace!" The cry of "Peace" ran through the tent and swelled outside into a chorus—"There is peace—we may move on!"

Behind Faris knelt his little sister and the small sons

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763 of Tra'd ibn Sattam. Tears ran down the children's faces, but they bit their lips. Now our adventures were related, to the accompaniment of the free comments of the company. With incredible self-mastery, Faris, marked by death, sought to hide his sufferings and take part in the general conversation, which ran on and on. Every little detail of the fighting was threshed out in cold blood, and Faris's inevitable fate was discussed with (to anyone of the Western world) cruel disregard of his feelings.

This discussion lasted two hours. When the company finally rose, Faris also tried to get up; but a severe hæmorrhage threw him back on his couch, and he 763 fainted. His mother was sent for. When he came to, she 593 was kneeling at his side, with his hands in hers; and one could see she was hungering for a look from him. "My son!" she whispered, and kissed him, her face streaming with tears.

When Faris's still-wandering eyes saw her so convulsed with grief, his face quivered. "Who is this woman?" he said, propping himself on his elbow. "Take her away! I don't know her."

The slaves looked at one another uncertainly.

"Take her outside!" Faris called to them again. Then I took the poor woman by the arm and, with some words of consolation, led her from the tent. But at the entrance of the tent she wrenched herself from me, ran [782] back and threw herself at Faris's feet. With both hands she gathered dust from the ground and poured it on her head and cried to God to preserve her son.

Faris touched her bent head and said:

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"Go, Mother! God will give thee strength. I would have only happy faces about me. Nay, have I lived in order to be afraid of death?" 763 593

He motioned to me to lead his mother away.

When I came out of the woman's tent, a rider on a sorrel horse came galloping from another camp at the lower end of the valley and I waited. It was Tuëma, as I had thought. 763

Her whole body trembled and her voice was choked with tears. I tried to calm her and told her of what had passed between Faris and his mother. At this she pulled herself together and kissed my hands and pressed them to her wet eyes.

"What shall I do, Aziz?" she asked.

"Make his last hours cheerful, Tuëma. Show him that you are happy. That is all."

"Go thou before me," she begged, and tried to smile; but the tears rolled down her cheeks.

"Go before me," she repeated. "I want first to dispel the cloud from my eyes."

It had been decided that the marriage of Faris and Tuëma should take place that very evening. He had been inquiring after her with growing impatience. When I told him the glad news that Tuëma had come and would be with him at any moment, he begged first to see his mother again.

I went myself to the women's quarters to bring her. Her grief had made her a frail wraithlike creature: she walked with uncertain steps, but was more composed. She knelt down by Faris's couch. He put his arms round his beloved mother, and hugged her to his breast. Tears

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763 came into his eyes and they seemed to soothe the mother's pain.

She sat bolt upright by her son's side, arranged his clothes and cushions and replaited his long, thick tresses, which some words of jest about him and his beloved Tuëma. When she had finished, she left again, leaning on my arm, and from the threshold called out to her son that she would now send in Tuëma.

We had arranged a broad comfortable couch for Faris and partitioned it off with curtains; but one of them, according to the direction of the wind, was always drawn back, so that Faris, resting with the upper part of his body propped up, could look out.

A smile of happiness mingled with surprise suddenly lit up his face. Tuëma had come in. She had paused at the threshold with a smothered cry and a look of horror in her face at her lover's helpless plight. But so quickly had she mastered herself that I hardly noticed her emotion, and Faris saw only a smiling face as she moved to his bedside. Her silver bangles tinkled faintly. "Faris! Faris! My Life!" she exclaimed, dropping on her knees; and, twining her arms about his neck, she stroked and caressed his face and body.

When she kissed him, I noticed that her mouth was stained with his blood; but she kept her lips firmly pressed to his, so that he should not see that blood was trickling from his mouth on to her neck.

585 Shortly before sundown the tent began to fill with relatives and friends, who had been invited as witnesses to the wedding.

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CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

763

The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *ḳṭâṣa bêṣa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ*." Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ*." The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl*.

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The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits.

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *aḥl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[1]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṭred w-jentared*. The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥeṭṭ*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *aḥl as-saṭwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *ṭallâbt addamm*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dâmijje*. The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[1] See above, pp. 67—68.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, 758
neǧes, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*: The visitor 831
salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jîǧik*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, [576]
and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have 761
a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-* 777
ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh." The patient gets worse every Wednesday and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṯ-ṯaḳîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mharfal*. As such they consider the 732
imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *ǒalb mṛalûṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur 752
is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot 758
nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent 752
for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* 755
learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧîdijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young 763
children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what 429

783 Allah will write to me, therefore, behold, I put my children and
429 my estate like the ring of a turtle dove's neck from my neck on thy neck. In the high station /before Allah/ I shall inquire of thee about them. "Ja flan ana ma-dri was allah jaktob 'alejji mar tara 'ejali w-halali towk hamamaten min rukubti birkubtak ansedk 'anhom bel-makez al-'asim."

The answer will be: "I shall take thy place. May Allah have mercy on thee. 'Ana lak bel-makan allah jarhamk."

In the absence of him whom he would lide to appoint as guardia the sick man will declare before one or two men: "O ye, X and Y, I ask you to witness that I put my children on the neck of So-and-So."

/567/ In the majority of cases the sick man prefers to appoint a faithful slave to the guardianship. Sometimes he also names the camels which are to go to one or other of his children and what she-camel he wishes to be sacrificed for him. However, any of his stipulations may be annulled by his first-born son. Neither the father nor the mother give their children any last advice.

DEATH

764 Water is dropped into a dying person's mouth without my words. They do not close the eyes of the dead, nor stop his nostrils, dead bodi
/767/ being carefully avoided by the Rwala. If they camp near a settlement, or some fellahin happen to be with them at the time, they hire them t bury the dead. Rubbing the body over with a wet cloth, they wrap it in its shirt, or when that is torn they lay it on a piece of white linen, cover it with the same material, then sew both pieces in three places, load the body thus enshrouded on a mule and carry it to the grave. This must be deeper for a woman than for a man. Its depth for a woman must be such that even the breast could not be seen if the body were placed upright; for the man its depth is only to his knees when in a standing posture. A stone is put under the head and the body is laid invariably with its right side downwards and facing south. Covering it then with a few stones they shovel in the excavated earth. For a man two stones, nasajeb, are raised above the grave, one for a woman. One and a half megidije ($ 1.35) is paid to the grave-digger for this work. In the inner desert a grave about twenty-five centimeters deep is dug

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

763 Getting up hastily, he folded the wet, bloody winding-
[764] sheet over the corpse and directed his slaves to dig a grave for him in the sand. Without ceremony or any show of emotion, it was borne away and given into the keeping of the earth.

619 After parting from the Beni Sakhr, we moved back by slow marches toward the hill lands of Bir Hausa, which abound in game.

At the wells we fell in with camel-riders watering a herd. They were Sharrarat, and friendly to the Ruala—luckily, as it turned out. They helped us to draw water from the holes fifty feet deep; and in the evening we withdrew with them into the protecting hills, camping in a rocky hollow, with sentries posted on the black pinnacles. The stars sparkled down on us as we ate sup-
[262] per. It consisted of the roasted flesh of a camel calf, very tender, crisp bread-cakes and fresh camel milk, followed by the customary "dessert" of dates mixed with sour sheep butter. It was after midnight before we rolled up in our cloaks, each man with his loaded carbine under his head. For we did not completely trust the Sharrarat, even though we had eaten and drunk together and they lived under Nuri Sha'lan's "heel." But the night passed peacefully, and on the morrow, after we had exchanged trifling presents, we bade good-bye to our hosts.

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into the harem, to wait there until her bridegroom should call her. 585

Therewith the simple wedding ceremony was ended. We, who had been with Faris to witness the arrival of the bride, now rose to go.

The first stars were glittering over the hills when I stepped outside. The black tents in the valley melted into the deepening darkness of the evening.

The herds were wending their way homeward, their silhouettes now showing as they cross high ground, now sinking out of sight in the hollows. . . .

As my friends departed from the tent, each called out to Faris, according to Bedouin custom: "Vigour! And God be with thee!" [576]

Behind the partition that closed off the women's apartment Tuēma was waiting for our going. When the last farewell was uttered, she pulled the middle tent-pole from its position and laid it on the ground. The roof bulged and drooped low in the middle, almost touching Faris's couch, but the lateral supports and the taut stays kept the rest of the tent fixed at about a man's height. It was the sign to any passer-by that a bride was with her bridegroom.

That night Faris died. When we came to his tent next morning, Tuēma was lying unconscious beside her dead lover. 764

A stone's-throw from the tent a few slaves were busy digging his grave.

As we committed our dear brother, lying on the white

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

764 fleece, into the keeping of the desert, the women looked on from a distance and bewailed the dead. Their hair was dishevelled and with smoke-black from their hearths they had painted signs of mourning on their faces.

Tuëma stood silent among them. The red cloak of camel-hair flowed from her shoulders. Her head was held high, but in her eyes were tears and a look of ineffable pain.

Once more the sun rose and beamed over the land. The tent-poles dropped and the Ruala marched on. . . .

765 The living strode over the dead, marching on into the young morning to new pastures and to new life. . . .

Once more I rode on Sadha to the mound where we had buried Faris. It had already become a solitary thing —insignificant in the vast wilderness. A dog which lay on the grave slunk away at my approach. A bunch of white ostrich feathers was stuck between three fire-blackened stones which, the evening before, had formed Tuëma's hearth. This was her farewell to her lover. A gust of wind broke off one "flower" from this unfading wreath and blew it over the ground. I got off my mare to pick up this broken white feather and to keep it in memory of my dear friend.

I remounted and rode on, but presently pulled rein again and looked back. The lonely dog had returned to the grave: he turned round and round and finally lay down, curled up as if in sleep. He was mourning his dead master. Nobody minded him, nobody looked for

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831x 539x

Composed by Fejḥân eben Žâ'ed eben Zrejbân, the chief of the Dowšân clan of the Mṭejr tribe in Neǧd. The reciters were Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb, 'Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, and Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd. In one of the camps which he rode through when returning from a raid Fejḥân happened to see a woman whose beauty dazzled him. For months he tried to forget her but in vain. Then he sent this poem to his friend 'Abdallâh eben Sbejjel, who was living in the settlement of Nefi, which is tributary to the Dowšân, with a request to find her camp and also to inquire whether the woman would marry him.

Verse 1. Fejḥân's messenger accompanied a large caravan, called *ḥadra*, which had set out from the inner desert for the lower Euphrates to buy food, clothing, and ammunition. 2. Traveling in the *ḳejẓ* season, midsummer, is most fatiguing for the she-camels. *Saneden*, they went up, signifies that the caravan was already on its way back, because the trip towards the Euphrates is expressed by the verb *ḥadaren*, they went down. Mrêṭbe and aṭ-Ṭanâdi are large watering places near the settlement where 'Abdallâh was then living. 3. 'Abdallâh furnished the Dowšân and their chief with everything they needed. Every large clan has a purveyor of this kind. 7. Iblîs is the tempting angel, not Satan. 8. In many tribes it is customary to pick up a pebble from the grave of a friend and to throw it aside so as to lighten the burden. On the grave of a girl or woman they also lay the three stones, *ḥwâdi*, that held the kettle in which the deceased cooked in her last days. Another custom is to sacrifice a goat or sheep on the grave; some then smear the stones with the blood of the sacrificed animal, others strew over them a handful of sand.

[763] [764]

1. *Jâ fâṭri ḥobbi maḥâri ṭomijje*
   jowm eǧlaḥazzat miṯl ḥadd al-ḥṣâni
2. *ḥobbi ṭomijje w-al-fejâẓ al-'aḍijje*
   w-tanaḥḥeri berzân zejn al-mebâni
3. *ana ḳẓejt al-lâzem alli 'alejje*
   al-lâzem alli mâ ḳẓâh al-hedâni
4. *al-ǧedi ḥaṭṭejteh bwarč al-maṭijje*
   w-mutnaḥḥeren jamm shejl al-jemâni
5. *bâri nîdûr aṭ-ṭiflet al-'aswaǧijje*
   rîḥat nesemha čazebâd al-'omâni
6. *mâ li 'ala-ṭ-ṭajjeb w-lâ leh 'alejje*
   allâh jelûm ṣwejḥebi mâ tanâni'

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whom public opinion considers to be a saint, they never pay attention to these domes. In their opinion the latter commemorate the saints of the settlers and breeders of goats and sheep, *ri'* or *šwája*, not of the Bedouins. They say: "They are not of our kin, *ahl*, not of us, *ǧemâ'atna*, therefore we do not honor them or go on pilgrimage to them, *ḥenna alli má hw minna má nezûreh*."

Worship of the saints has never been known among the Rwala and presumably never will be. The hereafter does not trouble the Bedouins much, and their idea of it is only hazy; nor have they any permanent burying places, *meǧenne*, but bury their dead wherever death overtakes them. They therefore do not know and never visit individual graves. This is often due to the great distance between their pastures; to some of their camping grounds they return only after many years — so why should they care for a grave? They do not know even where the graves of their older princes or head chiefs are. I have heard from many Rwala, even from members of the reigning kin, that Nâjef eben Ša'lân, one of their ancestors, lies buried between the rain pools of Haǧm and al-Bark in al-Ḥamâd and that a camel is sacrificed by his descendants whenever they come there, as they do once in many years. Yet while we camped in that place in 1914 and took our drinking water from both the pools, not a single member of the reigning house thought for a moment of sacrificing the camel on Nâjef's grave. Hazzâ', Prince an-Nûri's father, died at al-Ǧubejlijje in the Ḥawrân and was buried there, but his grave has never been visited by an-Nûri, although he often marches past the place.

Slejmân eben Meršed, one of the ancestors of the reigning family of the Sba'a tribe, died and was buried at Dejr az-Zôr on the right bank of the Euphrates. The merchants of that town, with whom he was always on friendly terms, had a small dome erected over his grave. It is said that whenever the members of his kin come there they sacrifice a camel by the dome, saying: "We think of thee, Slejmân; Oh, mayst thou have pity on us and our parents!" after which they besmear the tombstone with the blood of the sacrificed animal, *jeḫaṭṭeṭûn naṣibeh*. But Blejhân, a subject of Eben Meršed, stated that the camels are killed there by merchants from Dejr az-Zôr and not by any Bedouins. Bṭejjen eben Midbaṛ eben Meršed was buried at the mouth of the valley of al-Arḳaṭ. His

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A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,
513 since this would bring vengeance on the latter's own head and
628 his vengeance would not be accomplished. For a sleeping Bedouin has no soul and is as good as dead. A dead person cannot
[764] replace a living one, and he that injures a corpse involves the whole clan in his guilt. Therefore the avenger first awakens the culprit with the words: "O So-and-So! dost thou remember that So-and-So dwells in thy belly?"

628 On finding the culprit, the avenger kills him, slits the
682 corners of his mouth up to the ears, cuts off his ears, and
672 sticks them into his mouth. Then everybody knows it for the deed of an avenger, and no search is made for the perpetrator. With the death of the real culprit the vengeance comes to an end, *istaddow ṭârhom*, and his whole kin may return home in peace.

He who unintentionally kills a man or a woman is not liable to vengeance but has to give compensation, often after prolonged negotiations.

If a person is killed by either a horse or a camel, its owner places the dead person's clothes on the animal, brings it to his nearest relative, and leaves it there with the words: "This is thy blood shedder; take him!"

685 For the intentional killing of a horse or camel four times the animal's value is to be paid; if the animal was killed accidentally, its actual market price only.

TYPICAL INSTANCES OF THE APPLICATION OF THE LAWS OF VENGEANCE

628 In the rainy season of 1905 the Ḳmuṣa were camping together with the 'Ebede between al-Ṟurâb and at-Tînf, their watering place there being the Ḥabra at-Tnejf. The stud camel owned by Mnezzel eben Nims of the Ḳmuṣa attached himself, *'ajjar 'ala*, to the she-camels belonging to one Ḥarrâs of the 'Ebede, who let him cover one of his she-camels, *murâb bek lenâkteh*. When this came to the ears of Mnezzel's son Ḥsejjân he reproached Ḥarrâs angrily: "Thou hast used our stud camel without telling my father of it." Ḥarrâs retorted, and an altercation followed, *tehâwaśow*, in the course of which Ḥarrâs struck Ḥsejjân with his cudgel, *maḏrûb*; whereupon the youth stabbed him with his dagger, killing him instantly. As soon as he realized what he had done he drove his herd to the tent of Eben Msejjeb of the Msike, ran inside, and begged:

763 Allah will write to me, therefore, behold, I put my children and
429 my estate like the ring of a turtle dove's neck from my neck on thy neck. In the high station /before Allah/ I shall inquire of thee about them. "Ja flan ana ma-dri was allah jaktob 'alejji mar tara 'ejali w-halali towk hamamaten min rukubti birkubtak ansedk 'anhom bel-makez al-'azim."

The answer will be: "I shall take thy place. May Allah have mercy on thee. Ana lak bel-makan allah jarhamk."

In the absence of him whom he would like to appoint as guardian the sick man will declare before one or two men: "O ye, X and Y, I ask you to witness that I put my children on the neck of So-and-So."

/567/ In the majority of cases the sick man prefers to appoint a faithful slave to the guardianship. Sometimes he also names the camels which are to go to one or other of his children and what she-camel he wishes to be sacrificed for him. However, any of his stipulations may be annulled by his first-born son. Neither the father nor the mother give their children any last advice.

DEATH

764 Water is dropped into a dying person's mouth without my words. They do not close the eyes of the dead, nor stop his nostrils, dead bodies
/961/ being carefully avoided by the Rwala. If they camp near a settlement, or some fellahin happen to be with them at the time, they hire them to bury the dead. Rubbing the body over with a wet cloth, they wrap it in its shirt, or when that is torn they lay it on a piece of white linen, cover it with the same material, then sew both pieces in three places, load the body thus enshrouded on a mule and carry it to the grave. This must be deeper for a woman than for a man. Its depth for a woman must be such that even the breast could not be seen if the body were placed upright; for the man its depth is only to his knees when in a standing posture. A stone is put under the head and the body is laid invariably with its right side downwards and facing south. Covering it then with a few stones they shovel in the excavated earth. For a man two stones, nasajeb, are raised above the grave, one for a woman. One and a half megidijje ($ 1.35) is paid to the grave-digger for this work. In the inner desert a grave about twenty-five centimeters deep is dug

764 anywhere, the body wrapped in its cloak, *'aba*, laid into it on its right side and facing south; then all is covered with stones or earth.

In the desert a man's body is never accompanied to the grave by a woman, and a woman's body is buried by women alone. The whole funeral procession consists of no more than two, at the most four people. The body is carried either on two staves or two ropes. Neither the staves, nor the ropes, nor even the handle of the mattock used in digging the grave may be brought into the tent, such is the fear of everything that has come into contact with the dead body. If there is water enough, it is poured over the grave so that the dead may not suffer from thirst.

765 No one mourns for the dead except his mother, wife, sister, or daughter. In the tent they may utter, quietly, only one cry, then they go outside the camp, lament twice more, tear their dress at the breast, scratch their faces, *jerarreśen wuǧih*, throw dust all over themselves, *jetkawwaḥen bet-trâb*, wind a white band, *'aṣâba bêḍa*, around their forehead, weep, and then return to the camp. Only the sister and daughter may cut off their hair, *jeḳuṣṣen râshen*, which they either hang over or lay on the grave. There is no other mourning. The white band is worn by the women until the third night, or to the next *aṣ-ṣaḥijje* holiday. For three nights in succession no salutation is offered to the dead person's next of kin. It is said of them:

"So-and-So is not in a good temper, his father (brother or cousin) is dead; *ḥâṭreh mâ hw ṭajjeb majjiten ʿabûh walla' aḫûh walla' eben 'ammeh.*"

They try to console him with the words: "O So-and-So, this has come from Allâh; it happens not to thee alone but to all people. May Allâh replace him who has passed away! *Já flân kaš-ši min allâh mâ hw 'alejk ente wâḥed mâr 'ala-nnâs killehom allâh je'awwez mâ râḥ.*"

His answer is: "What can I do? Allâh is omnipotent. *Wuśu bîdi allâh aḫwa'.*"

Towards the evening of the third day a *ḥbâṭa* sacrifice is prepared for the dead; either a camel or (if it can be bought) a sheep or goat is tied to the spot where he died, or simply bread is baked. The animal is killed with the accompanying words: "O Allâh, this is the *ḥbâṭa* of So-and-So." The flesh is cooked and the bread baked on the spot where he died, but outside the tent, which on this occasion is removed, its

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

764 fleece, into the keeping of the desert, the women looked on from a distance and bewailed the dead. Their hair was dishevelled and with smoke-black from their hearths they had painted signs of mourning on their faces.

Tuēma stood silent among them. The red cloak of camel-hair flowed from her shoulders. Her head was held high, but in her eyes were tears and a look of ineffable pain.

Once more the sun rose and beamed over the land. The tent-poles dropped and the Ruala marched on. . . .

765 The living strode over the dead, marching on into the young morning to new pastures and to new life. . . .

Once more I rode on Sadha to the mound where we had buried Faris. It had already become a solitary thing —insignificant in the vast wilderness. A dog which lay on the grave slunk away at my approach. A bunch of white ostrich feathers was stuck between three fire-blackened stones which, the evening before, had formed Tuēma's hearth. This was her farewell to her lover. A gust of wind broke off one "flower" from this unfading wreath and blew it over the ground. I got off my mare to pick up this broken white feather and to keep it in memory of my dear friend.

I remounted and rode on, but presently pulled rein again and looked back. The lonely dog had returned to the grave: he turned round and round and finally lay down, curled up as if in sleep. He was mourning his dead master. Nobody minded him, nobody looked for

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

him; but where should he be but here, with his dead friend?

I was on the point of guiding Sadha away when I noticed a rider coming in my direction—a Bedouin on a white-stockinged sorrel mare, who had just detached himself from a moving group of *kethabs* (riding-litters) and pack camels and was coming along at a tearing gallop.

It was Tuēma.

A short distance from where I was waiting for her she pulled up. Her horse snorted impatiently.

"Peace!" she called to me, lifting her hand.

"Peace, Tuēma," I called back. The tears came into my eyes.

"Shushan!" she called. The dog on the grave got up and walked slowly and reluctantly toward her, then stopped and turned his head.

"Shushan," she called again, and as she rode away, the dog followed her.

The Ruala were on the march and the land was covered with their camels.

Within a few days Tudmur was engulfed in the maelstrom. Day after day, with never a pause, fresh swarms of camels came out of the arid waste to stop at the foot of the hills and drink their fill. The sulphurous but wholesome water here issues from the hills in a clear stream, which branches out into a hundred rivulets in the plain and the small gardens surrounding the ancient city.

In the midst of the marching Ruala I rode again with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831* 539* *Ṭâreš* (pl., *ṭrûš* or *ṭuršân*) is a native traveler. *Čeṭṭân* means a rock or stone that is falling or crumbling to pieces. The maiden's heart dries up or crumbles with passion.

Min ʿaḏḏar waġhi elja rommad
min baʿadakom jâ-l-kawâčibi
w-aḳfejtu w-slejfakom ʿammad
w-ani nahart at-tarâribi.

Who will excuse me if my face is covered with ashes and dust,
Because of my parting from you, O you Kwâčbe!
For you have turned back, and a troop of your warriors proceeds on a straight course,
While I go to the settled territory.

The maiden is sad because the Kwâčbe, kinsmen of her lover, are going to camp far in the rear, while her relatives [765] have started for Syria. If a woman loses a near relative, she throws dust and ashes on her head and face. The loving maiden would like to do the same but fears to be chidden for it. *Slejf* [484] (dimin. of *salaf*) is the armed troop at the head of the migrating clans, which does not ride now to the right, now to the left in search of good pasture but follows in a straight course, *ʿammad*, because the grazing grounds have already been found by men sent out for that purpose and even the camping place has been decided upon. The verb *ṛarrabow* is employed with reference to Bedouins going to the settled territory in whatever direction. The maiden was to camp in Syria, the youth in the inner desert.

Jâ jumma ǧâni belaʿ muḫlef
waš ḥileti waš ana sâwi
damʿi ʿala waǧneti jaḏref
w-aṯneb ṭanîb aškhab al-wâwi.

O little mother of mine! a sorrow has come upon me [without warning.
What shall I do now?
A tear flows down my cheek,
When I dwell in the neighborhood of a wolf howling.

Ṭanîb is a neighbor whose tent ropes, *aṭnâb*, touch the tent ropes of another. The maiden or woman has either lost her lover in a fight or he has proved unfaithful. She must

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

4. Thou hast destroyed me, thou who mightest make me rend the shirt on my breast;
The wounds caused by thee are secret, known to no one.
5. Oh, the eye of the gazelle, who stamps noisily on the rocky slope
Scenting the breeze, while the other gazelles follow her,
6. Forming after her a waving line.
As she is agile in the open air only, so am I only when with her.
7. By Allâh! she would not have mastered me but for her bosom;
By Allâh! her trimmed forehead hair availed nothing, for all can grow that.

The lovesick maiden is tortured by grief because her kin opposes her marrying the man of her heart. He therefore resolves to elope with her.

Verse 3. *Ṣahîf al-ḥaśa* is a girl measuring no more than a span around the waist. 4. *Mefrijet al-ǧibi* is the name given to his beloved, for in case of her loss he would bewail her in the same manner that a sister laments her brother or father, by rending the shirt on the breast. 5. *'Anz* is the old she-gazelle which leads and guards a herd of gazelles. She takes her post on a height, scenting the enemy. If she scents something suspicious, she looks eagerly in that direction and stamps her foot angrily when she cannot at once discover the cause of her fears. On catching sight of the enemy she flees, with the other gazelles following her in a long line which wavers to the right or left according to the direction taken by the old doe. 6. *Al-maha* means the pure air of the desert in which the gazelle thrives.

Treachery in Love

Hejjeh jâ-bu žeǧîle
bâini ṛadejt
ataḥseb en mâ-ni jammak
w-'ajni 'alèjk.

Hasten, thou with a small plait on the temples,
Thou hast no trust in my faithfulness.
Oh, thinkest thou I shall not be with thee,
When my whole soul belongs to thee?

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

533 Ḥafâği — and named the boy Ḥafâği. Another woman was delivered during a heavy rain and she called her little son Maṭar, Rain. Kurdi's wife bore two girls although she greatly wished to have a boy. So she prayed to Allâh, and he granted her wish some time afterwards; she gave the baby boy the name of Raǧa', meaning "The Granting of Favor." The wife of 'Awde al-Kwêčbi had a very painful delivery, *te'assa'at*, and therefore said: "Thou shalt be called 'Asîr, Born in Pain." Another woman, filled with wrath because her husband had just taken a second wife, named her son Muṛiẓ, Enraging. The wife of the slave Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd received a beating from her husband shortly before a son was born to her, and, still being angry with him, she called the boy in remembrance of his mother's ill-treatment, Za'al, Anger. When delivered of a girl a little later, she said: "Thy father's name is Donkey, Ḥmâr, so thou shalt be called Cow, Baḳara." There is no beast nor plant after which a child cannot be named.

561 551 Up to its seventh year the child is spoken of as *waṛad* (pl., *wuṛdân*), *wara'* (pl., *wur'ân*), or *'aǧǧi* (pl., *'aǧǧân*). After his seventh year a boy is called *'ejâl*. The name for a dead baby is *faraṭ* (pl., *afrâṭ*). For these a sacrifice, *temîma*, must 765 be brought at the next memorial festival in honor of the dead, *ẓaḥijje*.

CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES

852 The Rwala circumcise their sons between their third and seventh years, usually in the season of *aṣ-ṣejf* (thus in late April or May) on either Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday immediately before the fifteenth day of the lunar month or just after that day. Two days before the circumcision the girls from the whole camp come to the tent of the man whose son is to be circumcised, decorate the main tent pole with ostrich feathers, red kerchiefs, and ribbons, *ṛazzow al-mṣanna'*, and proclaim with joyful cries, *zarrût*, that a circumcision, *mṣanna'*, is being prepared for. After sunset the whole youth of both sexes of the camp assemble there, the young men forming a semicircle open towards the tent, where a mighty fire is burning. An adult girl with her face covered so that only her eyes are visible then posts herself between the fire and the youths. The *ḥâši*, as this girl is called, holds in her right hand a sharp saber. The youths begin to stamp, clap

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Loosen your spittle! Look at the abundance! The *ğîre* oath rests on you!" Should they be reluctant to accept the invitation, they usually declare their readiness to have the oath rest on them and continue on their way. (On the *ğîre* oath see above, p. 460.) But if some one implores them with the words: "The *ğîre* oath of the slave Râšed rests on you, *'alejkom ğîrat al-'abd râšed*," they must stop and eat something. Who the slave Râšed may have been, nobody knows. It is said of him that he was most hospitable and even forced travelers to eat with him.

Within three days after his return either the leader or the man appointed by him offers the customary sacrifice, *'ażire*. He kills a she-camel and exclaims:

"O Allâh, this is our custom! This belongs to the face of Allâh and to the face of our ancestor! *Jâ-llâh hâḏi 'âdatna hâḏi liwağh allâh w-liwağh ğeddina*." Every kin reveres its ancestor but never knows at what period he lived or where he was buried. The blood of the sacrificed animal is caught into the bulging iron sheet used for baking bread, *sâğ*, and with it the humps of the captured animals and the necks of the riding camels are besmeared. This is done in order to make sure of fresh booty.

A boy who has taken part in his first raid and brought back booty with him tries to buy a goat or a sheep in order to sacrifice it. Its blood he then sprinkles over his booty, *ḏbîḥa rušûš al-čâseb*; if a she-camel, he besmears her whole hump, if a mare, her whole forehead. From the tail of the captured mare he cuts a lock of hair, which he hangs up in his tent. This he does with every horse he captures to let all the guests know how many he has already taken; this custom is called *šeḏeb*.

After the return from a raid the story of who has fallen, where, and in what manner, quickly spreads. The female relatives of the slain men then walk out of the camp to a distance whence even a loud cry cannot be heard, there to bewail their dead.

A mother cries: "Alas, woe is me! alas, my child! alas, woe is me! alas thou whom I bore in my womb! alas, woe is me! alas, thou little son of mine! *Wa' wâjli wa' waledi wa' wâjli wa' ğenîni wa' wâjli wa' bunajja*."

A wife cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! ah, ruined is my tent! *wa' wâjli wa' hadem bejti*."

727 A sister cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! alas, thou
765 brother of mine!"

A daughter: "Alas, woe is me, alas, thou father of mine!"

Then they sit down, cry till their eyes are dry, and return quietly to their tents. There is no other mourning.

LARGE BATTLES, OR *MANÂḤ*

721 The fight called *manâḥ*, as distinguished from the *razw*
726 or raid for booty, is very different. When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame, *zowd al-i'tibâr*, it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter, *ṣâl 'alejh ṣowla*, and finally encamps near the main camp of the enemy. The tents form as a rule two long rows, which behind the herds graze; in front of them, within rifle shot, stands the tent of the leader and a few others belonging to his retinue. In these few tents there is nothing except the utensils for making black coffee, meals being prepared in the tents behind. All the mares stand saddled by these war tents, *bujût al-ḥarb*, while the riding camels lie fettered between the other tents. The men on foot are posted right and left of the war tents. Before the attack, the men on foot sometimes hide by the war tents.

721 The cavalry attempts to drive the enemy to them and within
726 rifle shot. Before the attack the tribal emblem Abu-d-Dhûr is
703 fastened to a camel which walks in the midst of the bravest youths on horseback. These warriors are accompanied by the prettiest women and girls of the camp, who, with their bosoms bared and hair loosened, keep shouting:

"He who runs away today shall never receive anything from us; *illi ješred al-jowm mâ leh 'endana ḥakk*." Their inspiring high-pitched cries, *zaṛârît*, are heard for a great distance. In order to raise the courage and steadiness of his warriors the chief orders the 'Aṭfa, a fancy litter, to be placed on a she-camel and the handsomest of the girls to take her place in it. Throwing off her kerchief the maiden loosens her hair, unfastens the string holding together the dress under the throat, and seats herself in the litter. Her female companions, likewise, mount she-camels and shouting *zaṛârît* hasten to join the melée in order to encourage their relatives and friends. If it is impossible to withstand the superior strength of the enemy, they call out to the girl on the 'Aṭfa to conceal

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539x 726x [765]

duty. *Mišši belḥa min ḥarâḥa*: besmear, befoul the beard with excrement in their sorrow for the loss of so many warriors. The mourning survivors throw dust and ashes into their hair and beard. 45. *Šarhabaw*: they were puffing themselves up, posing. They wanted to dominate the Rwala, although they sent them presents every year as a proof of their dependence. 47. Abu Manṣûr is Prince Saṭṭâm, whose first-born, Manṣûr, fell in an earlier victorious fight. 48. *Dera'* is a tent wall hung up during a cold wind, *ṣalf*. 49. Ḥowmât is the name of sand hills in the Nefûd.

1. *Al-'elem ǧâna fowḳ maslûb al-kow'*
   'elmen jisažži leẓ-ẓamâjer neḳâwi
2. *eḫwât ref'a kill abûhom 'ala ṭow'*
   w-'ala-l-'ažîd ji'âḳebûn al-ahâwi
3. *bšilfen jiḳeṣṣ al-ǧeneb wijjet aẓ-ẓlow'*
   w-jiheff ṭalâṭ ek'ûb bḥadd ar-rešâwi
4. *alli baḥît bel-'aša' ḏib majḳow'*
   'azam 'ala-l-faẓla ṭamânîn wâwi
5. *âl ǧenk ḳowṭar fowḳ ṭawîlet al-bow'*
   wa-šlâš čanneh min čemîneh ḥalâwi
6. *rakaz 'alejh rîf al-ḥalâwi 'an al-ǧow'*
   w-ḥalla' ǧwâdeh tedhekeh bel-ḥaḏâwi
7. *hw w-al-faras behwâh ṭâḥaw 'ala kow'*
   w-ṭâḥ al-'aša' lel-'abd w-al-fedâwi
8. *wa' čam wâḥeden bedwâbet ar-rumḥ mašlow'*
   'arašet râseh ẓaba'aten bel-ǧerâwi
9. *šlâš waṭaneh wa-rmejḥ mamnow'*
   min ḥarr ẓarben mu'aṭṭebîn al-ahâwi
10. *ḥalaf alli 'ala-l-ḳowm ḳâṭow'*
    jizûd elja' čaṭrat 'alejh hal-balâwi
11. *rmejḥ ḥalla šlâš w-ar-râs maḳṭow'*
    'alejh rwejlâten jiziššîn al-ṭanâwi.

1. Tidings reached us by camels with muscular shoulders,
   War tidings piercing our entrails.
2. 'Sisters of Ref'a!' [they shouted], and all obeyed at once,
   To take vengeance on the leader for their wounded
3. With the spear blade that cuts through flanks and ribs
   And carries three parts of the shaft after it.
4. The wolf from Majḳû' gladdened with a supper
   Has invited eighty jackals to its remains.

3. *min al-ḳejṣûma ila' fejḥân* 726+
miṯl al-ḥaṣab bel-'arâžîbi 539x
4. *já bint al-mḥaẓẓab al-awğân*
'ala-l-ṛaṣi teḍ'aṭ al-ğîbi.

1. O daughter of mine, thy lover is behind, not to be seen;
A wolf and vulture are tearing his flesh.
2. Horses were gathered by the Sa'lân kin,
And the riding camels like locusts follow each other.
3. From al-Ḳejṣûma as far as Fejḥân
[The fallen lie] on each other like the crosspieces in a leather bucket.
4. O daughter, thou who paintest thy cheeks,
For thy beloved, thou wilt tear the dress on thy breast!

The poet and reciter was the slave Selîm. The victorious troop led by Prince an-Nûri returns with the booty taken from Sa'dûn, the prince of the Muntifeẓ. The women and girls stand in the tent corners, looking through the gaps for their sweethearts.

Verse 2. All the horses captured by the slaves or servants go to their master, not to them; therefore the members of the Sa'lân family collected and led them. The riding camels belong to those who capture them, even to the slaves and servants; they, however, let their masters keep them in return for payment. 3. Al-Ḳejṣûma is a well. 4. The daughter spoken of was the wife of a fallen hero, because a wife alone is allowed as a sign of her sorrow to blacken her face with ashes and dust or to tear open the clasp of her dress below the throat. [425] [765]

1. *Ṯâr ad-daḫen w-ettaḳa-l-ḥawâf*
elja' mâ-ṣ-ṣa'ab ṣâr muṭwâ'i
2. *al-ḥorr al-ḳaṭâwi abu nawwâf*
já mu'aššî aḍ-ḍîb elja' ğâ'i.

1. Up floated the rifle smoke, and into hiding went the coward,
Until, at last, the rebellious became obedient.
2. The falcon hunting ḳaṭa' birds, he is the father of Nawwâf,
Oh, he who prepares supper for a wolf which hungers!

Of this poem Selîm also was both poet and reciter.

Sa'dûn ṛâṣi 'ala' ṯâmer
'oḳb az-za'al šâf be'ajûneh

764 anywhere, the body wrapped in its cloak, *'aba*, laid into it on its right side and facing south; then all is covered with stones or earth.

In the desert a man's body is never accompanied to the grave by a woman, and a woman's body is buried by women alone. The whole funeral procession consists of no more than two, at the most four people. The body is carried either on two staves or two ropes. Neither the staves, nor the ropes, nor even the handle of the mattock used in digging the grave may be brought into the tent, such is the fear of everything that has come into contact with the dead body. If there is water enough, it is poured over the grave so that the dead may not suffer from thirst.

765 No one mourns for the dead except his mother, wife, sister, or daughter. In the tent they may utter, quietly, only one cry, then they go outside the camp, lament twice more, tear their dress at the breast, scratch their faces, *jeṛarrešen wuǧih*, throw dust all over themselves, *jetkawwaḥen bet-trâb*, wind a white band, *'aṣâba bêṣa*, around their forehead, weep, and then return to the camp. Only the sister and daughter may cut off their hair, *jekuṣṣen râshen*, which they either hang over or lay on the grave. There is no other mourning. The white band is worn by the women until the third night, or to the next *aẓ-ẓaḥijje* holiday. For three nights in succession no salutation is offered to the dead person's next of kin. It is said of them:

"So-and-So is not in a good temper, his father (brother or cousin) is dead; *ḥâṭreh mâ hw ṭajjeb majjiten abûh walla' aḫûh walla' eben 'ammeh.*"

They try to console him with the words: "O So-and-So, this has come from Allâh; it happens not to thee alone but to all people. May Allâh replace him who has passed away! *Jâ flân haš-ši min allâh mâ hw 'alejk ente wâḥed mâr 'ala-nnâs killehom allâh je'awwez mâ râḥ.*"

His answer is: "What can I do? Allâh is omnipotent. *Wuš̆u bidi allâh aḫwa'.*"

Towards the evening of the third day a *hbâṭa* sacrifice is prepared for the dead; either a camel or (if it can be bought) a sheep or goat is tied to the spot where he died, or simply bread is baked. The animal is killed with the accompanying words: "O Allâh, this is the *hbâṭa* of So-and-So." The flesh is cooked and the bread baked on the spot where he died, but outside the tent, which on this occasion is removed, its

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765 rear wall taken off and the ropes loosened, so that it looks as if it would fall down. Not before the morning following the *hbâṭa* sacrifice will the rear wall be hung up again and the ropes tightened. Nobody is invited to the supper given after the sacrifice. Whoever wishes, comes and eats. The meat from the sacrificed animal, the bread baked, and everything prepared for the *hbâṭa*, must be eaten outside the tent. Nothing connected with this sacrificial meat must be carried inside, not even the utensils used. For those fallen in war or murdered the *hbâṭa* is held in the night from Wednesday to Thursday or from Thursday to Friday.

At the next *az-ẓaḥijje* holiday the nearest relative of the dead man saddles a fat, healthy she-camel (never a he-camel), and puts on her a traveling bag, *mezhebe*, with flour, fire flint, a leather pouch full of milk, *semîl*, a leather bag with water, and some other trifles. If a woman has died, he saddles the camel with a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*, puts on some kind of carpet, a female dress, and for the rest the same supplies as in the case of a man's death. In front of his tent, seizing the head of the camel, he announces to the dead person:

"O So-and-So, come here and behold thy *ẓaḥijje*; *jâ flân dûnak ẓaḥijjetk* or *jâ flâne dûneč ẓaḥijjetč*."

Repeating this three times, he kills the animal, sprinkles her blood toward all four quarters of the world, rubs the flesh with salt, and either gives it away or cooks it outside the tent. All that the camel wore, her hide and flesh, etc., belongs to the dead person. By right all these things should be given away, but it is also possible to borrow them from the deceased, just as the knife used in killing the camel, the kettle in which the flesh was boiled, and the *ṣaḥn* or platter on which the cooked meat was piled are borrowed.

On the third day after the *ẓaḥijje* they take a small piece of the fat or tallow from the sacrificed she-camel, melt it, and pour it over *'ejš* meal. The next of kin then takes a bit of the dish in three fingers, carries it to the three stones on which the kettle used for boiling the flesh is still standing, and besmears them with *'ejš*, saying: "With this I wish to cool the fire burning So-and-So. *ḥâḍa brûd an-nâr 'an flân.*" The rest of the *'ejš* he wipes off his fingers into the fire.

If the relatives happen to camp again near the grave of the dead person before the *ẓaḥijje* day, they prepare a supper for him. *'aša-l-majjet*, buying either a sheep or a goat, *ḍbîḥa*,

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which they kill with the words: "O Allâh, this is the supper of our deceased." Or they take a small piece of bread and a bit of butter, throw and drop them into the fire, and say: "O Allâh, this belongs to our dead." 765

He who passes by the burial place of a person dear to him can do him much good if, taking a pebble from his grave, he says: "I take this in order to lighten the soul of So-and-So. May Allâh have mercy on him. *An-âḫeḏ hâḍa muḫaffefen ʿan rûḥ flân allâh jarḥameh.*"

That which keeps life in both man and beast is called *nefes, nesem,* or *rûḥ.* The *nefes* (or *nesem*) of both the man and the animal is alike, *wâḥed.* Whether the *nesem* of an animal ever dies is known to Allâh alone, yet, in all probability, not even an animal will die completely but will go with the man either to paradise or to hell, because animals live merely for man. The *nefes, nesem,* or *rûḥ* are put into the man as well as into the animal by Allâh. As long as the child lies in its mother's womb, it has no *nefes,* but the moment its head comes out at birth, Allâh opens its nostrils, *jeftaḥ allâh ḫšûmeh* or *manâḫereh,* and puts the *nefes* into its body, *jedḫel an-nesem beh.* This *nesem* had never before been in any other living being, for Allâh creates an entirely new *nesem* in every case. 774 761

Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi told me that every living man has a soul, *nesem.* If there were no soul, he would not live. The soul cannot be seen but can be heard, being identical with the breath, *ar-rûḥ hiw an-nesem.* The soul of the first man was breathed by Allâh into the nostrils, hence the human soul originates from Allâh's breath. This original soul exists in human beings to this day, because Allâh not only did not take it away from them but is still augmenting it. When a child is born, it receives the *nesem* from its mother, to whom Allâh adds from his own breath every time she conceives. The *nesem* dwells in the man's inside, *bečabdeh wa-bṣadreh.* On the man's death the soul leaves his body through the nostrils, returns to Allâh, and waits till another mother conceives a man, *ins,* when Allâh will add the waiting soul to that of the mother. 774 775

As long as there is a *nesem* in the man, he lives. *Illi nesemeh beh ḥajj,* but when it leaves his body, he dies. The *nesem* departs through his nostrils, *jeṭlaʿ min al-manḫar.* After his death the deceased is suspended in the air above his grave, head upwards. His *nesem* floats over his head. 775

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

a while Faris's father came home, and we celebrated our reunion.

In a corner of the women's section of the tent there presently appeared a small, chubby Bedouin boy, who gazed at us newcomers with inquisitive and bashful eyes. He was still a toddler, and had to hold on to the end of the frayed tent-curtain.

"Menwer!" a woman's voice called from within.

The voice was Tuëma's; and this was Faris's son!

She came out and laughingly took the boy by the hand to lead him back, when I called out her name. She turned round in amazement and raised her hand to me in the salutation of peace. Then she bent down and whispered into her child's ear. The little fellow pointed to me and looked into his mother's face. She nodded encouragingly, and he wobbled toward me with outstretched arms. As I picked him up and hugged him to me, I laughed, but there were tears in my eyes.

Tuëma, who was speechless with amazement at seeing me again, at last joyfully exclaimed: "Aziz!"

At a gesture from her father-in-law she sat down on a camel-saddle beside us. She touched me with shy fingertips in greeting and in her dark eyes was the sadness of memory. Since Faris's death she belonged altogether to Ibn Naif's family. She had been taken into it as a daughter and sister.

She drew the boy to her breast, and the two fondled each other, a picture of maternal happiness.

"In the evening the Beloved one went from me," said Tuëma. "In the morning he came back to me."

"Sabah—the morning," I whispered to myself.

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called *zaḥijje*. If Heǧlân's avengers do not take heart soon they will all be slain by the enemy. 8. *Râḥaw lehûmi* has the same meaning as *enḏabaḥaw*, were killed.

Lament of Young Woman for Her Husband Killed in Battle

1. *Wannejt jâ daḥḥâm tis'în wenne*
   ma' miṭlehen jowm al-ḫa'âjež heǧû'i
2. *ma' miṭlehen jowm al-ḫalâjež mirenne*
   min aẓ-ẓejm ješčen al-haẓâjem ẓe'û'i
3. *wennet 'aǧûz teshar al-lejl killeh*
   radi lha ḳarm al-'ejâl betû'i
4. *ramla w-lâ laha ma' hal al-bejt lenne*
   elja' ǧâ twâli-l-lejl ḳâmat tefû'i
5. *ḫalli waladha bel-ma'âra-kalenneh*
   saḥm aẓ-ẓwâri w-asbaḥen 'oḳob ǧû'i.

1. I mourn, O Daḥḥâm, with ninety laments
   And as many again, while all creatures rest without care,
2. And as many again, while all creatures listen,
   For even my oppressed ribs complain of their evil lot.
3. I mourn, waking all night with an old woman,
   Because she has lost a flower among sons, a resolute hero,
4. I mourn with a widow who has no relative left in her tent,
   Who at the close of the night pitifully moans.
5. My husband, her son, on the battle field was devoured
   By black and skinny beasts, their hunger stilling.

The poetess was a young woman of the Ḥarb tribe, the reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓib and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i. The young woman had lost in the battle her beloved husband, the only son of an old widowed mother, and both are mourning him.

Verse 2. In the opinion of the Bedouins any sorrow attacks the breast and contracts the ribs so that the person stricken cannot breathe freely. 3. *Betû'i* is a brave rider who does not shrink from the fight. 4. *Lenne* or *lelle*: surely not; these words emphasize the negative. *Hal* (or *ahl*) *al-bejt* here means the kin of the fallen man. The old widow had lived until then with her son; after his death she must move to her own kin. *Tefû'i* is said of the moaning and cries of an epileptic or a demented person.

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Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

"Ǧed'ân eben Ǧandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šerîk ill-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'ir*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *ṭarâjeẓ al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḥle*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iǧen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *ṭarâjeẓ al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

●768 428 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called *nežîle* (pl., *nežâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥakk baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥakk dajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥakk maṭnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥakk rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *nežâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *ṣijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 [562] The right of inheritance, *ḥakk al-warṯa*, is vested in sons alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mhawwa w-ḥaziza*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâdera*, going for water and returning with it, or *ḥalûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḥâšarow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥîšer*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. [429] Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥîšer*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

421 562 428 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings. All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

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721 circled about us with rifles ready for action. Then they got out of their cars and advanced towards us, with their rifles cocked.

As they approached, they yelled out that we were spies who had come to reconnoitre their land and camps. One of them recognized the wounded Duleym and began to question him, but the man remained silent, except to say that he would speak only before the *sheykh*. I overheard a few words which clearly showed that we stood in danger of immediate death. I thought it wise at least to warn their Akid.

"We are in Syria. Not only Ibn Meheyd, but also the Fransawi (French) will hold thee answerable for our safety!"

"Then prove thy friendly intentions," he answered.

I proposed that we should accompany him and his men to their camp.

He accepted my proposal only after we had handed over our rifles; our pistols we were allowed to retain.

619 [361] Following our enemies, we drove in a northeasterly direction. After a few miles we met the first herdsmen and their flocks and herds, and half an hour later the great camp of the allied Fid'an, Saba and Amarat Bedouins came in sight—tent ranged by tent in vast array. All the while new families with pack-camels came in and took their places on the wide plain, while women and slaves hastened to raise the black tents.

• 769 [623] A young acquaintance of Berjas ibn Hedeyb rode up to us and recognized me. He accompanied us to the large council tent of the assembled *shiyukhs*, and on the way related that a few days earlier some Fid'an had

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visited the grave of the old Hero-Chief, Turki ibn Meheyd, at Aklat Suab. 769

As an offering to the memory of his forebear (Turki was killed in battle against the Ruala, although his daughter Turkiyye was married to the Ruala chieftain, Sattam ibn Sha'lan) Ibn Meheyd had sacrificed a fat camel over the grave: "So that Allah might read his heart and give him victory over the Ruala." This is a heathen, pre-Islamic custom of the Arabian Bedouins.

It would seem that Ibn Meheyd and his vassals had made not only material, but also spiritual preparations for a decisive war against the Ruala. 619 721

Our enemies were now assembled, and the conference of the chiefs was in full swing when we arrived.

Ibn Meheyd looked aged and the bitterness of his thoughts had hardened his features. This unpleasing impression was deepened by his beard and eyebrows, which he had dyed black. [302]

A thick woollen shawl enveloped his head and throat, despite the warm sunny day. He had been a sufferer for years from a wasting fever which he, like so many other Fid'an Bedouins, had contracted in the unhealthy lowlands of the Euphrates. [164]

On our appearance Ibn Meheyd had risen and taken a step forward, but on recognizing the familiar faces of his enemies, he turned back and beckoned to the leader of his Negro bodyguard. Even to me he had not given the customary salute, but only swept me with a black look. Fortunately, I perceived at once that we had put our heads into a hornet's nest, and I whispered to my 619 721 576

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The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters for the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-'ejd w-mežfini
w-mnaššerin ad-dallâli
'allemi bihom bel-maḳâṭini
w-mrakkezin al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite
Their best clothes donning. [direction,
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist. [to stay

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *aẓ-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Mežfin* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâṭini*. The word *meḳṭân* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭanna 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 161). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munaššerin ad-dallâl*.

Ed'û râ'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ḥala' howšeh
jâ mušarreden lar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Ed'û for *jâ ṭawil al-'omr*. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

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hang the cradle, *rûǧâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sar'a* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *sa'aluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurḳi*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the 'Ebede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *sa'aluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûẓ* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it, *ḥaḳḳ al-ḳârûẓ*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises above the real or imaginary grave of some man or woman

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whom public opinion considers to be a saint, they never pay attention to these domes. In their opinion the latter commemorate the saints of the settlers and breeders of goats and sheep, *ri'* or *šwâja*, not of the Bedouins. They say: "They are not of our kin, *ahl*, not of us, *ǧemâ'atna*, therefore we do not honor them or go on pilgrimage to them, *ḥenna alli mâ hw minna mâ nezûreh*."

Worship of the saints has never been known among the Rwala and presumably never will be. The hereafter does not trouble the Bedouins much, and their idea of it is only hazy; nor have they any permanent burying places, *meǧenne*, but bury their dead wherever death overtakes them. They therefore do not know and never visit individual graves. This is often due to the great distance between their pastures; to some of their camping grounds they return only after many years — so why should they care for a grave? They do not know even where the graves of their older princes or head chiefs are. I have heard from many Rwala, even from members of the reigning kin, that Nâjef eben Ša'lân, one of their ancestors, lies buried between the rain pools of Haǧm and al-Bark in al-Ḥamâd and that a camel is sacrificed by his descendants whenever they come there, as they do once in many years. Yet while we camped in that place in 1914 and took our drinking water from both the pools, not a single member of the reigning house thought for a moment of sacrificing the camel on Nâjef's grave. Hazzâ', Prince an-Nûri's father, died at al-Ǧubejlijje in the Ḥawrân and was buried there, but his grave has never been visited by an-Nûri, although he often marches past the place.

Slejmân eben Meršed, one of the ancestors of the reigning family of the Sba'a tribe, died and was buried at Dejr az-Zôr on the right bank of the Euphrates. The merchants of that town, with whom he was always on friendly terms, had a small dome erected over his grave. It is said that whenever the members of his kin come there they sacrifice a camel by the dome, saying: "We think of thee, Slejmân; Oh, mayst thou have pity on us and our parents!" after which they besmear the tombstone with the blood of the sacrificed animal, *jeḫaṭṭeṭûn naṣîbeh*. But Blejhân, a subject of Eben Meršed, stated that the camels are killed there by merchants from Dejr az-Zôr and not by any Bedouins. Bṭejjen eben Midbaṛ eben Meršed was buried at the mouth of the valley of al-Arḳaṭ. His

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grave is marked with a few tall, flat stones placed upright, 769 ● *naṣâjeb*.

All the raiders and robbers of the northern ʿAneze honor the grave of Turki eben Mhejd, head chief of the Fedʿân tribe. Turki undertook countless raids and returned from them all unhurt and with much booty. Once in the *al-ḳêẓ* season (midsummer) he rode against the Šammar, the subjects of Eben Rašîd, who were camping on the southeast border of the Nefûd. The water supply of the raiders being exhausted, they wished to fill their bags and also to water their camels from the al-Ḥaẓra' wells. Their scouts, *ʿujûn*, however, sent out in advance to examine the country and to find the best and safest watering places and pastures, came back with the news that the neighborhood of al-Ḥaẓra was full of Šammar camps in such numbers that Turki's troop would be unable to cope with them. Turki wished, then, to circumvent al-Ḥaẓra and attack one of the smaller camps south of it, but the thirst tormenting both the men and animals was already becoming insufferable. It was in vain that Turki asked his comrades to be patient, in vain that he promised that they would find water very soon; the tortures of thirst increased with every mention of water, and they all well knew that there was no well anywhere near. When the distress was at its height Turki prayed to Allâh to send them rain. His wish was granted. Allâh sent from the northwest a dark cloud which he caused to halt above their heads and pour forth all its water. The rain that now fell on Turki and his troop was so abundant that they could fill their water bags from several rain pools, quench their thirst, and water their camels. Thus strengthened in their belief that Allâh was on their side, they fell upon the Šammar herds and returned home with rich booty. From that time Turki was called The Little Son of his Lord, *wlejd rabbeh*, because Allâh, moved by the supplication of such a little son, had brought the rain cloud to their rescue in the season of *al-ḳêẓ*, during which it never rains in the desert.

In the time of abundance, *rabîʿ*, of 1887 Turki had his camp at the junction of the *šeʿîb* of al-Heri with the aṣ-Ṣwâb valley. There he was attacked by the Rwala, defeated, killed, and buried beside his tent. The Fedʿân raised a tall stone above his grave and carved it with the emblems of all their clans and kins. All raiders, when passing by, stop at the grave and form a circle round it, whereupon the commander speaks as

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769 follows: "O thou who hast protected our herds called 'Alja! By the success which Allâh and thou grant! If Allâh will lead us to glory and liberate us, thou wilt receive a fat she-camel. *Jâ râ'i-l-'alja bsa'ûd allâh wa-s'ûdak en allâh nowmasna w-fakkna lak ğezûren.*" On their return with booty they make a fat camel kneel down, cut her throat so that the blood sprinkles the tombstone, and shout: "This is thy supper, O protector of the 'Alja herds!"

My companion, Blejhân, related: "I rode out for plunder with only one comrade. Not far from Turki's grave we made our camels kneel and went to the grave. Laying our right hands on the tombstone, *naṣîba*, we said: 'O thou protector of the 'Alja! If we return with booty, thou wilt receive a fat she-camel.' Soon afterwards we noticed a caravan, *žâfla*, on the road Darb as-Sâ'i which leads from Damascus to Hît and Bagdad. Crawling near to it at night we captured six she-camels, one of which we sacrificed to Turki. The entrails we ate at the grave, the flesh and the hide we carried home. Our camp was then in the upper part of the al-Mijâh valley.

"Not long after this a certain Mzahlak of the Weld Slîmân [*sic*] rode in command of a raiding troop past Turki's grave. Stopping his camel, he exlaimed: 'O thou protector of the 'Alja! If by thy help we return with booty, thou wilt receive a fat camel: *jâ râ'i-l-'alja en afadna bsa'ûdak lak ğezûren.* They captured a large herd, killed a camel on his grave, roasted and ate its flesh, and brought the hide home."

Whenever the Fed'ân encamp near Turki's grave they kill a camel in his honor but not until they wish to move to the settled territory, *elja ṛarrabow*. To the feast not only the Fed'ân but also the Sba'a and 'Amârât are invited, because Turki was related by blood to all the tribes acknowledging Bišr as their common ancestor, *ẓana bišr*.

VOWS

782 All Rwala believe that they can win Allâh's favor by a vow. Not that Allâh would desire or need the promised object, but it rejoices him to see that the Bedouins remember in time that without his help they cannot attain what they desire, and also that they show willingness to give up something of value in order to assure themselves of his help. Such vows are made by all, men as well as women, old as well as young,

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726x
539x

7. *teḥazzebû w-ṣirû erğâlen efhûmi*
   w-al-ʿadw mâ jisla miṯl al-ḥajâja
8. *waʿ ḫowfeti jinḳâl râḥaw lehûmi*
   ʿejâl šâlûhom biẓhûr as-sebâja.

1. The new moon has appeared, the tale is told,
   And clear to us now is all their talk.
2. Begone! Ill have ye acted, O avengers,
   What excuse have ye that ye comfort not those eagerly [waiting?
3. I see birds of prey circling above you,
   Longing to have the big and fat among you for supper.
4. Cut with the sharp edge of the blade before it becomes dull,
   Before your foes make of you sacrifices for their dead.
5. Mourning over you are the fair ones, adorned with tattooing,
   For ye are their veil; they must not remain naked.
6. Ah, woe to you, if ye reject my tidings,
   By Allâh! ye all will be sacrificed for the dead.
7. Take counsel together and become prudent;
   For an enemy cannot be struck like snakes.
8. Ah, how I fear that it will be said: Our foes killed them
   And loaded their children on the backs of the captured animals.

This poem was composed by a daughter of one Ḥeğlân of the Duṛmân clan. Two kins of the latter clan quarreled. One of them remained in the Rwala territory, the other under the chief Ḥeğlân emigrated to the Šammar. An attack made on them by their kinsfolk was repulsed, but the chief Ḥeğlân fell. The raiders were pursued but without success. Ḥeğlân had no sons. His daughter urged her kin to revenge the slain chief and was promised that they would make a raid in retaliation, but they put it off from one day to another. Finally they assured her that the raid would be carried out with the appearance of the new moon. Yet when it appeared the avengers stayed at home. The girl then composed this poem. The reciters were ʿAwde al-Kwêčbi and Mindîl al-Ḳaṭʿi.

Verse 2. *Reḥûmi* are vultures which feed only on dead bodies. 4. The Bedouins dedicated even before Mohammed's time a certain day of the year to the memory of the dead, and on this day they sacrifice for every person who has died in the past year either a she-camel or a goat. This sacrifice is called zabîse. [769]

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157 731x wondered, therefore, that I should now hear Faris so excitedly wrangling with someone. But when I stepped round the tent and saw him, I was undeceived. He stood with clenched fists, his face raised to the sky, in an attitude of supplication. He obviously believed himself secure from human observation, and it was obvious also that he conversed with no human being.

731x 782 •771 He spoke to God, and his prayer was an expression of the anguish of his soul.

"Thou art merciful," I heard him cry. "Thou seest that our suffering and our dying have become cruel. We are starving to death. The helpless have no hope except in Thee. . . ."

Faris was a Muslim in name only. He cried out like a child to his Father. He implored—and raged in turn. He stamped his feet and clenched his fists in impotent fury. He bowed his head in humility—he raised his eyes in anger, but he also wept bitterly. He stretched out his empty hands, crying: "O Lord, the people perish, men and beasts starve, give pasture—give water—give bread —give peace. . . ."

731x Without letting him see me, I slipped back to his tent. I sat down by the hearth and poked with the fire-irons in the glowing dung, and held out my hands over it. Involuntarily I folded them and thought of the childlike faith of Faris, and I too begged God for aid. "Thou must help—the need is great; the herds are starving and the nation is dying."

When I raised my eyes, Faris stood before me. "Thou art sad, my Brother?" he asked affectionately.

I rose and grasped his proffered hand. "No," I said.

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CHAPTER V

FOOD

261 All the Rwala are familiar with hunger and fear it, since they know that it is difficult for the hungry to overcome those who have eaten their fill. They have a saying: "The attack of the sated on the hungry is very vile, *fatt aš-šabʿân ʿala-l-ǧêʿân fatten žûwi.*" But nobody can see hunger, and therefore nobody can deride a hungry man as easily as one who is naked or insufficiently clothed. If a man comes half-naked to his true friend, it grieves him, for either the man has been robbed or else he pays no heed to the dictates of decency; hence the saying: "Go hungry to your friend, but do not go naked to him; *it rafîžak ǧêʿân w-lâ taʾtîh ʿarijân.*"

261 771 The Rwala know that Heaven is the abode of God who looks after them and supplies them with food, while the human enemy, who begrudges them everything, inhabits the earth upon which we walk. A father often reminds his son: "He who provides thee with everything dwells in Heaven; he who hinders thee dwells on the earth upon which thou walkest; *razzâḳ bes-semaʾ w-al-ḥâsed bel-waṭaʾ.*" It is useless to be overanxious about the things for which all long. On every occasion Allâh cries out to man: "O my servant, thou hast desires and I have desires, but all thou canst do is to carry out the things that I desire; *jâ ʿabdi ent trîd w-ana-rîd wlâ lak illa mâ-rîd.*" Man therefore comforts himself with the proverb: "I desire, but Allâh will nevertheless carry out what he desires; *ana-rîd w-allâh jaʿmal mâ jerîd.*"

261 577 609 Hunger forces a man to theft. To take from an enemy or a stranger all that he has is not a sin, but to steal anything from a neighbor or fellow tribesman is a sin, and Allâh does not bless the thing that He has forbidden, *mâ bârak allâh bel-ḥarâm.*

264 The Rwala eat regularly twice a day. Their main and most abundant meal is supper, *ʿaša.* They have this meal after sunset. Shortly before noon there is lunch, *ɣada'*, at which they merely drink milk or eat what is left of supper or a piece of bread from the previous day, *bâjet.* Only for im-

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CHAPTER XIII

OMENS

NATURAL PHENOMENA AS OMENS

The Bedouin does not think deeply on religious matters and follows no rules in his religious observances. Nevertheless, he guides himself in all his social and private undertakings by certain fixed customs, observes the various natural phenomena, and pays heed to internal impulses and dreams which he holds to be signs or warnings sent to him by spiritual beings who wish him either good or ill. He is a firm believer in the existence of spirits and thinks it absolutely necessary to do all that is agreeable and avoid what is disagreeable to them. Woe to him, if he should anger them! To do so would frustrate all his undertakings. And anger them he would, should he not be careful in his words and actions nor give due regard to days of portent and certain signs both visible and invisible.

When a Rwejli despatches a man on an affair of importance, he must not use the word *"Ruḥ,"* "Go!" or "Run!" He must not say: "Ride in the direction of the settlement of Baḳ'a" or "of the al-Lmât wells." All these words invite death. For the verb *râḥ, ruḥ,* is used in connection with death or departure from this world. *Baḳ'a'* signifies a violent death, and *al-lmât* also reminds one of destruction, or death. Therefore they are likely to say *"Eršed"* for "Go!" or "Run," instead of *ruḥ* and to substitute for the topographical names Baḳ'a' or al-Lmât the term Ṭajjebt Ism, which, referring to a settlement or a well, means "the name is a good omen."

More important matters the Rwejli prefers to leave either till noon or at least till the dew has fully departed or to despatch them before the fresh dew has fallen. These times of the day he considers the most favorable, because the spirits are then resting. But there is no day without some meaning attached to it — it is either suitable for an undertaking or not. These significations are called *waǧba* or *waǧḥ*; the favorable ones being *zên*, the unfavorable *šên*. The best days on

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Genuine Bliss Dwells with All True Believers 539x 577x

1. *Aṭ-ṭîb mâ hw bass maʿ aẓ-ẓaʿânina*
   mužassem ʿala rûs al-ʿejâl al-mefâliḥ
2. *bejt aš-šaʿar w-alli ḳaʿad leh bṭîna*
   al-ḥaẓar w-al-bedwân min habb leh riḥ.

1. Not with those only is bliss found who load tents and
   their fixtures on camels,
   But it is distributed also on the heads of those poor sons
2. Who live in tents of goat's hair or in the mud-brick huts,
   On settlers, on Bedouins, and on all on whom the wind
   blows.

The poet was an unknown orthodox Moslem; the reciter, Ǧwâd al-ʿÂni. It is a firm belief of the Rwala that honesty and, hence, both physical and spiritual welfare are to be found with them only. All the settlers from the ruler down to the slave are, in their opinion, nothing but hypocrites and full of low cunning, who misuse for their own benefit the religion as well as the power with which they are entrusted and who are a torment alike to the stranger and to themselves. For the Bedouins cannot understand why the settlers should be so eager to acquire both property and honors. A Bedouin's heart never longs for such vanities, for he knows that he may lose his life, the most treasured possession he has. Why, then, should he depend on riches and worldly dignities? The passionate hunt for wealth is, in the opinion of a Bedouin, the root of all the troubles and want of integrity among the settlers. Moreover, because the settlers are true Moslems while among the Bedouins Islam does not carry conviction, the latter consider Islam weak, as it cannot free the settlers from their miseries. In the two verses cited above the correctness of such Bedouin views is denied by an orthodox Moslem, who maintains that genuine bliss dwells with all true believers, *mefâliḥ* — that is, with people who live and act in accordance with their inner religious convictions. 2. *Habb leh riḥ* would mean with a Bedouin: "success or luck is blowing towards him"; to the settled Moslem it means anyone on whom the wind blows or who breathes, hence all men without distinction.

[828 186] [181] [77]

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CHAPTER XV

SPIRITS AND VOWS

The Rwala believe that besides this visible world there is also an invisible, or spiritual, world. The spiritual world is again divided into a celestial and an earthly world. The inhabitants of the celestial world are called *malak* (pl., *malâjika*), those of the spiritual earthly world *ğânn* (pl., *ğinn*). Both the celestial and earthly spirits were created by Allâh. They possess bodies similar to human bodies but invisible; they can pass through any wall and can cover in a short while a distance which even a good rider would travel in barely a month. The spirits hear, speak, eat, drink, and ride like any Bedouin but feel no pain, are never sick, and cannot die.

The celestial spirits do not leave heaven except when sent by Allâh to men. A *malak* announcing Allâh's will to the Bedouin is called *munâbi*, spokesman. He does so only during a dream, whether natural or artificial, the latter occurring when a waking person falls into ecstasy, *islâm*, under the influence of music or dancing.

THE ĞINN

To the earthly spirits, *ğinn*, *harâfil*, or *ğenûn*, heaven is not accessible. They are of both sexes and have big eyes extending to the corners of their mouths. The food they prefer is raw meat, *nej*, and fresh blood is their favorite drink. The raw meat they get from fallen animals, the blood is left for them by the Bedouins every time an animal is killed. The *ğinn* are divided into tribes, clans, and families like the Bedouins, but in reality are settlers, *ḥaẓar*. They live in high mountains, inaccessible ravines, and old ruins. They never have tents. Their dens are situated underground in rock crevices, caverns, and vaults of deserted buildings. The farther such a ravine or ruin is from the water, the better it is liked by the spirits, who know that they will not be disturbed there. They occupy themselves in raising goats and sheep, which their herdsmen pasture in regions so rocky and stony that the goats and sheep

775 Thus it remains till the *ḥbâṭa* sacrifice has been brought, after which the body takes its place in the grave and the *nesem* departs, no one knows where.

775 673 After the *ẓaḥijje* sacrifice Allâh weighs both the good deeds, *ḥasanateh*, and the sins of the deceased, *sajâteh radijje*. Allâh punishes sins: *az-zena*, which means sexual intercourse with a girl betrothed to another or with another's wife, for that is a betrayal, *bowḳ*, of persons to whom the females belong; *al-ḫowne*, the robbery of a guest or companion who has trusted one while on the road; *ḏabḥ az-zelema*, killing of a man not subject to the blood feud or of an enemy who did not attack one; *az-zelîme*, false testimony under oath before the court. These four sins alone are punished by Allâh both in this world and hereafter. In this world he punishes by disease, by sending robbers against the sinner's estate; by taking away his sons, or by having him murdered. In weighing these sins and good deeds, the weight of the *ḥbâṭa* and *ẓaḥijje* sacrifices is added; also of the kettle in which the flesh was cooked; of the three stones, *ḥawâdi*, supporting the kettle; of all the utensils used in preparing the supper; of the fuel, as well as of everything that was laden on the she-camel sacrificed on the holiday of the commemoration of all departed, *az-ẓaḥijje*. The Rwejli is certain that, as far as he is concerned, the scales will always dip in his favor and that he will enter paradise intact with both his body and his soul, *nesem*. He that falls in war needs neither the *ḥbâṭa* nor the *ẓaḥijje*, for all his sins were washed off with his blood. A murdered man, too, goes directly to paradise, because his sins fall on the head of the murderer, unless the latter was destined by Allâh to punish the murdered man for his sins.

HELL AND PARADISE

772 775 Paradise is somewhere below ground. There it rains regularly, there is always *rabî'*, abundance, good pasture, *ḫejr*, and there also the moon shines all the time. In paradise all the Rwala live together, are young, and never grow older. They can marry there and have grown children at once. Every one has a big tent, big herds, and many children. They raid hostile tribes which have been condemned to hell, where all enemies of the Rwala are sent.

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Hell is situated either on the sun or in some other place above the earth. There the sun scorches by day and night, rains are very rare, the breeding of camels meets with no success, the soil has to be irrigated artificially — and the Bedouins there must work long and hard. They serve the *fellâḥîn*, have to obey the government, are conscripted, perform military duty, and Allâh himself knows all their torments. Some call hell *ḏalfât* and think that in that place neither the moon nor the stars ever shine.

Allâh dwells in both paradise and hell. He is omnipresent, hears and sees everything, but is himself invisible. With Allâh's permission even the dead may leave either paradise or hell and visit their kin, to whom they appear in dreams.

In the belief of the Bedouins and the Ṣlejb there is somewhere far beyond the horizon a tall moutain on each side of the earth. One half of each mountain rests on *terra firma*, the other half in the sea, into which it sinks abruptly, while towards the land it sends out a sharp spur called *ḥašm*. These four mountains carry the whole firmament. During the rainy season the spirits and even Allâh himself prefer to dwell near the southern mountain, which the Arabs call *aš-šerḳ*, as it is supposed to be situated in the inner desert. In summer, however, Allâh moves with all the spirits to the northern mountain, *jeṛarrebow*.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

ing the emblem of the tribe, and brought it to the ground. With the sudden overthrow of the Holy Standard, the resistance of the Amarat also broke down and, terror-stricken, they suffered a crushing defeat.

On the battlefield the victors found Jidua, killed from ambush by a foot-soldier, and the Amarat maiden of the camel throne—Jamila—who had stabbed herself to death so as not to survive the shame of her people's defeat. The Wuld'Ali, indeed, claim to this day that Jidua had been Jamila's lover; for, they say, the lifeless bodies of those two were found side by side beneath the collapsed *Markab,* and one of Jamila's hands was still clenched round the hilt of her dagger while her other hand clasped the hand of Jidua.

After the defeat of the Amarat, the *sheykh* of the Wuld'Ali presented the *Markab* and with it Jidua's sword, now famous, to the Ruala, since it was a Rueyli who had overthrown the *Markab* and thus brought about the victory to the Wuld'Ali. Since then this sacred emblem has been in the hands of the Sha'lan family and has accompanied the Ruala in all their victorious wars, a symbol of their dominant position among all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia.

Of Jidua's sword—Thu'l-Hayyatu—"the-one-endowed-with-life"—there is also an older legend, which the aged Prince Nuri Sha'lan thus related to me:

In the fifth century of the Hegira (the twelfth by our reckoning) when the 'Anaza Bedouins were still grazing their camels south of Teyma at the Jabal Bird, it happened on the sacred pilgrim's road to Mecca from Damascus. Janda ibn Mubadir, an ancestor of Jidua, was

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travelling with his clan toward Khaybar, seeking the *Dira* (pasture grounds) by the Jabal Abyadh and in the Wadi Rama. One still dark night, when the red campfires flickered in the tents, the air was suddenly filled with a terrific roaring. A mighty thunder-clap rent the sky, the ground trembled and swayed, and the whole world seemed to be tumbling. Every living thing leapt up in mortal terror and ran hither and thither. From the midst of the dark heavens above there broke forth a light that shone over the quaking earth with swiftly growing brilliance, until in a moment it had equalled the luminous power of the noonday sun and surpassed its heat. It blinded men and beasts and struck them down. The earth split; a sound of hissing, tearing, and crashing beyond the power of description filled the air, and a sulphurous smoke hung over the scarred earth.

When morning dawned it was found that many persons had been struck dead; their mutilated bodies were lying about. A crater-like scar marked the place where an unusually large meteorite had buried itself. In addition, a number of men and camels had disappeared without trace into the bowels of the earth, buried forever under sand and stones.

Janda ibn Mubadir and his war-mare, as well as two of his camels, lay dead before the wreck of his torn and partly burned tent. From opposite ends of the desert, from Haleb (Aleppo) in the north and el-Tayef (near Mecca) in the south, came reports that this exceptionally brilliant meteor, with its eerie sound, like "ker-ker-ker", had been observed, and that even the noise of its striking had been heard.

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Some years afterwards some bolder spirits among the Bedouins nerved themselves to examine the hole torn in the earth. To their joy, these Bedouins discovered that the rift, widened and cleared by them, began to fill with water. Bir er-Ra'ad (the Thunder Fountain) they named the well. During the excavation, they found small fragments of the splintered "messenger-from-the-sky." A son of Ibn Mubadir took one such fragment from the meteor and fashioned from it a sword two and a half feet long. It gleams to-day as it did then, as if it were brand-new. It is of a bluish tint without one rust stain, and fine silvery wavy marks run down the precious blade, which is as light as a feather. A silversmith of Damascus made a handsome hilt and an equally handsome scabbard for it, and another artist engraved the blade with Arabic runes in gold.

"The Sword-of-Janda-and-Jidua" is thus, in the truest sense, a gift of heaven, and that is why it is called also the "Sword of God" and "The Life-endowed One."

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When, at the end of that time of grievous famine, the Ruala had entered the life-giving pastures of the Fid'an and Saba, Amir Nuri Sha'lan presented me with this sword, to keep in remembrance of this adventure and my share in it.

I need not say how much I treasure it.

[For texts of native poems, songs, tales and myths in the original and in translation, see category 116 as follows:

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Stories of wars and raids told by Blejhan Eben Zeri		641-661]

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no rains after the *hejf* in summer nor after the *šemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṭâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-rejṭ*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-rejṭ*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-rejṭ* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṯ-ṯurâwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'ešeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rubṭ*. In the inner desert

787 herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert
721 towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥoḏ lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḫûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭî'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḫûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

787 A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard
302 shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

513 While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers
774 from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *mâ tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

628 A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

which they kill with the words: "O Allâh, this is the supper of our deceased." Or they take a small piece of bread and a bit of butter, throw and drop them into the fire, and say: "O Allâh, this belongs to our dead."

He who passes by the burial place of a person dear to him can do him much good if, taking a pebble from his grave, he says: "I take this in order to lighten the soul of So-and-So. May Allâh have mercy on him. *An-âḫeḏ hâḏa muḫaffefen ʿan rûḥ flân allâh jarḥameh.*"

That which keeps life in both man and beast is called *nefes*, *nesem*, or *rûḥ*. The *nefes* (or *nesem*) of both the man and the animal is alike, *wâḥed*. Whether the *nesem* of an animal ever dies is known to Allâh alone, yet, in all probability, not even an animal will die completely but will go with the man either to paradise or to hell, because animals live merely for man. The *nefes*, *nesem*, or *rûḥ* are put into the man as well as into the animal by Allâh. As long as the child lies in its mother's womb, it has no *nefes*, but the moment its head comes out at birth, Allâh opens its nostrils, *jeftaḥ allâḥ ḫšûmeh* or *manâḫereh*, and puts the *nefes* into its body, *jedḫel an-nesem beh*. This *nesem* had never before been in any other living being, for Allâh creates an entirely new *nesem* in every case.

Mindîl al-Ḳaṭ'i told me that every living man has a soul, *nesem*. If there were no soul, he would not live. The soul cannot be seen but can be heard, being identical with the breath, *ar-rûḥ hiw an-nesem*. The soul of the first man was breathed by Allâh into the nostrils, hence the human soul originates from Allâh's breath. This original soul exists in human beings to this day, because Allâh not only did not take it away from them but is still augmenting it. When a child is born, it receives the *nesem* from its mother, to whom Allâh adds from his own breath every time she conceives. The *nesem* dwells in the man's inside, *bečabdeh wa-bṣadreh*. On the man's death the soul leaves his body through the nostrils, returns to Allâh, and waits till another mother conceives a man, *ins*, when Allâh will add the waiting soul to that of the mother.

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

778 whom public opinion considers to be a saint, they never pay
769 attention to these domes. In their opinion the latter commemorate the saints of the settlers and breeders of goats and sheep, *rî'* or *šwâja*, not of the Bedouins. They say: "They are not of our kin, *ahl*, not of us, *ǧemâ'atna*, therefore we do not honor them or go on pilgrimage to them, *ḥenna alli mâ hw minna mâ nezûreh*."

●775 Worship of the saints has never been known among the
764 Rwala and presumably never will be. The hereafter does not trouble the Bedouins much, and their idea of it is only hazy; nor have they any permanent burying places, *meǧenne*, but bury their dead wherever death overtakes them. They there-
769 fore do not know and never visit individual graves. This is often due to the great distance between their pastures; to some of their camping grounds they return only after many years — so why should they care for a grave? They do not know even where the graves of their older princes or head chiefs are. I have heard from many Rwala, even from members of the reigning kin, that Nâjef eben Ša'lân, one of their ancestors, lies buried between the rain pools of Haǧm and al-Bark in al-Ḥamâd and that a camel is sacrificed by his descendants whenever they come there, as they do once in many years. Yet while we camped in that place in 1914 and took our drinking water from both the pools, not a single member of the reigning house thought for a moment of sacrificing the camel on Nâjef's grave. Hazzâ', Prince an-Nûri's father, died at al-Ǧubejlijje in the Ḥawrân and was buried there, but his grave has never been visited by an-Nûri, although he often marches past the place.

Slejmân eben Meršed, one of the ancestors of the reigning family of the Sba'a tribe, died and was buried at Dejr az-Zôr on the right bank of the Euphrates. The merchants of that town, with whom he was always on friendly terms, had a small dome erected over his grave. It is said that whenever the members of his kin come there they sacrifice a camel by the dome, saying: "We think of thee, Slejmân; Oh, mayst thou have pity on us and our parents!" after which they besmear the tombstone with the blood of the sacrificed animal, *jeḥaṭṭeṭûn naṣibeh*. But Blejhân, a subject of Eben Meršed, stated that the camels are killed there by merchants from Dejr az-Zôr and not by any Bedouins. Bṭejjen eben Midbaṛ eben Meršed was buried at the mouth of the valley of al-Arḳaṭ. His

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

One in that condition cannot be frightened. The fatter a camel, the more spirited and nervous it is. *Muṭrašâni* is a camel used mostly on shorter journeys. 2. Muḥammad eben Smejr lost his honor, therefore he should lose his beard too. To shave a man's beard is the greatest punishment among the Rwala. *Eḥsân* or *ḥsâni* is a razor used in shaving, *jeḥasseně*. 4. Ṭwîl al-Felǧ, the High Mountain Covered With Snow, here means Hermon, inhabited chiefly by the Druses. 5. *Zahhâd, 'ajjâf*, or *za'lân min roll* are men who cannot show their hatred. *Al-man'* means pardoning an enemy who yields. The pardoned enemy, *mani'*, may remain in the tent until he has an opportunity to return home. Muḥammad and Ḥasan Pasha, the commander of the Turkish soldiers, declared that every Rwejli — even if he had yielded — should be slain. 6. The *awlâd meǧles* were members of the Ša'lân reigning kin. They with their servants and slaves were the first to attack the Ešâǧe'a, Muḥammad's allies, whose war cry was: "*Râ' al-ǧeḍ'a anaben me'ǧel*; O protector of Ǧeḍ'a, I am Eben Me'ǧel!" 8. *Snâd* denotes a definite course. *Mâ beha snâd* means either that the Ešâǧe'a were compelled to change their direction or that their counter attack did not meet with success. Eben Ḥaǧǧâǧ and Ḥamâmde are kins of the Weld 'Ali, subject to Muḥammad eben Smejr. 9. Awlâd Ǧam'ân was the name given to Da'mân, Nṣejr, and Šlâš, the three heroes of the Ša'lân kin. The Kurdish volunteers wore red waistcoats and red tunics. 10. *Makrûra* is a rifle of the original make, not an imitation. *Ṣoub beṣmâd*, direction to the goal; *ṣâmed ṣoub* signifies a marksman who hits his target, *mâ jiḫṭi*. 13. *Moucteh ḥakîk*: as if a sacrifice, *ḥakîka*, had been brought for him; his death is atoned for. In the opinion of the Rwala fallen warriors are allotted wide pastures in Paradise by Allâh. 14. *Turṭumâni* is a derisive name for the Turks, Turcomans, and Kurds, whose languages the Rwala do not understand. 17. Aš-Šejḫ Aḥu Dinja alludes to Nâjef aḥu Dinja, the first of the Ša'lân family to rule the Rwala. 18. The camels of the attacking Rwala were so spirited that they neighed as if rutting and dashed at the enemies as if they were camels for whom they were craving. Sbejbeḫ was the commander of the regular cavalry. 19. 'Aǧel al-Jâḳîn, an officer subordinate to Sbejbeḫ, wanted to ambush the camels carrying grain and other foodstuffs to the Rwala before their return to the inner desert. A horse usually has two halters, one without a bridle, which holds the rope for

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775 Thus it remains till the *hbâṭa* sacrifice has been brought, after which the body takes its place in the grave and the *nesem* departs, no one knows where.

775 673 After the *ẓaḥijje* sacrifice Allâh weighs both the good deeds, *ḥasanateh*, and the sins of the deceased, *sajâteh radijje*. Allâh punishes sins: *az-zena*, which means sexual intercourse with a girl betrothed to another or with another's wife, for that is a betrayal, *bowḳ*, of persons to whom the females belong; *al-ḥowne*, the robbery of a guest or companion who has trusted one while on the road; *ḏabḥ az-zelema*, killing of a man not subject to the blood feud or of an enemy who did not attack one; *az-ẓelîme*, false testimony under oath before the court. These four sins alone are punished by Allâh both in this world and hereafter. In this world he punishes by disease, by sending robbers against the sinner's estate; by taking away his sons, or by having him murdered. In weighing these sins and good deeds, the weight of the *hbâṭa* and *ẓaḥijje* sacrifices is added; also of the kettle in which the flesh was cooked; of the three stones, *hawâdi*, supporting the kettle; of all the utensils used in preparing the supper; of the fuel, as well as of everything that was laden on the she-camel sacrificed on the holiday of the commemoration of all departed, *az-ẓaḥijje*. The Rwejli is certain that, as far as he is concerned, the scales will always dip in his favor and that he will enter paradise intact with both his body and his soul, *nesem*. He that falls in war needs neither the *hbâṭa* nor the *ẓaḥijje*, for all his sins were washed off with his blood. A murdered man, too, goes directly to paradise, because his sins fall on the head of the murderer, unless the latter was destined by Allâh to punish the murdered man for his sins.

HELL AND PARADISE

772 775 Paradise is somewhere below ground. There it rains regularly, there is always *rabî'*, abundance, good pasture, *ḥejr*, and there also the moon shines all the time. In paradise all the Rwala live together, are young, and never grow older. They can marry there and have grown children at once. Every one has a big tent, big herds, and many children. They raid hostile tribes which have been condemned to hell, where all enemies of the Rwala are sent.

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Hell is situated either on the sun or in some other place above the earth. There the sun scorches by day and night, rains are very rare, the breeding of camels meets with no success, the soil has to be irrigated artificially — and the Bedouins there must work long and hard. They serve the *fellâḥîn*, have to obey the government, are conscripted, perform military duty, and Allâh himself knows all their torments. Some call hell *ḏalfât* and think that in that place neither the moon nor the stars ever shine.

Allâh dwells in both paradise and hell. He is omnipresent, hears and sees everything, but is himself invisible. With Allâh's permission even the dead may leave either paradise or hell and visit their kin, to whom they appear in dreams.

In the belief of the Bedouins and the Ṣlejb there is somewhere far beyond the horizon a tall moutain on each side of the earth. One half of each mountain rests on *terra firma*, the other half in the sea, into which it sinks abruptly, while towards the land it sends out a sharp spur called *ḥašm*. These four mountains carry the whole firmament. During the rainy season the spirits and even Allâh himself prefer to dwell near the southern mountain, which the Arabs call *aš-šerḳ*, as it is supposed to be situated in the inner desert. In summer, however, Allâh moves with all the spirits to the northern mountain, *jeṛarrebow*.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XIII

OMENS

NATURAL PHENOMENA AS OMENS

The Bedouin does not think deeply on religious matters and follows no rules in his religious observances. Nevertheless, he guides himself in all his social and private undertakings by certain fixed customs, observes the various natural phenomena, and pays heed to internal impulses and dreams which he holds to be signs or warnings sent to him by spiritual beings who wish him either good or ill. He is a firm believer in the existence of spirits and thinks it absolutely necessary to do all that is agreeable and avoid what is disagreeable to them. Woe to him, if he should anger them! To do so would frustrate all his undertakings. And anger them he would, should he not be careful in his words and actions nor give due regard to days of portent and certain signs both visible and invisible.

When a Rwejli despatches a man on an affair of importance, he must not use the word "*Ruḥ*," "Go!" or "Run!" He must not say: "Ride in the direction of the settlement of Baḳ'a" or "of the al-Lmât wells." All these words invite death. For the verb *râḥ, ruḥ,* is used in connection with death or departure from this world. *Baḳ'a'* signifies a violent death, and *al-lmât* also reminds one of destruction, or death. Therefore they are likely to say "*Erŝed*" for "Go!" or "Run," instead of *ruḥ* and to substitute for the topographical names Baḳ'a' or al-Lmât the term Ṭajjebt Ism, which, referring to a settlement or a well, means "the name is a good omen."

More important matters the Rwejli prefers to leave either till noon or at least till the dew has fully departed or to despatch them before the fresh dew has fallen. These times of the day he considers the most favorable, because the spirits are then resting. But there is no day without some meaning attached to it — it is either suitable for an undertaking or not. These significations are called *waǧba* or *waǧḥ*; the favorable ones being *zên*, the unfavorable *ŝên*. The best days on

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When yawning the Rwejli must also be very cautious, as the throat opens wide during this process and the demon then may let a drop of its urine, *jebûleh*, fall into the man's throat; the urine enters the stomach and causes various diseases.

The Bedouins should also watch the stars most carefully, because they have more properties unfavorable to man than favorable. Wounds will not heal when pierced by the rays of either the stars or the sun. Therefore the wounded person is laid, wrapped in all sorts of covers, in some corner of the tent so as to keep the rays away from him. Whenever people came to me with one of their wounded relatives, they first pitched a small tent behind the one occupied by me, closed it tightly, and then — not before — proceeded to uncover the wound. If a Rwejli loses his way at night, the stars are to blame, for he took his course from a certain star which changed its position imperceptibly, making the man take a wrong direction. Therefore he will not say *"Tiht*, I lost my way," but *"Enǧemt*, I was led astray by the stars." When the stars begin to play with a Rwejli in this manner, even the North Star cannot be depended upon. The best thing to do in that case is to lie down and wait for sunrise. Then the Rwejli can take his bearings himself according to the landmarks and continue his journey.

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CHAPTER XV

SPIRITS AND VOWS

The Rwala believe that besides this visible world there is also an invisible, or spiritual, world. The spiritual world is again divided into a celestial and an earthly world. The inhabitants of the celestial world are called *malak* (pl., *malâjika*), those of the spiritual earthly world *ǧânn* (pl., *ǧinn*). Both the celestial and earthly spirits were created by Allâh. They possess bodies similar to human bodies but invisible; they can pass through any wall and can cover in a short while a distance which even a good rider would travel in barely a month. The spirits hear, speak, eat, drink, and ride like any Bedouin but feel no pain, are never sick, and cannot die.

The celestial spirits do not leave heaven except when sent by Allâh to men. A *malak* announcing Allâh's will to the Bedouin is called *munâbi*, spokesman. He does so only during a dream, whether natural or artificial, the latter occurring when a waking person falls into ecstasy, *islâm*, under the influence of music or dancing.

THE ǦINN

To the earthly spirits, *ǧinn*, *harâfîl*, or *ǧenûn*, heaven is not accessible. They are of both sexes and have big eyes extending to the corners of their mouths. The food they prefer is raw meat, *nej*, and fresh blood is their favorite drink. The raw meat they get from fallen animals, the blood is left for them by the Bedouins every time an animal is killed. The *ǧinn* are divided into tribes, clans, and families like the Bedouins, but in reality are settlers, *ḥaẓar*. They live in high mountains, inaccessible ravines, and old ruins. They never have tents. Their dens are situated underground in rock crevices, caverns, and vaults of deserted buildings. The farther such a ravine or ruin is from the water, the better it is liked by the spirits, who know that they will not be disturbed there. They occupy themselves in raising goats and sheep, which their herdsmen pasture in regions so rocky and stony that the goats and sheep

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 belonging to human beings would die of hunger there. Camels and horses are not raised by them.

776 Woe to the Bedouin who falls asleep in a region inhabited by the spirits! For if a *ǧânnijje* observes him, she crawls into 828 his body either through his nostrils, forefinger, or big toe, and, as soon as she gets hold of him, she makes him jump 755 up and run into the desert, whence he can be brought back to his tent only by force. A man so possessed is known as *maḫšûš* or *muharfal*. To cure him, a seer, *râʿ as-sirr*, is called in, who, after working himself into an ecstasy, commands the female spirit to come out: "Crawl out, crawl out! *eṭlaʿî eṭlaʿi*." her answer being: "I will not, I will not crawl out, *mâ-ṭlaʿ*." Then the sorcerer orders his disciples to play louder and faster, he himself circling and dancing round the possessed with increasing vigor, finally lies down upon him and again shouts: "Crawl out and away with thee to the place whence thou camest! *eṭlaʿî maʿ makâneč min alli ǧîti minneh*." It takes some time for a female spirit to be driven out, because a woman is headstrong and will not obey.

A Ḳmâṣi spent a night in some ruins west of the al-ʿAzîb valley and perceived a *ǧânnijje* there, who instantly entered his body. He then ran into the neighboring hills and would not return home when found by his relatives, but threw himself on the ground, struck out at them, and frothed at the mouth. This showed him to be possessed, *maḫšûš*. A sorcerer was sent for. He played over him, *laʿab*, for several days, but the *ǧânnijje* tormented him still more. Then they began to beat him so that blood began to trickle from almost every limb of his body. The beating of a man possessed is permitted, for the blows are not meant for him but for the female spirit, and it is she who feels the pain, not the man. It is observed that the *ǧânnijje* shakes her victim less violently after the beating, and they then beat him only at intervals. On the twenty-fourth day the *ǧânnijje* finally left the bruised body for good, the prolonged beating having proved too much for her. The man, of course, recovered immediately afterwards.

513 The Bedouin does not like to sleep long, as many dangers lurk about him during sleep, not only from men but also from the earthly spirits, and, moreover, sleep reminds him of death. A Bedouin saying is: "He that sleeps one third of the night has done as well as he that sleeps all night, and he that sleeps the whole night will wake up an idiot; *min nâm ṯilṯ al-leǧl*

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

nâmha killaha w-min nâm kill al-lejl haḏâk ḥabîl." Sleep during the hot midday, *ḳajjalna*, or at sunrise, *ṣaffarna*, is preferred to the night sleep. This is also the time when the animals are allowed to rest. 613

Women and girls are in constant danger from the male spirits. If a girl, especially a pretty one, falls asleep in a locality inhabited by the spirits, she is approached by a male spirit, who has sexual intercourse with her yet without violating her virginity. Should he succeed in that only once, the girl cannot resist him ever afterwards. He compels her to leave her tent at night and to come to a place selected by him. Such a woman or girl must not marry; should she do so voluntarily the spirit would torment her still more, and if she is compelled to marry the spirit would attack her husband. 776 833

Me'zel eben 'Eḳla' of the Mwâhîb married a pretty widow, a relative of his, who was dominated by a *ǧânn* and was therefore unwilling. When on the wedding night he approached her, the *ǧânn* seized him by the throat, throttled him, and then threw him out of the tent, threatening him with death should he dare to approach her again. Such a husband expelled by a spirit is called *menḥi*. But a spirit can never beget children by a woman, as spirits never have any children at all.

The wells of the watering place of Lîne are very deep, hewn in the rock spirally, and have smooth walls. According to a Bedouin tale, a chief's pretty daughter was often molested at night by a *ǧânn*. When she complained to her father he lay in wait for the spirit and finally caught him on the night of *aṣ-ṣarra*, or of the dark of the moon. The chief tied the *ǧânn* both hands and feet, seated him on the rocky plain of Lîne, and commanded him to keep on circling around until his posteriors should dig a well with spring water in the rock. The *ǧânn* began to do as he was bidden, his back grinding out the rock and his head pressing up the sand, which was changed by his sweat into a thin dough. Yet no sooner had he deepened one well that the chief made him dig a second, a third, and so on, urging him on with the words: "Soften the rock, soften the rock, and change it into dough! *lîni lîneh w-erdih 'aǧîne.*"

Not long ago some travelers, *rab' aṭ-ṭrûš*, rode by the impassable crags of al-'Afâjef in the deep depression of al-Ka'ara. Below a hillside there a hedgehog, *ḳunfud*, of extraordinary size was warming himself in the rays of the sun. 776 825

776 825 Dismounting, one of the travelers caught the animal and put it into his empty saddle bag, intending to kill and roast it at their next halting place, as the hedgehog's flesh is regarded as having a very savory taste. But before long they heard a female voice crying: "O Manṣûr, O Manṣûr, where art thou?" Turning around they saw an elderly woman running after them, repeating the call. Finally the hedgehog's voice was heard out of the bag: "Manṣûr lies curled up in a small bag, *al-manṣûr bwaṣṭ al-ḫurǧ maṣrûr*." This frightened the riders so much that the man with the bag threw the hedgehog on the ground, and the animal, instantly changing into a man, ran towards the woman.

One Ǧirân walad Dẖejjel found near al-'Afâjef a solitary sheep. Thinking that it had gone astray from some flock in the neighborhood, he tried to catch and bring it to its owner. A lost animal of this kind is called *ḫwâr*, and its finder receives a reward for returning it. But our sheep was not a *ḫwâr* at all but a sheep from a *ǧânn* flock, for it ran into a steep crag where there was not the smallest opening and disappeared in a second.

Old ruins also are favorite hiding places of the *ǧinn*. There they either live in the shape of long snakes or else they enter snakes' bodies, *maskûn*, and dwell there permanently. Therefore whoever kills a snake among old ruins makes the spirits his enemies. But should he roast and eat such a snake, he would bring the spirit into his own body and become possessed. On the other hand, in the wide, level desert where the spirits never live, any long snake can be killed and eaten with impunity.

In the great church in the ruins of ar-Reṣâfa there lives — according to the Rwala — a long, black snake, *dâbb*, with the head of a goat and a white spot on its forehead. The oldest Bedouins say that it is very old and relate that the same serpent had been known to their forefathers. It fears nobody, probably knowing with what fear it is regarded by the Bedouin population of the whole neighborhood.

Near the well of Wâḳṣa, south of the oasis of Tejma, a treasure is said to be guarded by a *ǧânn* in the shape of a *dâbb* snake.

In the castle of al-Ḫafâǧi, formerly owned by the Âl Aẖejẓer or Eben Aẖejẓer kin, the Rwala claim once to have seen a long snake or dragon with a human head, bird's feet, and lion's back, which did not stir even when they came close to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

it. This calmness so terrified the curious Bedouins that they instantly took to their heels.

In the *šeʿîb* of al-Čaʿči which opens into the valley of al-Člâbât stands a large boulder facing eastwards and entirely covered with curious marks. This boulder is a place of pilgrimage for the *ǧinn*, who gather there in the end of May to kill their sacrificial animals. They were seen performing these rites by the Ṣḳûr clan subject to the chief Eben Haḍḍâi.

At aš-Šubejče there are a few large black boulders said to be inhabited by *ǧinn*. Close to them yawns the opening of an ancient well from which they water their herds.

In the neighborhood of Ǧâwa and Ǧennâwa lie many boulders shaped like cows. A long time ago the *ǧinn* kept a herd of cows there, which pastured on grass grown on firm soil as well as on the *rimṭ* and *ṛaẓa'* thriving only in sand. Allâh, however, forbade them to raise cows and transformed the cows into boulders. *Ǧâwa w-ǧennâwa behen ḥaǧarât lowm al-baḳarât bên ad-dimṭ w-ar-rimṭ w-al-ṛaẓa'.*

Near the ridge of Lâha the *ǧinn* have an underground village; also near Bâjer and al-Mwejsen.

In the wide level desert delightful music may often be heard and pretty girls seen coaxing the traveler to join them. But woe to him who succumbs! The girls will tickle him to death, suck out his blood, and devour his flesh. As my companion, Blejhân, related: "Once I went with three of my comrades on a marauding trip, our goal being the pastures of the Sirḥân tribe at the southern foot of the Ḥawrân. When already near our destination we were surprised in a deep gully by a strong troop of our enemies of the Ṣḥûr tribe and were scattered in several directions. I luckily got out of the volcanic rocks into the level Ḥamâd desert, where I rested at night, squatting by my camel and filling my short pipe, *sebîl*. Some days before, it had broken in the middle and I had repaired it by replacing the stem with a piece of bone and tying it to the bowl with a strip of leather. A pipe thus mended is called *bûz* or *bazbûzt as-sebîl*. Having filled it with tobacco, I wrapped my head and the pipe in my cloak, so that the sparks flying from it and the smoke could not be seen from a distance; *ṭarâmaṭṭ bel-ʿaba' ʿan bazbûzt as-sebîl lâ tenšâf*. Suddenly I heard a sound as if somebody were running in front of me. Raising the cloak a little, I looked round but saw nothing and thought it might have been a wild beast, a wolf perhaps. Some

776 823 time after this, *'oḳob mišwâr*, I heard singing and the beating of a drum. This time I looked up with more attention — and there, right before me, shadows of dancing girls were flitting. And yet there was no camp near. The girls went within a stone's throw of me, beckoned to me, smiled, and tried in various ways to draw me towards them. But I pressed my face close to the ground and hugged it as tight as I could with my whole body so as to see and hear nothing. Then I fell asleep."

A Rwejli was riding at night through the al-Ḥadîṭa ruins in the Sirḥân depression. Suddenly he heard the voices of women rejoicing, *zaṛârît*, and calling: "Welcome to thee! welcome to thee! *jâ hala bak jâ hala*." A little while afterwards he was surrounded by pretty girls who asked him to dance with them, but when our Rwejli pronounced, *samma*, the word Allâh, the girls suddenly vanished.

At another time a small troop of migrating Rwala arrived late in the evening at al-Ḥadîṭa. As there was good pasture in the neighborhood they pitched their tents and, being very fatigued by their long march, lay down to sleep, from which they did not awake till the sun was up. But their surprise may be imagined when on rising they found their tents struck, rolled together, and ready to be loaded on the camels. They loaded them with all the speed possible and at once rode from a place evidently inhabited by malevolent *ǧinn*.

824 776 In every tree and bush of the *sidr* and *'awseǧ* variety there lives a spirit, and for this reason the wood of these thorny trees and bushes must not be used for fuel. Where the *sidr* trees grow in a cluster, the *ǧinn* have their gardens, as for instance at al-Obejjeẓ, Sejdarân, and al-'Âmeẓ.

776 854 Some of the earthly spirits are given to harming men and take on various shapes for that purpose. They have various names. Of these most dreaded by the Bedouins is a female spirit called *sar'at aš-šibe*. In appearance she is a tall thin woman wearing a dress made of leather. This spirit wanders about the desert from camp to camp, looking for children. If she hears a child crying, she crawls near, gropes about for it with her hands till she finds it, then catches it, and runs with it to her own kin. There the child is torn partly open, its blood sucked by all the spirits present, and its flesh devoured raw. Therefore mothers try to frighten their crying child with the warning: "Keep quiet or *as-sar'a* will come for thee!" To protect a child from the spirits the Rwala women

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

hang the cradle, *rûǧâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sar'a* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *sa'aluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurḳi*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the 'Ebede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *sa'aluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûẓ* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it. *Ḥakk al-ḳârûẓ*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises above the real or imaginary grave of some man or woman

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
● 777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

small *khanjar* is a curved dagger, and it was with this very one Nuri had killed in single combat a minor chieftain of the Muntefiq. 777

One afternoon young Fuaz and a group of his little friends were practising with slings, the ancient weapon with which David slew Goliath. They shot flat pebbles with astounding accuracy at the small wooden pegs, which held the tent ropes down about thirty paces distant. Unseen by them, I suddenly stepped out from behind his tent. A stone, which had hit its target close to me, rebounded from the smooth wood and struck me on the forehead between the eyes. For a moment I was nearly stunned, more perhaps from shock than from the actual blow. My first thought was that I had been struck by a bullet. 857 524

Gasping and with a frightened face, Fuaz ran up to me. He had noticed the wound in my forehead and a few drops of blood on my fingers, which I had, in my confusion, pressed to my head. When I took the lad in my arms and laughingly lifted him up, to let him know that it was no great matter, a look of anger crossed his face, as if he had been offended. He wriggled free and stood still before me. Then he tore his *aghal* and *kaffiyah* (the veil and head-cloth) from his head, letting the six fine braids of his hair fall over his shoulders. They reached to his hips. With tears welling from defiant eyes, he cried, "*Ana dachilak!* Before the face of God I deliver myself unto you: tell me the price of your blood." It sounded not in the least regretful, nor did it suggest any wish to be forgiven. It was sheer defiance, because he thought I had made fun of his offer. 683

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

"They bring good luck," he replied dreamily.

He then transferred his caresses to a bedraggled ostrich plume, stuck in the radiator cap.

"And this feather duster, what is that for?" I asked.

"This feather stands for strength, speed and endurance such as Allah has given to the male ostrich," Ibrahim replied impressively.

Now I knew!

Ibrahim twinkled at me with his one eye and with an air of superiority took the trouble in hand. Coolly he announced that the springs of the car had given away, and, still worse, that the front axle was broken.

"Then the 'wild ostrich' cannot run any more," I said sarcastically.

Ibrahim now lost his lamblike patience. He darted a look of scorn at me and angrily chased the volunteer experts away from his car with some highly original curses. The sleeping volcano had suddenly burst into activity. He replaced every screw, nut, spark-plug and wire which his "assistants" had pulled out. Then, with the boards of a box and strips of a gasoline can, he made a "splint" for the broken axle. For this job he needed also wire or rope, of which unfortunately we had only a few odd bits. Ali's shirt and my two (the only shirts amongst the seven travellers) had to serve as bandages for the broken limb of the "wild ostrich." As substitutes for the springs, Ibrahim cleverly fitted several padded boards over the rear axle. The result looked marvellous—but would it hold out?

We discarded all superfluous luggage, and even ate the two chickens.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ḏib*, wolf, is most fond of frequenting caves and crevices in rocks. Only when it is about to give birth to young does it crawl into a deserted hyena den. In color it adapts itself to its surroundings. In the volcanic territory it is dark brown, *aṣḥam*; in the sandy desert of the Nefûd it is a light brown with a greenish tinge, *azraḳ*; and in the plains of al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudijân it is gray with a tinge of blue, *ašhab*. Wolf skins are used in making rebecs, or one-stringed viols, *rebâba*, which then have a particularly high note. The wolf's eye fetches a very high price, because it affords protection in the greatest danger. The wolf thoroughly understands human speech. He himself was once a human being and his name was Serḥân. At that time all the sheep and goats belonged to him. Because of some great sin he was changed into a wolf, and his flocks were taken by man. But the wolf even now regards goats and sheep as his own and has a grudge against shepherds and their dogs because they prevent him from enjoying his property. Once a wolf said to a sheep dog: "Tonight I will take some of my property for supper, *al-lejle 'aššâje râs mâl*." The dog replied: "We shall see. If I get supper from my masters, I shall protect their property, so that thou wilt not get a taste of it; *elja 'aššûni-hali affekaha lâ ṯḏûḳaha*." If the dog does not receive an adequate supper, his hunger causes him to seek food throughout the neighborhood, and the wolf can plunder to his heart's content.

There was a certain Bedouin who went out on his camel for booty. He met a wolf who likewise was going in search of spoil. They agreed that they would help each other like brothers, *taḥâwow hu w-aḏ-ḏib*. The wolf sat on the camel behind the rider. While the rider slept, the wolf watched over the grazing camel. When they reached a high hill, from the top of which there was a good view, *merḳâb*, the wolf crawled out on to the hill and inspected the region on all sides. Finally he caught sight of grazing camels which belonged to a hostile tribe. They rode cautiously in their direction. The rider kept his camel in a hidden gully and crept with the wolf towards the camels. The wolf ran up to the shepherds, who immediately seized their weapons and pursued him with shouts. Scarcely had they disappeared when the Bedouin seized the finest camel and rode with it into the gully. The wolf led the shepherds far away from their herd; then he returned to it, caught by the throat a tiny young camel, which was covered with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a thousand paces distant one from the other. The gazelles at first advance quietly, but later on, becoming scared, they run along the two walls and try to penetrate as rapidly as possible through the narrow opening into the upper and completely closed loop. As soon as they run through, the narrow opening is blocked up and a greyhound, *sluḳe*, attacks the gazelles. The frightened animals run round the wall, jump across it where it is lowest, and fall into the pits that have been dug outside. It is said that the gazelles even dream of the narrow opening, *ẓejž*, through which they rush to certain destruction. If a Bedouin wishes to stop a gazelle in flight, he shouts: "A narrow opening is in front of thee, O gazelle! *aẓ-ẓejž jâ ṛazâl*," and the gazelle at once stops and looks round. If a Bedouin perceives a gazelle when he is undertaking an important task, he is afraid of bad luck, and shouts: "Gazelle, gazelle, let the misfortune vanish as well! *ṛazâl ṛazâl w-šarren zâl*."

224 825 [777]

SMALL ANIMALS

The *arnab*, hare, is found throughout the territory of the Rwala. In the sandy Nefûd it is pinkish-white; in the volcanic regions it is black; in al-Ḥamâd it is grayish-yellow. Hence it cannot be distinguished from its surroundings. The male is called *ḥazaz*, the female *'edene*, and the young *ḥurnež*. The full-grown hare is not as large as the wild rabbit of Europe. Like the gazelle and antelope it quenches its thirst with dew only. If a man approaches it, it crouches close to the ground or hides behind a stone in a brushwood thicket, and does not move even if the man walks right past it. If, however, it notices that the man is returning, it seeks safety by rushing madly away.

136

The hare is said to boast: "I am he with the white lip in the plain with the dried-up plants, who satisfies two and makes the mouth of the third one water; *ana-š-šerma bḳâ'at al-žerma mišbe' aṭ-ṭnên w-mlaṛṛem aṭ-ṭâleṭ*," or "I am he who hides beneath a tiny shrub, whose fur gives pleasant warmth, and who is not seen except by the camel herdsmen; *ana šğêreti ḥafijje w-wbêreti ẓafijje w-lâ jišûfni kûd râ'i al-belijje*." If the hare runs away, the Rwala shout after him: "Furry one, furry one, into the fire with him when he's caught! *wabra wabra w-ben-nâr minṭabra*." If the hare shows himself to men hunting with falcons, they shout: "Thy appearance is a

825

136 The *ʿaḳâb*, eagle. Not even a *bâšeḳ*, nor a *ǧeleme*, nor the falcon itself is safe from the *ʿaḳejb al-ǧerdân* species.

223 The *nisr* (pl., *nsûr*), vulture, especially the *ḥabaši* species,
825 is shot and eaten, for its flesh is healthful. Seven pieces of
757 its flesh dried in the sun are the best remedy for rheumatism and hemorrhoids. The patient should eat these seven pieces at once, cover himself with seven quilts, and sweat, and Allâh will help him.

136 The *raḥama* (*Vultur perenopterus*) migrates at the be-
825 ginning of the autumn rains and does not return until the beginning of the *smâk* season. The Bedouins greet its return with joy, for they know that within ten or fifteen days there will be warmer weather. The *raḥama* is unwilling to give up its booty and exerts all its strength to get possession of it. Hence the saying: "So and so craves for something like a *raḥama*, *twaḥḥam twaḥmet ar-raḥama*."

The *saʿadi* or *abu saʿad* is the stock.

The *ṛarḳ* is a water bird.

The *ṛurâb*, raven, is found in three varieties: the *zâṛ al-baḳʿ*, the smallest, is black with a bluish or greenish luster on its chest; the *ǧabʿa*, somewhat larger, has a short tail and very tasty flesh; the *ṛurâb al-ʿaḳʿaḳ* is the largest. All three species accompany the camels far into the desert and from them they pick ticks, *ḳarâd*, and the larvae of the gadfly, *ḥeleme*; but they also gnaw at the blisters under the saddle, and for this reason the herdsmen drive them away. If they see a raven settling on a camel, they call to it: "Fly away into the inhabited regions! *ṛarreb ṛarreb*." Or: "Beware of the awl! The awl will prick thy throat! *mḥejrîz jibeṭṭ leḥâtak*!"

777 If a man undertakes an important journey and observes
825 a single raven, he laments: "Oh! weary with weeping is the eye of him whom a single raven has approached, *jâ ḳard al-ʿejn min ǧâh al-ṛurâb wḥîd*." He knows that he will have bad luck, and therefore he will prefer to return. If, however, he sees two ravens, he exults: "Oh! blissful is the eye of him whom two ravens have approached, *jâ ḥaẓẓ al-ʿejn min ǧannah al-ṛurâbên*."

539K The young ravens are more wary than the old ones. An
825 ancient raven was giving instruction to its great-grandson: "My son, do not trust people. If thou perceivest a man approaching thee, fly away as soon as he bends down. He might

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

524 *šẓâẓ*, on the highest stone near by, taps it with his large peg
857 enough to make it fly up a little, and when in the air gives it a good blow so as to make it fly to the other players who wait at a distance of about thirty or forty paces. Every one of them tries to hit the flying sharp peg with his own peg in order to send it back. As long as no one succeeds, the peg is returned to the first boy, who continues to bat it until one of his comrades finally strikes it and takes his place. When striking at the *šẓâẓ* peg the head or shoulders of a player often come in contact with it, with consequences easy to imagine.

Many a kerchief is torn to ribbons in the game called *dehdwa*. One boy rolls a large stone down a slightly inclined plane, while the others try to stop it, *ʿakašha*, with their kerchiefs. The one succeeding in this is entitled to roll it, *jedahdîha*.

ʿAḳê ʿaḳab is a game in which all the boys run for the goal, about a hundred paces away. He who reaches it first shouts: "*ʿaḳê ʿaḳab*," a command for the others to turn and run back to the starting point. The first boy to reach it now calls out the same words, "*ʿaḳê ʿaḳab*," and flies with the others to the goal again. This is repeated until all are exhausted. Finally the one to reach the goal first exclaims: "A pile of wood, *korkob ḫašab*," and sinks to the ground; the others follow his example, lie still for a while, but then begin to kick and strike out all around regardless of whom they hit.

DITTIES SUNG BY GIRLS

539x The girls have no such games. Occasionally at night they
857 form two choirs and alternately sing, *jesemran*, various ditties
533 called *summejr*:

Tafawwelû bel-faẓa	For a good sign take a great plain,
jâ-lli ṭalab fâlî	O all ye who ask me for a good sign!
fâli rŝêden w-ar-rašed	Fortunate is my sign, for luck
ṭajjeb al-fâli.	Is the best of all signs ye may want.

539x When the women and girls are about to start their *sum-*
857 *mejr*, the men and youths gather not far off. Before a raid
● 777 or any act of importance every man observes the first word
726 uttered by the woman or girl dear to him. That word they

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

take to be their sign or omen, *fâl*, and try to guess from it whether their enterprise will meet with success or not. Knowing this the girls begin with the ditty quoted above. A *faẓa'*, or vast plain where the Bedouin cannot be ambushed, is to him a good sign. Better than any sign, however, is the luck itself or the successful result.

Enḥowderû les-summejr
w-az-zemel bel-misrâḥ
min hw jehedd aṭ-ṭejr
ma'lûḳ ḳlejbeh râḥ
jelfi 'ala marteh
jâ niğmet al-miṣbâḥ
erḫi ṭrejf as-sejr
žîfi 'ala-l-mebṭâḥ.

Gather for the *summejr*,
For the pack camels are out in the pasture.
Who is that training the hunting falcon?
The falcon to whom his heart clung disappeared and
Will soon reach its wife.
O morning star!
Loosen the end of thy leather belt
And stand leaning against the long litter pole.

The girls and women invite everybody to their entertainment, *summejr*, as it is unnecessary to get up so early next morning, since the chief's pack camels are not yet back from the pasture. They hear some one training his hunting falcon and later pity him, because the falcon has flown away and returned to its wife. When about to move they call out to the prettiest woman of the camp to stand up in her litter and shed light all around her like the morning star.

The word *enḥowderû*, gather down, come down together, is used because the *summejr* is always held in a low piece of ground protected against the wind. *Erḫi ṭrejf as-sejr* means "loosen the end of thy leather belt." Every woman wears a belt of small leather strips on her bare body. On entering a litter she loosens this belt in order not to be incommoded by it on the journey. *Žîfi*, stand leaning, for *žifi*.

Jâ rabbi jâ ḥâleẓ al-lejl
hât al-maṭar min saḥâbeh

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XIII

OMENS

NATURAL PHENOMENA AS OMENS

The Bedouin does not think deeply on religious matters and follows no rules in his religious observances. Nevertheless, he guides himself in all his social and private undertakings by certain fixed customs, observes the various natural phenomena, and pays heed to internal impulses and dreams which he holds to be signs or warnings sent to him by spiritual beings who wish him either good or ill. He is a firm believer in the existence of spirits and thinks it absolutely necessary to do all that is agreeable and avoid what is disagreeable to them. Woe to him, if he should anger them! To do so would frustrate all his undertakings. And anger them he would, should he not be careful in his words and actions nor give due regard to days of portent and certain signs both visible and invisible.

When a Rwejli despatches a man on an affair of importance, he must not use the word "*Ruḥ*," "Go!" or "Run!" He must not say: "Ride in the direction of the settlement of Baḳ'a" or "of the al-Lmât wells." All these words invite death. For the verb *râḥ, ruḥ*, is used in connection with death or departure from this world. *Baḳ'a'* signifies a violent death, and *al-lmât* also reminds one of destruction, or death. Therefore they are likely to say "*Eršed*" for "Go!" or "Run," instead of *ruḥ* and to substitute for the topographical names Baḳ'a' or al-Lmât the term Ṭajjebt Ism, which, referring to a settlement or a well, means "the name is a good omen."

More important matters the Rwejli prefers to leave either till noon or at least till the dew has fully departed or to despatch them before the fresh dew has fallen. These times of the day he considers the most favorable, because the spirits are then resting. But there is no day without some meaning attached to it — it is either suitable for an undertaking or not. These significations are called *waǧba* or *waǧḥ*; the favorable ones being *zên*, the unfavorable *šên*. The best days on

●777 which to begin a task are Mondays and Thursdays. Their *waǧba* is not only favorable, *zêna*, but their countenance, too, is sweet, *ḥelw*, so that they insure good results. Wednesday, Saturday, and the forenoon of Friday are not suitable. There is no spirit which would assist a Bedouin who begins an undertaking on any of these days, and he would be left to his fate, *naṣîbeh*. The other days of the week are of no significance whatever.

[805] The Bedouin observes the moon very carefully, counting his days in accordance with its waxing or waning. For both of these also have their good or bad countenance, *waǧh*. The most suitable or lucky day is the first day of the month, if it falls on Monday or Thursday. Then the success of an undertaking is assured. Unlucky are such nights and days of the month as contain the numbers six or seven. The sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth days of the month, called *al-farad*, are considered unlucky, as they break up or disintegrate any undertaking precisely as one can divide the figure six into two and two and two. The nights of the sixth, sixteenth and twenty-sixth of the month are called *lejâli-l-ṭarak*, the nights of flood, destruction. He who undertakes a work of importance on those days will drown his efforts in failure. Every being that comes into the world on any of these nights will surely perish and is on that account called *ṭarkân*. A baby boy born on such a night will not learn to walk. *lâ jaskom*.

The seventh, seventeenth, and twenty-seventh days of the month are likewise unlucky. The number seven, *sab'*, is wholly under the domination of the spirits; anyone pronouncing it irritates the evil spirits and repels the good. Colloquially *samḥ* is used instead of *sab'*, which is employed only in conjuring or swearing, and also in cursing to perdition — that is, when calling on the spirits with some object in view.

The ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth days remind one of the waning of the month, *nefâż aš-šahr*; for this reason it is better not to begin anything important on these days. A raid made on any of them will certainly fail, especially if led by several chiefs. On no other days of the month are there so many disputes and quarrels as on the ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth — it seems as if every human being was then unconsciously subject to irritation, *mat'ûs*.

The twenty-first day brings much evil into the world. The traveler loses his way most easily on that day. A child born on the twenty-first is called *maṭrûd*, pursued by trouble;

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it will not die but will be sick most of its days and will leave no descendants, and its herds will not multiply. 777

Just as every man and especially his pregnant wife wish that no child be born to them on the twenty-first day of the month, they still more ardently desire that it be born in the night of the fourteenth or twentieth, or on the day of the eighteenth. The night of the fourteenth is called *lejlet al-ḳadr*. A boy who sees the light of this world on that night will bring glory to his whole kin and clan — even to the whole tribe — and is therefore called *baḫît*. The night of the twentieth is known as *al-ḫatma* and is lucky, *zêna*, to any undertaking. He who begins a task on the eighteenth is sure of success, for that date is favorable, *waǧheh zên*.

But it is not enough for the Rwejli to observe time and day; he must also watch his surroundings, as there are favorable and unfavorable qualities both in human beings and in animals. Many a kin, many a clan, bears a good omen, *fâlhom zên*, others again a bad one, *fâlhom šên*. When meeting any of them on an important journey the Bedouin knows at once whether he can proceed farther or must return. A good omen is inherent in the Ḳa'âš'a of the Rwala tribe; in the Malḥûd kin of the Mǧelli clan of the Fed'ân tribe; in the Eben Fnejd kin of the Rassâlîn clan of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, as well as in every pretty woman, *ḫurma min al-bwêheǧ*. If raiders approach a camp of some friendly Bedouins known to be possessed of a good omen, the chief or some prominent man from the camp rides out or runs to meet them with the greeting: "Hasten after your luck! *efleḥow*." The commander, then, making his camel kneel, *jenawweḥ*, answers: "May it be a good omen to me, which I accept; *fâli w-žebilteh*." 777 787 614

Unlucky is the sign of the Bdûr of the Eššâǧe'a and Freǧe of the Rwala; of the Hwejsân kin of the Rassâlîn clan; of the Mwêne' kin of the 'Ebede division, but especially that of the N'ejm and Ǧimlân, who breed goats and sheep in the al-Ḥaṣṣ hills. The Rwala never rest with the members of these kins or clans when going out on a raid but prefer to suffer hunger themselves and let their mares also suffer rather than to eat a mouthful with them. For each bite of food accepted from them brings failure, *'alḳathom ḳaŝra*; yet on their return they have no objection to refreshing themselves at any camp of these people.

Failure is always attached to the Ṣlejb, and their tents

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777 787 614 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. The Ṣlejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Ṣlejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

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777 787 825 FIG. 55

FIG. 56

FIG. 55—A horse bridle, *'anân.*
FIG. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadid.*
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥoṣejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḥaṭam 'ala-l-raziw*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *rurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên.*" A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḥaṣar* or *rǎejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dâbb*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favorable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *aṭ-ṭlejžijjât.*

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A Bedouin who has led in his mare to the stud horse, mounts her afterwards and rides around the camp until he meets a girl, to whom he says: "O daughter, just now I have led in my mare." If the girl answers: "Be comforted with

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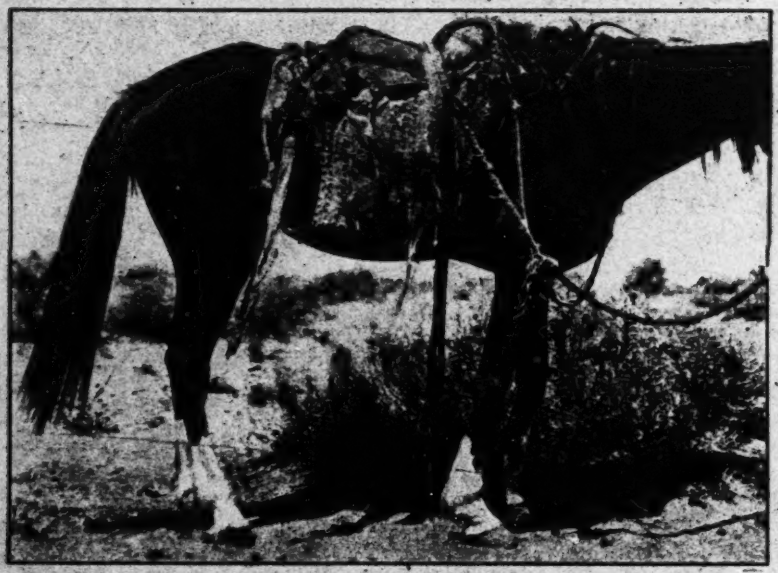

FIG. 57—A harnessed mare.

the glad tidings that she will bring thee a filly, *ebšer bemohra*," both the owner of the mare and his whole kin rejoice, for this is a favorable sign, and they all expect confidently that the girl's prophecy will come true.

It is a common belief among the Rwala that a one-eyed person is the bearer of misfortune. If a man meets one so afflicted, in order to destroy his unhappy influence he turns over a large stone, thus burying the bad omen. Hence the proverb: "If thou meetest a one-eyed person, turn over a large stone; *elja ḫuft al-'awar oklöb ḥağar*." Nobody embarking on a journey of importance will have for his guide a man with his right and left upper eyeteeth missing, *afraḳ as-sinnên*, or one with blue eyes, *azrar* (sic) *al-'ajnên*, for then nothing would succeed. Woe to those having intercourse with a woman whose breast is covered with down, or with a man without any beard or without down on any part of his body, *aǧnas al-*

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●777 *ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-halba' w-ar-raǧol al-melûs*, as both are the
787 cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person
826 that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-da"âja w-an-*
828 *na"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both
789 he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her opponent in the following sentences:

"Sab' hal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear this face!"

"Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwû (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-rîḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Ṣâjbt as-sa'ad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mowt an-nâr. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jil'an zên hal-hdûm alli mâ hi 'al-âdmi mâr 'ala 'ûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

777 In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful.
675 If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"'ala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

777 If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its
825 rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other
492 riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšaželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-ša"âṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aker-*

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bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭaʿ*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḥama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sabʿek* (or *Sabʿeč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled.

777 825 492 [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm mʿâwdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of

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cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi neḥanšel* or *ne'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *nimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl aẓ-ẓalma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanšel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd ṛazzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *ḥḍû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *bwaǧbet aṯ-ṯnên.*"

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Jâ-llâh maksûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad.*"

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl.* If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḥdaha.* They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣabberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabi'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *ḫrân al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

[585] ●777] [834] [714]

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

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course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, 758
neǧes, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*: The visitor 831
salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiǧik*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, [576]
and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have 761
a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednes- 777
day and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṯ-ṯakil*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mḥarṭal*. As such they consider the 732
imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalûṭ*, bites, *jiʿazz*, a man, sulphur 752
is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot 758
nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent 752
for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* 755
learns this art from a member of the Rifâʿijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *ʿabas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *ʿankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young 763
children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what 429

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looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours.

At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the centre of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab*, the "Ship", also called *Abu-Dubur*, "Father of the Ages"—the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,—the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

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XVII

The War Goddess

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TRA'D IBN SATTAM hurried with me to the sacred Standard, which rose high above the travelling-litters. We made our way through an agitated throng. The buzz of women's and children's voices intermingled with the grunting and complaining of laden camels. On nearer approach I noticed a group of women afoot, threading their way to the Standard; they waved their head-cloths and kept up a high-pitched chant. They were escorting a young woman, walking sedately in their midst. It was Tuēma. Her beautiful serene face was radiant and aglow with health. Her eyes under their long lashes were grave and devout, but she had a bright glance for Tra'd ibn Sattam, who had chosen her out of all the Rûala maidens for the signal honour of riding in the *Markab*, and on recognizing me her cheeks dimpled with a smile.

When Tuēma and her train of women had come up with the camel which bore the tribal symbol, a tall powerful animal led by a slave, she ran by its side for a space. The trilling and waving of the women rose to a joyous frenzy. Suddenly Tuēma broke away from her retinue, and with a running start grasped the camel's shoulder-girth and climbed nimbly on to its back and into the Palladium. In the left fore-corner of the sacred structure was a seat with a footrest, and on this she composed herself, enthroned on high like a desert queen above her

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people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuëma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuëma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuëma,

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Tuëma had meanwhile returned to her own dwelling at the lower end of the valley. Her girl friends had been busy selecting the handsomest camel-litter and decorating it for the occasion. With its ornate marriage canopy it was mounted on a fine, gorgeously caparisoned camel, which slaves then led to Tuëma's tent. There the bride mounted to her lofty seat between the slender horns of the camel-litter and, with songs and shouts and waving of scarves, her girl friends escorted her to the tent of the bridegroom.

Before the women's quarters, but so arranged that Faris on his couch could see everything, Tuëma made her camel kneel down. Faris's mother and sisters, attended by numerous men and women slaves, greeted and received the bride ceremoniously.

Close by, Mnahi held an old white battle-mare by the halter. Auda, "the helper", she was called, and also the "Virginal Kuhaylat-Ajuz", for she had never been mated. The Ruala all but worshipped her as sacred. As a three-year-old she had been presented to Misha'il as a gift, on the birth of her son, Amir Fuaz. The mare was thus twenty-seven years old and her body bore the scars of many a raid. Over her back was spread a white lamb's-skin rug, the "Virgin Fleece" which, according to immemorial custom, the Bedouin bride brings to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Tuëma had disappeared into the harem to be attired in her wedding dress by Faris's mother and sisters. When she came out again, she was resplendent in a rich cashmere gown woven in red and green (it had been worn by Faris's mother at her own bridal ceremony) and a

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XXI

The "Ark of Ishmael"

TO THE BEDOUINS of Arabia, the *Markab* has a significance such as the Palladium had to the Trojans. They all hold the belief that the possession of this symbol, much like the Israelitish "Ark of the Covenant", means safety and power to the tribe holding it, while its loss spells disaster to the tribe and its subsequent dispersion. The Ruala have held it uninterruptedly for nearly a century and a half, but even to-day the sight of "Ishmael's camel-throne", with the chosen maiden sitting on it in times of war, will inspire them to greater heroism. The warriors composing its guard of honour are the picked troops of the tribe. They vouch for its safety with life and limb; they are, above all others, the heroes of Arabia.

Before coming into the keeping of the Ruala, the *Markab* was held by the Amarat. More precisely, it was in possession of the Ibn Hadhdhal family of that tribe until 1793. In that year the Wuld'Ali, a tribe in alliance with the Ruala, made war on the Amarat. Jidua ibn Mubadir, a Rueyli then visiting the Wuld'Ali, took part in the campaign. At the height of the decisive battle, so the tale is told, this Rueyli, with permission from the Wuld'-Ali chieftain, flung himself on the horsemen guarding the *Markab* (with the Amarat maiden enthroned in it), cut his way through single-handed, and with one blow of the sword cut off one of the legs of the camel bear-

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

ing the emblem of the tribe, and brought it to the ground. With the sudden overthrow of the Holy Standard, the resistance of the Amarat also broke down and, terror-stricken, they suffered a crushing defeat.

On the battlefield the victors found Jidua, killed from ambush by a foot-soldier, and the Amarat maiden of the camel throne—Jamila—who had stabbed herself to death so as not to survive the shame of her people's defeat. The Wuld'Ali, indeed, claim to this day that Jidua had been Jamila's lover; for, they say, the lifeless bodies of those two were found side by side beneath the collapsed *Markab,* and one of Jamila's hands was still clenched round the hilt of her dagger while her other hand clasped the hand of Jidua.

After the defeat of the Amarat, the *sheykh* of the Wuld'Ali presented the *Markab* and with it Jidua's sword, now famous, to the Ruala, since it was a Rueyli who had overthrown the *Markab* and thus brought about the victory to the Wuld'Ali. Since then this sacred emblem has been in the hands of the Sha'lan family and has accompanied the Ruala in all their victorious wars, a symbol of their dominant position among all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia.

Of Jidua's sword—Thu'l-Hayyatu—"the-one-endowed-with-life"—there is also an older legend, which the aged Prince Nuri Sha'lan thus related to me:

In the fifth century of the Hegira (the twelfth by our reckoning) when the 'Anaza Bedouins were still grazing their camels south of Teyma at the Jabal Bird, it happened on the sacred pilgrim's road to Mecca from Damascus. Janda ibn Mubadir, an ancestor of Jidua, was

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

travelling with his clan toward Khaybar, seeking the *Dira* (pasture grounds) by the Jabal Abyadh and in the Wadi Rama. One still dark night, when the red campfires flickered in the tents, the air was suddenly filled with a terrific roaring. A mighty thunder-clap rent the sky, the ground trembled and swayed, and the whole world seemed to be tumbling. Every living thing leapt up in mortal terror and ran hither and thither. From the midst of the dark heavens above there broke forth a light that shone over the quaking earth with swiftly growing brilliance, until in a moment it had equalled the luminous power of the noonday sun and surpassed its heat. It blinded men and beasts and struck them down. The earth split; a sound of hissing, tearing, and crashing beyond the power of description filled the air, and a sulphurous smoke hung over the scarred earth.

When morning dawned it was found that many persons had been struck dead; their mutilated bodies were lying about. A crater-like scar marked the place where an unusually large meteorite had buried itself. In addition, a number of men and camels had disappeared without trace into the bowels of the earth, buried forever under sand and stones.

Janda ibn Mubadir and his war-mare, as well as two of his camels, lay dead before the wreck of his torn and partly burned tent. From opposite ends of the desert, from Haleb (Aleppo) in the north and el-Tayef (near Mecca) in the south, came reports that this exceptionally brilliant meteor, with its eerie sound, like "ker-ker-ker", had been observed, and that even the noise of its striking had been heard.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

Some years afterwards some bolder spirits among the Bedouins nerved themselves to examine the hole torn in the earth. To their joy, these Bedouins discovered that the rift, widened and cleared by them, began to fill with water. Bir er-Ra'ad (the Thunder Fountain) they named the well. During the excavation, they found small fragments of the splintered "messenger-from-the-sky." A son of Ibn Mubadir took one such fragment from the meteor and fashioned from it a sword two and a half feet long. It gleams to-day as it did then, as if it were brand-new. It is of a bluish tint without one rust stain, and fine silvery wavy marks run down the precious blade, which is as light as a feather. A silversmith of Damascus made a handsome hilt and an equally handsome scabbard for it, and another artist engraved the blade with Arabic runes in gold.

"The Sword-of-Janda-and-Jidua" is thus, in the truest sense, a gift of heaven, and that is why it is called also the "Sword of God" and "The Life-endowed One."

000 When, at the end of that time of grievous famine, the Ruala had entered the life-giving pastures of the Fid'an and Saba, Amir Nuri Sha'lan presented me with this sword, to keep in remembrance of this adventure and my share in it.

I need not say how much I treasure it.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

hang the cradle, *rûǧâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sarʿa* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *saʿaluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurḳi*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the ʿEbede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *saʿaluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûz* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it. *baḳḳ al-ḳârûz*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises above the real or imaginary grave of some man or woman

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whom public opinion considers to be a saint, they never pay attention to these domes. In their opinion the latter commemorate the saints of the settlers and breeders of goats and sheep, *rî'* or *šwâja*, not of the Bedouins. They say: "They are not of our kin, *ahl*, not of us, *ǧemâ'atna*, therefore we do not honor them or go on pilgrimage to them, *ḥenna alli mâ hw minna mâ nezûreh*."

Worship of the saints has never been known among the Rwala and presumably never will be. The hereafter does not trouble the Bedouins much, and their idea of it is only hazy; nor have they any permanent burying places, *meǧenne*, but bury their dead wherever death overtakes them. They therefore do not know and never visit individual graves. This is often due to the great distance between their pastures; to some of their camping grounds they return only after many years — so why should they care for a grave? They do not know even where the graves of their older princes or head chiefs are. I have heard from many Rwala, even from members of the reigning kin, that Nâjef eben Ša'lân, one of their ancestors, lies buried between the rain pools of Haǧm and al-Bark in al-Ḥamâd and that a camel is sacrificed by his descendants whenever they come there, as they do once in many years. Yet while we camped in that place in 1914 and took our drinking water from both the pools, not a single member of the reigning house thought for a moment of sacrificing the camel on Nâjef's grave. Hazzâ', Prince an-Nûri's father, died at al-Ǧubejlijje in the Ḥawrân and was buried there, but his grave has never been visited by an-Nûri, although he often marches past the place.

Slejmân eben Meršed, one of the ancestors of the reigning family of the Sba'a tribe, died and was buried at Dejr az-Zôr on the right bank of the Euphrates. The merchants of that town, with whom he was always on friendly terms, had a small dome erected over his grave. It is said that whenever the members of his kin come there they sacrifice a camel by the dome, saying: "We think of thee, Slejmân; Oh, mayst thou have pity on us and our parents!" after which they besmear the tombstone with the blood of the sacrificed animal, *jeḫaṭṭeṭûn naṣîbeh*. But Blejhân, a subject of Eben Meršed, stated that the camels are killed there by merchants from Dejr az-Zôr and not by any Bedouins. Bṭejjen eben Midbaṛ eben Meršed was buried at the mouth of the valley of al-Arḳaṭ. His

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of Eben Fâjez near Žerjet Abu Gâber and remained there for thirty nights. One fat she-camel was killed in his honor every day. The peace treaty ends with the words: "Interred and buried, *ḥafâr w-defân*," or: "Interred and buried under a steep bank, *damdûm w-ǧurfen mahdûm*; a steep river bank has fallen upon its shadow, *ǧurfen inhadam ʿala ẓelleh*; no wolf will hurt the sheep any more, *mâ ḏîben jaʿdi ʿala-š-šaʿ*."

The chiefs then grasp each other's right hands and say: "I give thee Allâh and the peace of Allâh. And whoever would deceive thee, may Allâh deceive him! I give thee Allâh against all instigation and calumny. *Aʿṭajtak allâh w-amân al'âh w-min bâḳak jebûḳeh allâh aʿṭajtak ʿan al-mesmesijje w-al-maḥâči-r-radijje*."

THE TRIBAL EMBLEM, ABU-D-DHÛR

The Rwala have no flag of their own. They go on raids without any special device; but when waging war, whether of aggression or defense, that endangers the whole tribe, they take with them a special kind of a litter, called Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab. This is perhaps the old decorated litter ʿAṭfa destined originally for the prettiest girl, who used to lead the tribe to the decisive battle. But there is nobody now who can remember that a girl has ever sat in it. The Markab litter (Fig. 59) is constructed of stout poles, the frame being about 90 centimeters high, 270 centimeters long at the top, and 190 centimeters long and about 50 centimeters wide at the bottom. All the poles are wrapped round with ostrich feathers; to the upper poles are tied 12 short pegs, *zerânîž*, with plumes of bent ostrich feathers, *ṛalab*. To be loaded, the Markab is placed in the litter called *ḥaraǧ*, and this is tied to a camel with ropes, *mečârib*. The *ḥaḳab* rope is drawn through under the breast, the *bṭâne* under the belly, the *ṭafar* under the tail, and the *lebab*, twisted from variegated camel's hair threads, under the neck. The single parts of the Markab litter (Fig. 58) are called: *ḥaraǧ* (*a*), *ʿidân al-haraǧ* (*b*), *bdûd* (this because they rest on the cushion, *bedd* (*c*), *ḥoṣra* (*d*), *mibṭâḥ* (*e*), *ǧenûb* (*f*), *ǧerâjed* (*g*), *zerânîž* (*h*), and *ṛalab* (*j*).

The Rwala believe that the litter is called Abu-d-Dhûr, Father of Indefinite Periods of Time, because it is inherited from generation to generation, from age to age, *min ǧîlen ila ǧîl*, and that it will last forever. Al-Markab forms the visible

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token of princely power, and therefore this litter remains in the prince's tent all the time, in the part of the tent reserved for the women; here it is guarded, day and night, both by the prince himself and by his slaves, against everybody and

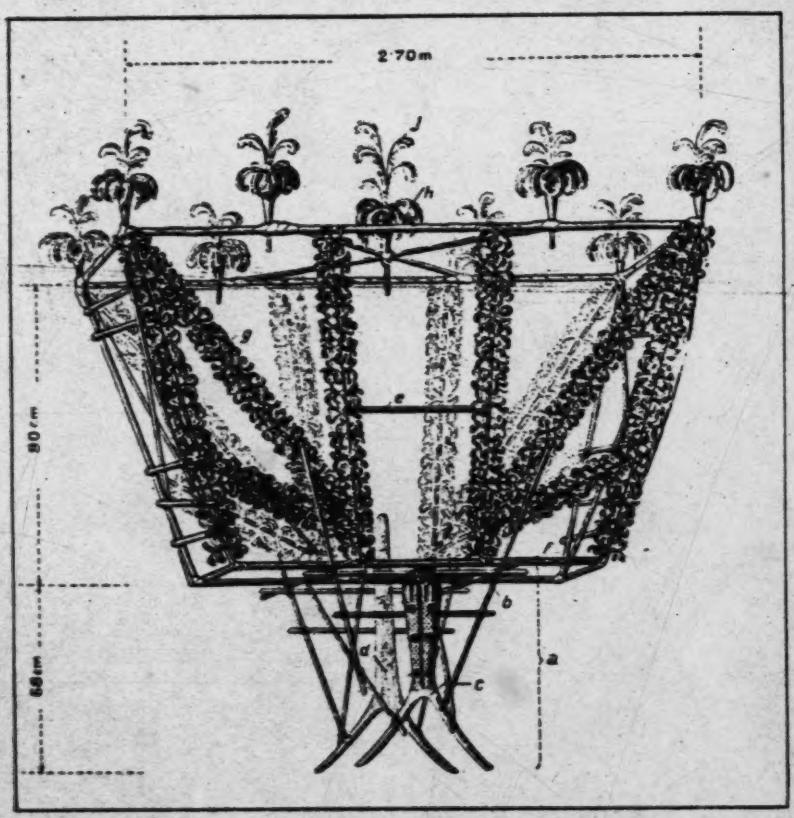

FIG. 58—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

especially against the prince's nearest kinsmen. For, if a revolt breaks out in the reigning kin against the prince, his opponents attempt first of all to snatch the Abu-d-Dhûr away from him, as he who has this emblem of the whole tribe in his possession must be recognized as their prince. Should the enemy at war with the Rwala succeed in capturing the Abu-d-Dhûr, the respect for it would be entirely lost, and the Rwala would not use it again. To carry this litter when the tribe migrates, an especially strong and docile camel, usually one

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

of white color, is selected. The animal then, as a rule, walks between the laden camels and the herds, thus forming the center of all the migrating families.

When attacked by an enemy in force on the march, the

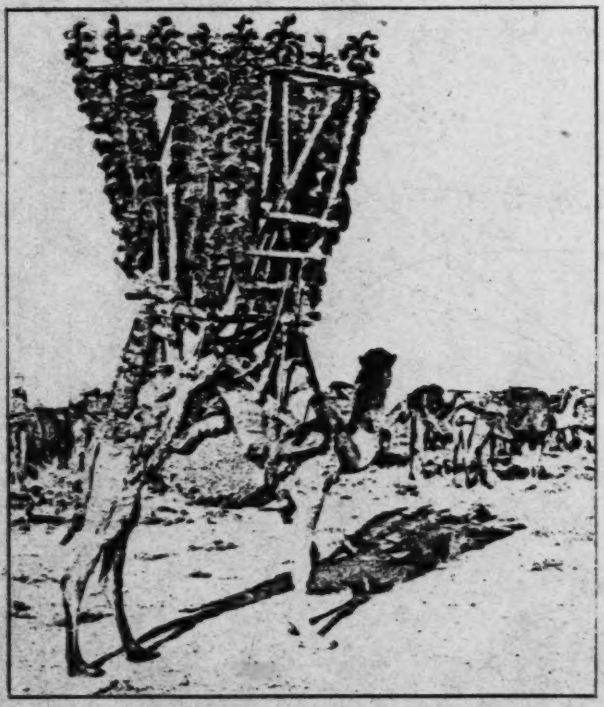

FIG. 59—Abu-d-Dhûr or al-Markab litter.

best fighters at once surround the Abu-d-Dhûr to protect it. If it seems that the enemy will push back the fighters resisting his attack and that he will break through to the pack camels, the commander of the chosen troop of fighters (called *ṣanam*) who defend the Markab will take the camel carrying this symbol by the rein and lead her at the head of his troop against the enemy. The *ṣanam* are accompanied by girls seated on she-camels, who encourage the men to persevere, and behind them follow women who threaten to beat to death any one who deserts the Abu-d-Dhûr and flees. So far no enemy has succeeded in defeating the Rwala sufficiently to take the Abu-d-Dhûr away from them. The prince, it must be said, is very

726 prudent — the more dangerous the region through which the
778 tribe has to pass when migrating, or where it encamps, the nearer together stand the tents of the various camps.

When the Rwala engage in a war of *al-manâḥ* (see above, pp. 540f.), during which they move with all their herds and tents into an enemy's territory, the camel carrying the Abu-d-Dhûr walks at the head of the whole tribe, surrounded by warriors who follow every movement of the animal with the closest
787 attention. They believe that Allâh gives signs by means of
778 the Abu-d-Dhûr,[1] from which the outcome of the fight can be foretold. Sometimes, in a dead calm, the ostrich feathers adorning the Abu-d-Dhûr begin to flutter. At other times the litter leans to the right or left, but suddenly straightens itself, remains quietly upright, and then rocks a few times from side to side. All this, the Rwala think, happens by the power of Allâh, *ḳudrat min allâh*, who sends them help, *ʿenâje*, from al-Markab, where He is believed to seat himself for a while. The waving of the feathers and the straightening of the Abu-d-Dhûr are signs that Allâh has touched it with his power.

782 After each victory a camel is killed before the Abu-d-Dhûr in honor of Allâh. This is also done every year, even if the Rwala have had no war to which the Abu-d-Dhûr had to be taken.

NARRATIVES OF RWALA WARS AND RAIDS

539* 726* ***Ad-Drêʿi eben Šaʿlân's Raid on the Ẓefir (Early Nineteenth Century)***

Of their wars and raids much was related to me by the Rwala.

In bygone days (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) they had a head chief named ad-Drêʿi eben Šaʿlân, who was celebrated for his bravery, *w-leh ṣît bel-furse*. Once, while encamped with his Arabs west of the Ḥawrân mountains, he heard of the defeat of Eben Haddâl, the head chief of the ʿAmârât, who, while migrating with his tribe, was attacked by the Ẓefir chief, Sulṭân eben Swejṭ, and despoiled of all he had. During the fight one of the enemy's warriors had tried to seize a pack camel guarded by Ḥoṣṣa, Eben Haddâl's daughter. She had defended her animal from the man as best she could, but when he struck her she had cried out: "Ad-Drêʿi, O my hero! *W-ṣâḥat ad-drêʿi jâ raǧǧâli.*"

1 [See pp. 571–573, cat. 116, — Analyst]

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people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuēma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuēma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuēma,

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guardian of my soul!" he cried. Then he wheeled his horse and raced off with his riders.

Tra'd ibn Sattam took the leading rope of Tuëma's camel from the slave and led her past the marching tribe. For all the dire distress, a festive spirit animated the whole people. It was a festal day, for the Ruala had a queen again—a virgin in the sacred Ark; and under her symbolic leadership they pressed forward to their destiny.

Evening came and the whole tribe made camp. But in the grey of the next dawn they were on the march again.

Armed motor-cars circled about the widespread herds and guarded the flanks of the great migration. Despite the fact that we marched in close formation, it was inevitable under the conditions that single families or even groups of them, with their camels, should lag behind or struggle in detachments; these would be an easy prey for the enemy, of whose presence we were fully aware from the surprise attacks made each day by strong mounted bands and the appearance of numerous hostile fighting-motors.

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wondered, therefore, that I should now hear Faris so excitedly wrangling with someone. But when I stepped round the tent and saw him, I was undeceived. He stood with clenched fists, his face raised to the sky, in an attitude of supplication. He obviously believed himself secure from human observation, and it was obvious also that he conversed with no human being.

He spoke to God, and his prayer was an expression of the anguish of his soul.

"Thou art merciful," I heard him cry. "Thou seest that our suffering and our dying have become cruel. We are starving to death. The helpless have no hope except in Thee. . . ."

Faris was a Muslim in name only. He cried out like a child to his Father. He implored—and raged in turn. He stamped his feet and clenched his fists in impotent fury. He bowed his head in humility—he raised his eyes in anger, but he also wept bitterly. He stretched out his empty hands, crying: "O Lord, the people perish, men and beasts starve, give pasture—give water—give bread —give peace. . . ."

Without letting him see me, I slipped back to his tent. I sat down by the hearth and poked with the fire-irons in the glowing dung, and held out my hands over it. Involuntarily I folded them and thought of the childlike faith of Faris, and I too begged God for aid. "Thou must help—the need is great; the herds are starving and the nation is dying."

When I raised my eyes, Faris stood before me. "Thou art sad, my Brother?" he asked affectionately.

I rose and grasped his proffered hand. "No," I said.

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763 of Tra'd ibn Sattam. Tears ran down the children's faces, but they bit their lips. Now our adventures were related, to the accompaniment of the free comments of the company. With incredible self-mastery, Faris, marked by death, sought to hide his sufferings and take part in the general conversation, which ran on and on. Every little detail of the fighting was threshed out in cold blood, and Faris's inevitable fate was discussed with (to anyone of the Western world) cruel disregard of his feelings.

This discussion lasted two hours. When the company finally rose, Faris also tried to get up; but a severe hæmorrhage threw him back on his couch, and he 763 fainted. His mother was sent for. When he came to, she 593 was kneeling at his side, with his hands in hers; and one could see she was hungering for a look from him. "My son!" she whispered, and kissed him, her face streaming with tears.

When Faris's still-wandering eyes saw her so convulsed with grief, his face quivered. "Who is this woman?" he said, propping himself on his elbow. "Take her away! I don't know her."

The slaves looked at one another uncertainly.

"Take her outside!" Faris called to them again. Then I took the poor woman by the arm and, with some words of consolation, led her from the tent. But at the entrance of the tent she wrenched herself from me, ran back and threw herself at Faris's feet. With both hands [782] she gathered dust from the ground and poured it on her head and cried to God to preserve her son.

Faris touched her bent head and said:

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585 gold-laced shepherd's cloak floating from her shoulders.
292 She took her position beside the white mare; and an aged
585 Bedouin, with a little lamb, only a week old, in his arms,
[782] stepped before her, laid the lamb at her feet and slit its throat as a sacrificial offering. Auda snorted and backed away from the blood, but the old man grabbed the halter and, dipping his fingers in the lamb's blood, painted the *Wasm* (tribal mark) of the Ruala on the mare's neck. Then he calmly passed his gory fingers through his white beard. The slaughtered lamb was given, in accordance with the custom of the Bedouins, to an orphan—a little girl selected by a *sheykh*.

Without accepting a helping hand from Mnahi, which he offered because of her trailing garments, Tuëma lightly swung herself on to the back of the white mare and at a walking-pace rode through the camp. The huge Negro strode beside her, holding over her head the great sword of Janda and Jidua and exclaiming, herald-fashion:

"See ye the bride of Faris! See ye the virgin!
O for Tuëma's eyes and Alya's grazing herds!
O for the dark hero and his bride!"

Thus the procession made the round of the camp, all the inhabitants of which were lined up in front of their black tents and, as the bride rode past on her white mare, it was with a joyful "*Zaraghrit*" they greeted her, even though their hearts were heavy within them.

Returning to Faris's tent, Tuëma dismounted, took the white lamb's-skin rug from her mare's back and spread it on the nuptial couch. Then she disappeared

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831x 5. Her cheeks are as smooth as gossamer, which none must touch roughly
539x And which a light breeze lifts when unburdened with dew.
6. Her breasts thou wouldst liken to eggs, the halves of which lie on a sand drift,
While on her temples the hair waves like black [ostrich] plumes.
7. Her belly — neither fine cloth nor cotton
Nor even the Kashmir wool is as soft as her belly, not the smooth wool used for weaving rugs.
8. O little daughter of him who stands firm when the terror is at its height
And proves no coward when all rush about and bend over the necks of their horses.

The author of this poem was Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr, a member of a once famous kin, the remains of which now usually camp in the neighborhood of Dmejr. Abu Rašîd was a friend of the love-stricken Čen'ân, whose sweetheart, a chief's daughter, was staying with her father in the inner desert.

Verse 1. *Malkûš* is one wounded or stricken; *lakešni hassejf* means "this saber wounded (struck) me." *Muntaha šakwâj* means "my last consolation, or comfort, is the man whom I trust the most." *Al-ḳalb murtall* or *al-ḳalb beh roll* (or *hamm*) means the heart filled with unsatisfied, passionate love. 2. *Al-'afw* or *jâ-llâh 'awntak*, meaning "May Allâh have pity on you!" or "May Allâh help you!" is a usual cry when one hears of a great misfortune. Allâh visits man with torments for his sins, hence the exclamation *"al-'afw,"* meaning "Forgiveness!" "Mercy!" or "Pardon!" If Allâh forgives the misdeeds, the misfortune is past. *Šawwâl* is the tenth month. Čen'ân, who lived permanently with the settlers, uses this word, which is not usual in the desert. *Al-ḳṣajjer* is the name given by the Arabs living in the neighborhood of Damascus to the eighth month, *ša'bân*. The poet's sweetheart moved with her father to the inner desert in the month of *šawwâl*, and now *al-ḳṣajjer* was nearing its end; thus ten months were almost past and, still, neither messenger nor traveler, *ṭâreš*, had come bringing word of her. 3. *Baṭṭûš* is a plant with red fruits preserved for their pleasant odor. 5. *Dehdâr* is gossamer. 6. *Ḥača'* or *tekel* means "resembles." A *ṭe'es* is a smooth drift of rosy sand. The halved shell of an ostrich egg lying on the smooth rosy sand reminds the poet of his sweetheart's charms.

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The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters for the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-'ejd w-meżfini
w-mnaššerin ad-dallâli
'allemi bihom bel-maḳâfini
w-mrakkezin al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite direction,
Their best clothes donning.
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped to stay
And have erected a water hoist.

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *az-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Meżfin* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâfini*. The word *meḳâm* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭanna 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 161). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munaššerin ad-dallâl*.

Ed'û rá'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ḥala' howšeh
jâ muḥarreden lar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Ed'û for jâ ṭawil al-'omr. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

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will be slain, their herds perish. The chief Ṣaḳr eben Meṣreb, a famous leader of countless raids, was greatly incensed against both the sorcerers and their disciples because of their incessant greed and was once heard to say: "Oh, may Allâh rid me of you all! If you have enough, you disturb everybody's rest by your music and your foolery; if you are hungry, there is no being rid of you, you beggars; *low šeba'tu awḏejtu w-low ǧi'tu arzejtu.*" On hearing this the insulted sorcerers called a meeting and one of them, Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, cursed Ṣaḳr in the name of all present. A few days later the chief was dead.

Of the sorcerer's curse the Bedouins stand in much fear. If anybody hears that a seer has cursed him, he makes haste to find the seer and, falling on his face before the powerful man, crosses his hands behind his back as if fettered and says: "I ask the protection of thine ancestor and am willing to bring a lawful sacrifice as a gift to him, *ana dâḫel 'ala ǧeddekom w-ana ḥâṭṭ ḏebîḥat ǧeddekom mowhebha mowhebe šara'ijje.*" The sorcerer answers: "Agreed, it has arrived; *tâmma w-jâmma.*" The animal selected for the sacrifice is killed by the sorcerer at the edge of the tent, with its head turned south, while the sorcerer says: "O Allâh, this sacrifice is destined for my ancestor." Then he besmears with the blood of the sacrificed animal the center pole of the tent and the strip which strengthens its roof, *ṭarîžet al-bejt*; the meat he and his disciples eat, and the accursed is relieved.

At the time when this was written (1909) the following persons were recognized as true seers: men: Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, Rannâm eben Ǧel'ûd, Ṣajjâḥ eben Ǧlejdân, Za'al eben 'Awwâd; women: 'Ešba bint Hmezi, Baṭḥa bint 'Awwâd, and Dlejjil bint Mâṣi.

A sorcerer can give information whether and for how long it is going to rain; whether a wife will bear a boy or a girl; whether the young produced by the mare or camel will be a male or a female; whether a raid will succeed, etc.

War expeditions on a large scale are always accompanied by a sorcerer who instructs the commander in anything he may undertake. The latter asks the sorcerer's advice only on occasions when he is at a loss what to do. Then the seer stimulates himself with music and works himself into an ecstasy, which helps him hear the angel speak and proclaim the will of Allâh.

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hang the cradle, *rûǧâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sar'a* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *sa'aluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurki*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the 'Ebede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *sa'aluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûz* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it. *Dakk al-ḳârûz*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises above the real or imaginary grave of some man or woman

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769 follows: "O thou who hast protected our herds called 'Alja! By the success which Allâh and thou grant! If Allâh will lead us to glory and liberate us, thou wilt receive a fat she-camel. *Jâ râ'i-l-'alja bsa'ûd allâh wa-s'ûdak en allâh nowmasna w-fakkna lak ǧezûren.*" On their return with booty they make a fat camel kneel down, cut her throat so that the blood sprinkles the tombstone, and shout: "This is thy supper, O protector of the 'Alja herds!"

My companion, Blejhân, related: "I rode out for plunder with only one comrade. Not far from Turki's grave we made our camels kneel and went to the grave. Laying our right hands on the tombstone, *naṣîba*, we said: 'O thou protector of the 'Alja! If we return with booty, thou wilt receive a fat she-camel.' Soon afterwards we noticed a caravan, *žâfla*, on the road Darb as-Sâ'i which leads from Damascus to Hît and Bagdad. Crawling near to it at night we captured six she-camels, one of which we sacrificed to Turki. The entrails we ate at the grave, the flesh and the hide we carried home. Our camp was then in the upper part of the al-Mijâh valley.

"Not long after this a certain Mzaḥlak of the Weld Slîmân [*sic*] rode in command of a raiding troop past Turki's grave. Stopping his camel, he exlaimed: 'O thou protector of the 'Alja! If by thy help we return with booty, thou wilt receive a fat camel: *jâ râ'i-l-'alja en afadna bsa'ûdak lak ǧezûren.*' They captured a large herd, killed a camel on his grave, roasted and ate its flesh, and brought the hide home."

Whenever the Fed'ân encamp near Turki's grave they kill a camel in his honor but not until they wish to move to the settled territory, *elja ṛarrabow*. To the feast not only the Fed'ân but also the Sba'a and 'Amârât are invited, because Turki was related by blood to all the tribes acknowledging Bišr as their common ancestor, *ẓana bišr*.

VOWS

●782 All Rwala believe that they can win Allâh's favor by a vow. Not that Allâh would desire or need the promised object, but it rejoices him to see that the Bedouins remember in time that without his help they cannot attain what they desire, and also that they show willingness to give up something of value in order to assure themselves of his help. Such vows are made by all, men as well as women, old as well as young,

782 in regard to their various needs and in all sorts of ways. When in fear, *šaḥna*, for a person dear to them or when anxious, *minšaḥenîn*, for a relative captured by the enemy and threatened with death, *šaḥḥanûh*, they turn to Allâh. Should a man not return from a raid at the expected time, vows are made by his father, mother, brother, or sister: "If Allâh returns the distant one to us, behold! I will give to Allâh's face one old camel and that without delay; *en ǧâb allâh hal-râjeb tara lwaǧh allâh fâṭeren mâ beha mhala'*." If an avenger refuses the blood price, insisting on killing the guilty person, he vows: "O Allâh! as soon as I have avenged my brother, thou wilt receive an old camel and a sheep; *jâ-llâh en čân teṭârajt laḥûj ennaha fâṭer w-menḥarha na'ǧe*." Or: "Be my wife forbidden to me until I have avenged my brother." Vows to the effect that they either will sacrifice a she-camel to Allâh or that they will fast and give the food thus saved to the poor are also made by his relatives for the benefit of one seriously ill. However, a vow is not sufficient to bring children to married couples or to cause boys to be born instead of girls.

Every vow must be uttered aloud and in the presence of witnesses, so that they may remind the man should he ever forget it and thus save him from Allâh's anger. Yet even one who has vowed something to Allâh in his heart while riding alone through the desert is bound to fulfill the pledge, because Allâh can read hearts and will not be deceived. "Who compels a man to make a vow? If he made a vow, he did so voluntarily and must fulfill it to the best of his ability." If a father vows an animal which does not belong to him but to his son, the latter can defend it against his father. On the other hand, the son cannot do the same in the case of his mother, because, according to Allâh's will, nobody cares as much for the son as his mother, *mâjene 'ala waladha*. The vow made by a daughter or sister must be fulfilled by the father or brother, who is responsible for her, as Allâh would not be angry with the women but with the men. A married woman is not allowed to vow an animal to Allâh without her husband's permission. Yet should she do so, either her kin are obliged to replace it or she must pay its price. Nor can a woman kill the promised animal herself; this is always done by some man in her place, who lays it on the ground with its head towards the south, saying: "This belongs to the face of Allâh." Then the one for whose benefit the vow was made,

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182 *alli mandûren 'alejh*, dips his forefinger, *ḵâlṭeh*, in the blood and touches with it the point of his nose, both of his cheeks, and his forehead between the eyebrows. These four blood marks, *nûr ad-damm*, must not be washed off.

Ṣṛajjer eben 'Emrân of the Mwâhîb clan of the Sba'a tribe once commanded a troop of raiders marching against Eben Rašîd, who was also out on a raid against the Sba'a at the same time. The troops met; Eben Rašîd, being the stronger, soon pressed, *wâfeḳ*, Ṣṛajjer's troop so hard that it scattered in all directions. Those who were overtaken were killed, those who escaped perished from thirst. Only a small part of the troop returned home. Ṣṛajjer's mother inquired of those who came back, *alli ṭabbow*, about her son, but in vain, as every man had had to look out for himself. Then she made the following vow, *naḏarat leha neḏr*: "Allâh, if my little son returns, I will give thee a fat camel." After a few days a certain Ṣlubi arrived with Ṣṛajjer on his camel, and the mother did as she had vowed.

The husband of Ḫulfa, a daughter of Ḥlejf âl Ḥdêreš of the Sba'a, having borrowed some money from his relatives and acquaintances, left the neighborhood of Tudmor (Palmyra), where he was camping, for the inner desert, *šarraḳ*, in order to buy camels from the Šammar subject to Eben Rašîd. He intended to sell them to the contractor who was repairing the highroad from Ḥoms to Damascus. Yet Allâh decided otherwise. While he was resting at night with his comrades, they were set upon by raiders, *bajjatowhom*. Robbed of everything, dispersed with derisive laughter in all directions, they were unable to meet again. In the evening one of the party happened to meet a Ṣlubi who took him home, where he related what had happened. Thereupon Ḫulfa began to weep, and repeated her vow made on the day when her husband started for the inner desert, *jowm alli hw šarraḳ min 'endaha*: "If, O Allâh! thou returnest my husband safe to me, I will give thee a fat camel." After three months her husband returned. Then she told him: "Behold, for thy sake I vowed a fat camel and wish thee to kill it, *tarâni naḏart 'alejk neḏr ǧezûren w-abejk teḏbaḥaha*." But he objected: "I have no fat camel, nor anything to buy one with." Loving him greatly, Ḫulfa feared lest Allâh might punish him for not fulfilling her vow, and therefore she went to her kin, *laḥalha*, and begged from her brother a camel, which an acquaintance killed before

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her husband's tent, she herself marking the latter's face with the animal's blood. 782

Ṛaṭjân walad ʿAwwâẓ, a member of the Eben Mehîr kin of the Sbaʿa tribe, lost his brother. He had been killed by a Bedouin, who offered to pay the blood price. But Ṛaṭjân refused this, desiring to avenge blood with blood, and vowed to Allâh a camel if he would help him exact vengeance. When the guilty man sought refuge, *ʿannaz ḥâleh*, in another territory, Ṛaṭjân was unable to find him for some time. He had given up hope of seeing him again, when suddenly while on a raid he met a strange troop, among which was his fugitive, riding a mare. Dismounting, he seized his revolver, *ridnijje*, and with two shots killed both the guilty man and his mare. On returning home he sacrificed a camel. 628 782

A brother of Eben Faẓîl of the ʿEbede division of the Sbaʿa tribe was killed by a member of a powerful kin, who at once took the part of the slayer. The latter was so universally known and esteemed for his generosity and readiness to serve, that everybody in the clan helped to save both him and his kin from the avengers. They conducted him to a place of refuge, *ʿannazow al-ḳâtel*, returned to the camp, and tried to persuade Eben Faẓîl to be satisfied with the blood price. They continued to press him more and more, until he replied: "You are mistaken. It is not the slayer, but myself whom you should have brought to a place of refuge, for I am threatened with danger, not he. The blood price you can keep. I swear by Allâh that I will not touch my wife until my brother is avenged." Afterwards he removed with his whole kin to Eben Hdejb, told him why he had left his clan, and made him the guardian of his family, should he not return. Then he went at once in search of his brother's slayer. Three months later he found and attacked him, but he was himself seriously wounded and only escaped with his life through the assistance of some Bedouins. With them he lay nearly two months before he recovered sufficiently to be taken on a camel to Eben Hdejb. But, as the use of his right hand was gone, he was unable to avenge his brother. Yet there still remained a twelve-year-old son of the brother, who, on hearing of what had happened to his uncle, instantly declared: "Uncle, I myself will go after my father's blood." It was in vain that they tried to hold him back. Mounting a camel, he rode to the Arabs among whom the slayer was hiding, stopped

628 his animal before the chief's tent, and, entering, sat down among the guests and visitors. They conversed on all possible 782 topics, *an-nâs tesowlef min 'arẓ al-ḥači*, as is usually the case, the boy listening eagerly. Suddenly he heard one of the visitors say: "Our blood-stained one, *dammawi*, mentioned that he had found at such and such a place a hole filled with rain water; but look, he has just come back with his water bag full." Great was the joy of the young avenger on finding the culprit so soon, and he took good notice of the tent into which the guilty man carried the water. Crawling in at night, he found him sunk in deep slumber. Shaking him with all the force at his command the boy said:

"Art thou asleep or awake? *ènt nâjem walla' žâ'ed.*"

"I am awake, *ana žâ'ed.*"

"How canst thou sleep with my father in thy belly? *čejf tnâm w-abûj bebaṭnak.*"

"Not thy father alone but thou too wilt be in my belly," replied the culprit, jumping up and grasping his weapon. But at the same moment the boy fired a shot at him from his revolver, *ṭawwar beh ar-ridnijje šamâm*, killing him instantly.

On his return he simply said: "Uncle, I have avenged my father; *jâ 'ammi aḥaḍt ṭâr abûj.*" But the uncle was not to be comforted, thinking that he had not fulfilled his vow. "I vowed not to sleep with my wife before bringing back the blood of my brother. Thou hast now brought it. What am I to do?" Then the more experienced men advised him to dismiss his present wife and to marry anew. This he did.

782 In 1898, when cholera was ravaging the country, the Bed- [164] ouins fled to the desert to escape the contagion, *waḫmen čebîr*, which threatened them. Ever since they have called that year *sanat abu faḳsa*, cholera year. At that time Blejhân eben Meṣreb became seriously ill, and his relatives were convinced that he could not recover, *jâ beh rabeḥ*. When his brother, who was pasturing camels at some place far from the water, heard the news, he left his herd and hastened home, *rawwaḥ min al-'aẓîb*. The sight of Blejhân filled him with terror, for he looked more wretched than any one would have wished to see even his worst enemy appear, *w-allâh aš-šowfat al-kaṣra tamannâha l'aduwwak*. Weeping bitterly, the brother lifted his eyes to heaven and exclaimed:

"O God, a camel I vow to thee at once, if my brother shall again walk full of health and vigor, *'adîden w-šedîden*."

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Then he went back to his herd. When he came five days later with his camels to the watering place, the Arabs there said:

"Hear the glad tidings! Thy brother is getting better, no danger threatens him any more, *lâ beh ḫlâf*." So, after watering his camels, he made all haste to visit Blejhân and embraced him with the words:

"May thine illness depart for the inner desert, *šarraḳ*." Blejhân answered:

"May it never reach thee!" After a short talk, the brother led in a young white camel, *ḳa'ûden awẓaḥ*, exchanged it for an old camel, *fâṭer*, fettered her left foreleg, *'aḳḳalha*, outside the tent, and sacrificed her with the words:

"God, this is the camel I vowed for my brother; my vow is fulfilled." At that moment four men seized Blejhân, placed him in the streaming blood, and also dropped some of it on the end of his nose, on both cheeks, and between his eyebrows. He recovered completely.

Both the father and brother of Ḥamṣijja, an unmarried daughter of one Fâre' of the Sba'a tribe, were murdered. The brother left two boys, whose mother married again. Ḥamṣijja took charge of the boys, became their foster mother, *wâlijathom*, and made the following vow: "O God, as soon as these two boys are able to care for themselves and make their first raid, behold! I vow to thee a *fâṭer* camel, and I also vow that I will fast for three days in seven times seven weeks." When the boys grew up and returned from their first raid in good health, Ḥamṣijja had a camel sacrificed and for a whole lunar year touched food only every other day.

701 721 partakers in the raid greet him with the words: "May this project bring luck, *râšda han-nijje*," his answer being: "The same to thee, *lenowlak*."

In every raid there is a commander or leader. In the smaller ones there is only one, in the larger there may be more. In the smaller raids the leader, *'ažîd*, takes the best of the captured riding camels, *nâḳt aš-šdâd*, as well as a she-camel which strikes his fancy, *al-mhawwa'*, and finally a she-camel for sacrifice, *al-'ažîre*, because according to the custom one she-camel is sacrificed after each successful raid. [782]

If the raiding party is made up of various tribes or clans, each of them has its own wholly independent leader. Only when the commander-in-chief also participates will he command in person and thus become *al-muniḥ al-muṭîr*, that is to say, the one who gives orders when to rest and when to march. To *al-muniḥ al-muṭîr* one she-camel, *ṣadrijje*, is given by each of the leaders, and besides he gets all the pack camels captured in the raid, such animals being recognized by their bald or gray backs, *ašhab aẓ-ẓahr*. Moreover he can pick out any she-camel he desires, *ḥazîzateh* (sic), and the best riding camel, and the camel for sacrifice. As a leader of his own troop he shares equally with the other leaders except when nothing but pack animals, he-camels, *zeml*, and she-camels, *roḥl*, have been captured in the raid. In that case the leader takes as many as he wants, the rest going to the men under his command.

701 727 425 The commander also decides whether the booty is to be divided, *ḥišer*, or whether every one has to seize it on his own account, *ṛejr ḥišer*. In picking out a riding camel after a raid in which every man has taken booty for himself, the *'ažîd* permits its owner to take any other he pleases in exchange, but has the right to except three participants from whom nothing may be taken. Such a permission is given with these words: "I empower thee to select from all raiders excepting from these three, A, B, and C. To them do not go, but otherwise take what thou desirest. *Ana mheddak behalṛazw 'oḳob ṭalâṭe flân wa-flân wa-flân lâ tiǧihom ḫoḏ illi tarṭik*." The she-camel he thus takes is called *ṛazwa*. If stray horses, *mâreǧ*, or abandoned camels are caught or dropped rifles found, both these being called *hâreǧ*, they are handed over to the commander, who is entitled to them. For the rest, captured horses always belong to the captor, are never shared,

703 726 place. Only come nearer with her [the mare]! *Jâ walad al-ḥalâl mâ hw ḥâẓer lâ čân ḥâẓer mâ čân ittaḳa' 'ank ḥâẓer min jesedd 'anneh mâr žarrebha ǧâj.*"

But if the hero happens to be present, he says: "Oh, who is inquiring for So-and-So? This is he. Thou hast reached him. *Jâ nâšeden 'an flân hâḍa hw waṣelt ḥâẓer.*"

The comrades of both warriors then stop fighting, the better to observe the result of the duel, *mulâḳa'*. Both duellists first utter the battle cry of their tribe, adding: "Never say: 'He has surprised or tricked me.' *Lâ tḳul ṛaṭarni w-bâḳni.* Brace up now and defend thyself! *ḫoḏ ḥaẓarak w-enfa' ḥâlak.* Oh, how do I frighten heroes! Thou sneeredst at me and thy lips are twitching!" A duel always ends with the death of one of the warriors. Of the victor the tale quickly spreads: "He fought, *tanâṭaḥ*, with So-and-So."

726 ● 782 Whoever catches sight of the chief during the battle and longs to defeat him, cries out: "O Allâh, help me to defeat the chief and I will sacrifice a fat she-camel to thee! *jâ allâh baš-šejḫ w-fâṭer.*"

266 727 It is a fact that there are still many who drink the blood of the stricken enemy. 'Awde abu Tâjeh shouted: "O Allâh, give Da'sân to me that I may drink his blood!" Da'sân al-Hemš was a brave Šarâri warrior. Meeting him in a battle, 'Awde abu Tâjeh with a well-aimed bullet swept him from the saddle, jumped down on him, and, putting his mouth to the wound, drank his blood. Then he cut open his breast, tore out the still beating heart, and ate it.

726 782 A raider who wishes either for his brother or for himself to capture a fine mare on which the enemy is still sitting, calls out: "Oh, for the luck of So-and-So! [here he names his brother or himself], help me to throw this rider off his mare and I will sacrifice a she-camel! *jâ baḫat flân beha-l-ḳlâ'a w-fâṭer.*" Then he shoots at the enemy, cuts him with his sabre or stabs him with his spear, and throws him from the saddle, *ḳalla'eh 'anha.*

726 628 A warrior coming face to face with an enemy by whose hand his father, brother, or another relative has fallen, shouts at him: "O So-and-So, I wish to avenge my father! *jâ flân jâ beṯarârât abûj.*" If the other is not afraid he will answer: "Away with thee who rememberest a debt and askest for a settlement! *tḫasa jâ ḥâfẓ ad-dên w-ṭâlbeh.*" But if he is afraid he begs: "I ask thy protection! Shouldst thou refuse it and

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Loosen your spittle! Look at the abundance! The *ğîre* oath rests on you!" Should they be reluctant to accept the invitation, they usually declare their readiness to have the oath rest on them and continue on their way. (On the *ğîre* oath see above, p. 460.) But if some one implores them with the words: "The *ğîre* oath of the slave Râšed rests on you, *'alejkom ğirat al-'abd râšed*," they must stop and eat something. Who the slave Râšed may have been, nobody knows. It is said of him that he was most hospitable and even forced travelers to eat with him.

Within three days after his return either the leader or the man appointed by him offers the customary sacrifice, *'ažire*. He kills a she-camel and exclaims:

"O Allâh, this is our custom! This belongs to the face of Allâh and to the face of our ancestor! *Jâ-llâh hâḏi 'âdatna hâḏi liwağh allâh w-liwağh ğeddina*." Every kin reveres its ancestor but never knows at what period he lived or where he was buried. The blood of the sacrificed animal is caught into the bulging iron sheet used for baking bread, *sâğ*, and with it the humps of the captured animals and the necks of the riding camels are besmeared. This is done in order to make sure of fresh booty.

A boy who has taken part in his first raid and brought back booty with him tries to buy a goat or a sheep in order to sacrifice it. Its blood he then sprinkles over his booty, *ḏbiḥa rušûš al-čâseb*; if a she-camel, he besmears her whole hump, if a mare, her whole forehead. From the tail of the captured mare he cuts a lock of hair, which he hangs up in his tent. This he does with every horse he captures to let all the guests know how many he has already taken; this custom is called *šeḏeb*.

After the return from a raid the story of who has fallen, where, and in what manner, quickly spreads. The female relatives of the slain men then walk out of the camp to a distance whence even a loud cry cannot be heard, there to bewail their dead.

A mother cries: "Alas, woe is me! alas, my child! alas, woe is me! alas thou whom I bore in my womb! alas, woe is me! alas, thou little son of mine! *Wa' wâjli wa' waledi wa' wâjli wa' ğenîni wa' wâjli wa' bunajja*."

A wife cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! ah, ruined is my tent! *wa' wâjli wa' hadem bejti*."

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726 prudent — the more dangerous the region through which the
778 tribe has to pass when migrating, or where it encamps, the nearer together stand the tents of the various camps.

When the Rwala engage in a war of *al-manâḥ* (see above, pp. 540f.), during which they move with all their herds and tents into an enemy's territory, the camel carrying the Abu-d-Dhûr walks at the head of the whole tribe, surrounded by warriors who follow every movement of the animal with the closest
787 attention. They believe that Allâh gives signs by means of
778 the Abu-d-Dhûr,[1] from which the outcome of the fight can be foretold. Sometimes, in a dead calm, the ostrich feathers adorning the Abu-d-Dhûr begin to flutter. At other times the litter leans to the right or left, but suddenly straightens itself, remains quietly upright, and then rocks a few times from side to side. All this, the Rwala think, happens by the power of Allâh, *ḳudrat min allâh*, who sends them help, *'enâje*, from al-Markab, where He is believed to seat himself for a while. The waving of the feathers and the straightening of the Abu-d-Dhûr are signs that Allâh has touched it with his power.

●782 After each victory a camel is killed before the Abu-d-Dhûr in honor of Allâh. This is also done every year, even if the Rwala have had no war to which the Abu-d-Dhûr had to be taken.

NARRATIVES OF RWALA WARS AND RAIDS

539x 726x *Ad-Drê'i eben Ša'lân's Raid on the Ẓefir (Early Nineteenth Century)*

Of their wars and raids much was related to me by the Rwala.

In bygone days (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) they had a head chief named ad-Drê'i eben Ša'lân, who was celebrated for his bravery, *w-leh ṣît bel-furse*. Once, while encamped with his Arabs west of the Ḥawrân mountains, he heard of the defeat of Eben Haḍḍâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who, while migrating with his tribe, was attacked by the Ẓefir chief, Sulṭân eben Swejṭ, and despoiled of all he had. During the fight one of the enemy's warriors had tried to seize a pack camel guarded by Ḥoṣṣa, Eben Haḍḍâl's daughter. She had defended her animal from the man as best she could, but when he struck her she had cried out: "Ad-Drê'i, O my hero! *W-ṣâḥat ad-drê'i jâ raǧǧâli.*"

[1] [See pp. 571–573, esp. 116, — Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdsman might easily 721
give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves.

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger 701
groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place 721
of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delîl*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out.

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a 791
seer or sorcerer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams 787
in his sleep of a certain significance, *'arṣa ma'âwdijje*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arṣatk ǧatk*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is boiled. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḥa ḫaḍru*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arṣa šêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *mâšé'en bel-želîb*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow.

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any 721
member of the 'Orṣân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of 784
the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eššâġe'a, or of the Kšûš (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking. *'arṣathom, má hi zêne*. 701

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the 721

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

looted the scanty greyish-green pasture before their hungry mouths. Not a trace of vegetation survived their passage. They left behind nothing but naked, trampled earth, and over it a veil of dust and mist that hung in the still air for hours.

At the head of the advancing nation, in front of the centre of the first line, strode one fawn-colored camel, bearing on its back a singular structure adorned with hundreds of small tufts of black ostrich feathers and barbaric decorations. The large framework of acacia wood was balanced and secured on a saddle of special design. It was the *Markab*, the "Ship", also called *Abu-Dubur*, "Father of the Ages"—the Ark of Ishmael. It is the altar before which Bedouins for centuries have made their votive and thank-offerings. There is only one such Ark in all Arabia. For ages past it has moved from tribe to tribe, as one conquered the other. The Ruala had held it now for nearly one hundred and fifty years, and to them it has become the symbol of their unity and their emblem of war,—the tribal Great Banner, as it were. This ancient and hallowed standard, the Ruala will tell you, has been moved by the spirit of Allah at critical periods in their history, especially in grave and decisive conflicts, to reveal to them when and where to face the enemy and join battle.

This day, too, they expected to see God's presence and protection revealing themselves in mystic signs from the old frame on the camel's back.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

223 wolflike watchdogs and herd-dogs attacking the more delicate hounds and tearing them to pieces.

Twelve of the Amir's slaves carried hunting-hawks, each bird hooded and in full attire. Relatives of the Prince and other Ruala nobles also carried falcons on their mares, some of the birds borne on the riders' gauntleted wrists, others, in fact the majority, on the sheep skin which is spread over the horse's croup, when the Bedouin goes hunting.

The "*Sala*" or beater corps, comprising more than three hundred camel-riders and about two hundred horsemen, began to spread out right and left, to round up and drive the game towards the centre of our line. Ringed by the greyhounds, our wild troop galloped over the wide plain in the fresh morning air. Our hearts beat [787] with excitement. It was to be an auspicious and lucky day, according to every soothsayer whom Fuaz had consulted during the past days.

[531] The young Prince galloped at my side. On his raised fist sat Anaga, in its red leather hood embroidered with gold thread, on the top of which was sewn a beautiful pearl; and instead of eyes there blazed on its sides two precious emeralds.

"Aziz," cried Fuaz to me, "I love the wine of war—but, oh! I also like to drink the milk of the chase. Is not hunting the sister of war and the quarry a warrior struck to earth?"

He reined in, and I also pulled up my mare, to let the train of hunting comrades ride past. They were a splendid knightly troop, on beautiful mares and camels. The falcons balanced with outstretched wings on the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

on gravel and sand, and then waits a whole year. At the expiration of that time he scrapes away the sand and gravel, takes out the star, and brings it to a good swordsmith, who melts and beats it into a saber which can be sold for one hundred Turkish pounds ($450). 821

If there is lightning and thunder, but the clouds begin to scatter and disappear, the Rwala pray: "O, that he, who sends (angels) to the cloud, may send (an angel) to it on eight riding camels and say to it: 'The gift (of God) shall come down.' *Jâ min jirsel las-saḥâb jirsel leh ṯamân erčâb w-jaḳûl leh 'aṭwe' jiği.*" If merciful Allâh spreads out the clouds on high and but few drops fall, the Bedouins lament: "After this (rain) we have lost what might have brought us gold, (we have lost it) like a vibrating mirage. Truly, we can do nothing without Allâh. *Min 'oḳbeh ṛaddeina-d-ḍahâb miṯl ṣaḥṛâh as-sarâb 'oḳb allâh mâ ḥenna šien.*" Abundant rain would have given the camels good pasture and for well-fed old camels gold can be had from the 'Aḳejl.

The end of the rain in the daytime is announced by the rainbow, *sejf al-maṭar*. As soon it appears, the clouds grow calm; *ilja sajjefat kajjefat*.

SEASONS AND RAINY PERIODS

In summer the clouds are plentiful, but they bring no rain. Only in the autumn there becomes visible either on the right or on the left of the sun a sun dog, *middat aš-šems*, a sure sign that rain will soon come. In this season the seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, of the Nṣejr clan, Mbârek eben Ḥwémel, takes a large handful of salt and, dividing it into six small heaps indicating the principal rains, arranges them in the form of a cross, *ṣallab*, thus: 821 791 787

o *shejlâwi*
o *ḳitwi* o *ṭrûwi* o *ṣejfi*
o *ǧôzâwi*,

and then lies down by them and waits for what Allâh's messenger will tell him during the coming night. On the next morning he and the others examine the heaps. The one where the most salt is melted is the one which will produce the most abundant rain.

The year of the Bedouins begins with the first heavy rain following the appearance of the star Canopus, *sheil*, in 805 132

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

it will not die but will be sick most of its days and will leave no descendants, and its herds will not multiply.

Just as every man and especially his pregnant wife wish that no child be born to them on the twenty-first day of the month, they still more ardently desire that it be born in the night of the fourteenth or twentieth, or on the day of the eighteenth. The night of the fourteenth is called *lejlet al-ḥadr*. A boy who sees the light of this world on that night will bring glory to his whole kin and clan — even to the whole tribe — and is therefore called *baḥit*. The night of the twentieth is known as *al-ḫatma* and is lucky, *zêna*, to any undertaking. He who begins a task on the eighteenth is sure of success, for that date is favorable, *maǧheh zên*.

But it is not enough for the Rwejli to observe time and day; he must also watch his surroundings, as there are favorable and unfavorable qualities both in human beings and in animals. Many a kin, many a clan, bears a good omen, *fâlhom zên*, others again a bad one, *fâlhom šên*. When meeting any of them on an important journey the Bedouin knows at once whether he can proceed farther or must return. A good omen is inherent in the Ḳa'âî'a of the Rwala tribe; in the Malḥûd kin of the Mǧelli clan of the Fed'ân tribe; in the Eben Fnejd kin of the Rasalîn clan of the Ḳmuṣa division of the Sba'a tribe, as well as in every pretty woman, *ḥurma min al-bwêheǧ*. If raiders approach a camp of some friendly Bedouins known to be possessed of a good omen, the chief or some prominent man from the camp rides out or runs to meet them with the greeting: "Hasten after your luck! *eflehow*." The commander, then, making his camel kneel, *jenaweweḫ*, answers: "May it be a good omen to me, which I accept; *fâli w-šebilteh*."

Unlucky is the sign of the Bdûr of the Eläǧe'a and Freǧe of the Rwala; of the Hwejsân kin of the Rasalîn clan; of the Mwêne' kin of the 'Ebede division, but especially that of the N'ejm and Ğimlân, who breed goats and sheep in the al-Ḥaṣṣ hills. The Rwala never rest with the members of these kins or clans when going out on a raid but prefer to suffer hunger themselves and let their mares also suffer rather than to eat a mouthful with them. For each bite of food accepted from them brings failure, *'alḥathom ḫaṣra*; yet on their return they have no objection to refreshing themselves at any camp of these people.

Failure is always attached to the Šeǰh, and their tents

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

777 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. ●787 The Slejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when 614 they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Slejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

[492]

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Fig. 55

Fig. 56

Fig. 55—A horse bridle, *'anân.*
Fig. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadîd.*
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥoṣejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḥaṭam 'ala-l-ṭarîc*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *ṭurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên.*" A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḥaṣar* or *rkejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dâbb*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favorable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *eṣ-ṣlejlijjât.*

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A Bedouin who has led in his mare to the stud horse, mounts her afterwards and rides around the camp until he meets a girl, to whom he says: "O daughter, just now I have led in my mare." If the girl answers: "Be comforted with

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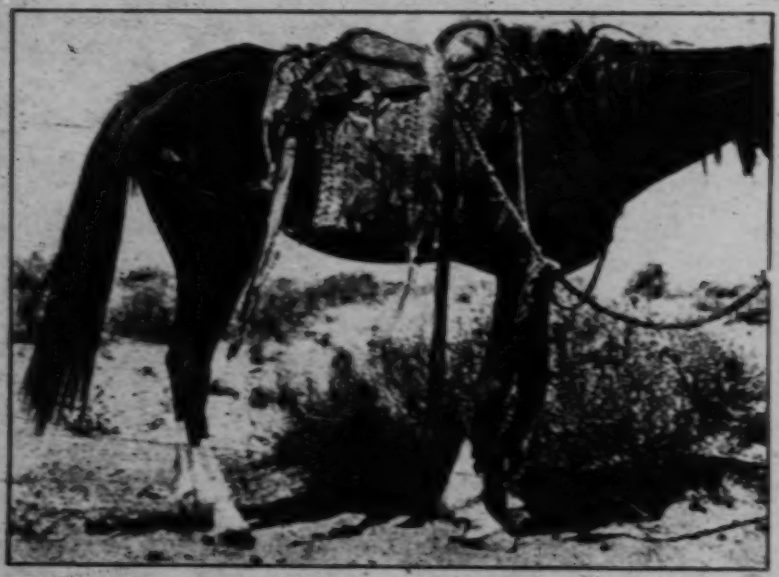

[492]

FIG. 57.—A harnessed mare.

the glad tidings that she will bring thee a filly, *ebšer be-mohra*," both the owner of the mare and his whole kin rejoice, for this is a favorable sign, and they all expect confidently that the girl's prophecy will come true.

It is a common belief among the Rwala that a one-eyed person is the bearer of misfortune. If a man meets one so afflicted, in order to destroy his unhappy influence he turns over a large stone, thus burying the bad omen. Hence the proverb: "If thou meetest a one-eyed person, turn over a large stone; *idja šuft al-'awar oḳlob ḥaǧar*." Nobody embarking on a journey of importance will have for his guide a man with his right and left upper eyeteeth missing, *afrak aṣ-sinnēn*, or one with blue eyes, *azrar* (sic) *al-'ajnēn*, for then nothing would succeed. Woe to those having intercourse with a woman whose breast is covered with down, or with a man without any beard or without down on any part of his body, *afnas al-*

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ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-ḥalba' w-ar-raǧol al-melûs, as both are the cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-da"âja w-anna"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her opponent in the following sentences:

"Sab' ḥal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear the face!"

"Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwû (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-riḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Râjbt as-sa'ad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mowt an-nâr. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jil'an zên hal-ḥdûm alli mâ ḥi 'al-âdmi mâr 'ala 'ûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful. If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"'ala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mâželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-šaʻ"âṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aḳer-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777 825

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine, which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḥama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled. [262] [757] [761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥalm m'ôdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of 787 721

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raiding troops. If the commander sees in his dream girls with loosened hair, *banâten mufarra'ât*, or fresh clear water, green grass, cooked meals, etc., he knows that they will return home with booty and in good health, where all that he has seen in his dream will await them. If the commander in his dream pitches a tent or is holding a panther, he thanks Allâh for allowing him to capture the enemy's tent or make captive a brave foe. If he dreams of having rested with his troop under a green tree and of plucking figs and raisins from it, his comrades shout joyfully: "Success, success!" A green tree signifies booty without danger; the figs, she-camels; and raisins are symbolical of sheep and goats.

The commander of a Ḳa'âž'a raiding troop prayed for a dream concerning his return, *helm m'âwdi*. When lying down at night, he looked at the North Star, *ǧedi*, fixedly, *talakka'l-ǧedi*, and then fell asleep. Whereupon Allâh's spokesman, *al-munâbi*, appeared, asking him: "Dost thou sleep or art thou awake, *ent nâjem walla' žâ'ed*." "Awake," answered the commander, springing up in fear, *fazz*. After a while he again fell asleep. Once more the spokesman appeared to him, putting the same question as before. When the commander answered in the same words, the spokesman said: "O booty! Thy booty is to be a cushion of a litter fastened with a *ǧedi* rope. *jâ bedd beddak min beddi w-min meḥmelen beh ǧedi*." Then he disappeared. Waking up and unable to sleep any more, the commander now pondered over the meaning of this strange dream. When he told it to his comrades in the morning, they exclaimed: "Success, success! May Allâh will it! But we do not yet understand it! *Ḫejr ḫejr in šâ-llâh mâ na'ref hâḍa*." The commander was so terrified by his dream that he wanted to return, *enkaf*. Staying behind under some pretext, he turned into a deep gully and then started for home. However, after a while his camel suddenly turned around and galloped after the raiding troop, despite her rider's frantic efforts to stop her. Thus nothing was left to the commander but to go on with the raid. Before long he attacked the Meṣâliḫ, drove out their defenders, and, entering the camp by force, found himself before the chief's tent where the 'Aṭfa litter was standing, in which in times of danger the prettiest girl used to be seated in order to encourage the defenders to fight bravely and hold their ground. A cushion, *bedd*, such as is laid under the litter when fastened on the camel's back, was

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lying beside it, and also a long rope, *ǧedi*, made of palm pith hung down from it. Then at last did the commander understand the meaning of his dream. Laying the cushion, *bedd*, on the saddle of a strong she-camel, with the help of his comrades he placed the litter there, fastening it with some straps, making it tight with the *ǧedi* rope, and rejoicing that he had taken from the Meṣâliḫ clan their most precious possession, for once the ʿAṭfa litter is lost it must not be used again.

At one time the Rwala were camping near ar-Remṭe[1] in al-Ḥamâd. Rains had been abundant, the pasture was good everywhere, truffles and mushrooms grew in plenty, the camels gave more milk than ever before, and the Bedouins, therefore, were living in affluence, or, as it is called, were having an exceptionally good *rabîʿ*. Then it was that their head chief, Hazzâʿ, had a peculiar dream. He saw countless swarms of locusts coming from the inner desert, *min ǧerž* or *min mǎrrež*, to his camp, crawling into the tents, upon the beds, and into the food supplies, all over the camels, and — a strange thing to relate — the locusts carried away all these things — tents, beds, supplies, and even the camels. Suddenly there was a flash of lightning among the camels, all the herds rose to their feet and galloped in the direction of the ʿtled territory, *w-al-bel ḳâmat tehâbat w-haǧǧat mṛarwab*. Hazzâʿ told the people of his dream, but nobody could explain it. At last, on the seventh day after the occurrence of the dream and when the herds had already grazed their fill on fresh grass in the morning, *jowm šab'at aṭ-ṭarž ṣubeḥ min al-ʿešeb*, there appeared in the south Prince Eben Rašîd's raiding troops from the inner desert; these drove back the defenders of Hazzâʿ's camp, entered the camp, and began to load the tents with all that was in them on their own and on the captured camels. The herds together with their herdsmen were surrounded. The herdsman of the white camels, *mayddir*, who longed to save his herd, the pride of the whole tribe, finally thought of this stratagem. He saw that some pack camels were still carrying their pack saddles which had been left on them to conceal their galled backs from the sharp beaks of ravens and crows. These saddles, which are stuffed with straw and dry grass, he set on fire; this caused the terrified animals to shy, then to run away in mad fright, others following their example, and in a little while all the

[1] [Errata: Should be ad-Dmejle. Cf. p. 712, ed. 16]

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787 herds were rolling in a confused mass out of the desert towards the settled territory. The raiders, after losing a 721 number of their own riding camels, *ǧejš*, had to retreat. Then at last did Hazzâ' comprehend the meaning of the dream sent to him by Allâh.

One of the Rwala chiefs during a raid had a *m'âwdi* dream. A bowl filled with rice was before him. Kneading a good-sized mouthful he put it in his mouth but had to spit it out quickly as it suddenly became intensely hot. He related his dream, *ḥazzâh*, to his companions, who said: "Success, success! We shall get booty, but it will be taken from us again; *nâḥod lena fowd w-jinfekk minna.*" And so it really happened. Attacking the herds of the Âl Zeben, a division of the Ṣḫûr tribe, they captured four and a half herds, *ḳaṭî'*. Greatly pleased with their exploit, they rode toward home with them but met on the road a stronger raiding troop of the Ḥwêṭât, allies of the Ṣḫûr, by whom they were surrounded, *sardowhom*, in a deep gully and defeated, losing not only all their booty but a good half of their own camels besides.

787 A Bedouin who dreams that he has his head or beard
302 shaved mourns, for this means that he will lose his dearest son or, at least, his mare and best camel.

513 While asleep the Rwejli is threatened with many dangers
774 from the spirit world, although it is Allâh only who makes sound sleep possible; for a man will not fall asleep until his heart is willing, which means when he has banished thoughts of his various cares; *má tnâm kowd ḳalbak nâjem*. When a Rwejli falls asleep, his soul, *nesem* or *rûḥ*, leaves his body through the nostrils, visits his relatives and the old camping grounds, goes out on raids, plays all sorts of incredible pranks, *'aǧâjeb*, eats and drinks, and the man will not awaken until his soul returns through the nostrils once more.

Yet the evil spirit also knows that the sleeper's soul roams about the world and so may make use of this opportunity to settle in the sleeping body. The Bedouin then wakes up as one possessed, *maǧnûn*.

628 A sleeping person, having no soul, according to the Rwala belief, is as good as dead and must therefore not be killed by an avenger; for spilt blood cannot be washed away by killing a sleeper, any more than it would be if one were to cut off the head of a dead murderer.

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791 will be slain, their herds perish. The chief Ṣaḳr eben Meṣ-
764 reb, a famous leader of countless raids, was greatly incensed against both the sorcerers and their disciples because of their incessant greed and was once heard to say: "Oh, may Allâh rid me of you all! If you have enough, you disturb everybody's rest by your music and your foolery; if you are hungry, there is no being rid of you, you beggars; *low šeba'tu awḏejtu w-low ǧi'tu arzejtu.*" On hearing this the insulted sorcerers called a meeting and one of them, Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, cursed Ṣaḳr in the name of all present. A few days later the chief was dead.

789 Of the sorcerer's curse the Bedouins stand in much fear.
782 If anybody hears that a seer has cursed him, he makes haste
754 to find the seer and, falling on his face before the powerful man, crosses his hands behind his back as if fettered and says: "I ask the protection of thine ancestor and am willing to bring a lawful sacrifice as a gift to him, *ana dâḫel 'ala ǧeddekom w-ana ḫâṭṭ ḏebiḥat ǧeddekom mowḥebha mowḥebe šara'ijje.*" The sorcerer answers: "Agreed, it has arrived; *tâmma w-jâmma.*" The animal selected for the sacrifice is killed by the sorcerer at the edge of the tent, with its head turned south, while the sorcerer says: "O Allâh, this sacrifice is destined for my ancestor." Then he besmears with the blood of the sacrificed animal the center pole of the tent and the strip which strengthens its roof, *ṭarîzet al-bejt*; the meat he and his disciples eat, and the accursed is relieved.

791 At the time when this was written (1909) the following persons were recognized as true seers: men: Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, Ḥannâm eben Ǧel'ûd, Ṣajjâḥ eben Ǧlejdân, Za'al eben 'Awwâd; women: 'Ešba bint Ḥmezi, Baṭḥa bint 'Awwâd, and Dlejjûl bint Mâṭi.

●789 A sorcerer can give information whether and for how
791 long it is going to rain; whether a wife will bear a boy or a girl; whether the young produced by the mare or camel will be a male or a female; whether a raid will succeed, etc.

[726] War expeditions on a large scale are always accompanied by a sorcerer who instructs the commander in anything he may undertake. The latter asks the sorcerer's advice only on occasions when he is at a loss what to do. Then the seer stimulates himself with music and works himself into an ecstasy, which helps him hear the angel speak and proclaim the will of Allâh.

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Jâ bâz jâ ǧeddi	O Falcon! O ancestor mine!
hala' b'ezzaddîn	Welcome to us, O 'Ezzaddîn!
jâ šejḫ al-jemîn.	Thou chief powerful.
Hala' bzên an-nijje	Welcome to us, thou who well meanest
jâ ra' aṭ-ṭawijje	And knowest what is hidden.

It is even said of the sorceresses that they can disappear from the tent unobserved.

SOOTHSAYERS

791 787 There are people living among the Bedouins, both men and women, who in some inexplicable way are able to tell of hidden things, whether of the past, present, or future. One of their ways is to prophesy from the position of twenty-three objects cast about promiscuously. These objects are: seven round white pebbles, *marwât*; one small piece of ambergris; one fragment of broken glass, *ṛazâra*; one small piece of a burned brick, *ḫuẓrime*; one fragment of a broken glass armlet, *ḳuṣmat ma'ẓad*; five small white sea shells, *ḫams wad'ât*; one small piece of sea shell, *misarra*; four date stones, *ṯumât*; one small piece of a glass ring such as is worn by mares on their necks, *ḳuṣmat ḫaršat faras*; and one smooth silver ring, *ḫalḳat ḫâtem fuzza*. The soothsayer, who keeps all these twenty-three objects in a leather pouch, shakes them out on the palm of his hand, throws them down on the carpet, and then begins to prophesy from their relative positions.

Blejhân related to me: "My little brother, Ǧî'ân, went on a raid and did not return for a long time. My heart was sick with longing for him, *w-ḳalbi waǧ'ân 'alejh*. So I went to a Ḥâzmijje (woman of the Ḥawâzem tribe) soothsayer, *naḫart al-ḫaṭṭâṭa alli 'endana min al-ḥawâzem*, and gave her a little tobacco, *'aṭajtak šwafje titen*. She said:

'What brings thee here, O youth? *wêš ǧâjebk jâ walad*. Dost thou need something? *!ak ṛaṛ.*'

'I seek a lost camel and want thee to give me the sign, *ana medheb w-abîč tezrobi li bel-fâl*.' Taking out from a bag, *mezwede*, the pouch with those twenty-three things, she shook them out on her right palm, which she first lifted and then lowered again, threw them, *faššatha*, broadcast on the carpet, glanced over them, and then exclaimed:

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'O youth, thou seekest not a she-camel, *ent má mzâje'en mḡâhba*. Thou art troubled about a raider; it is for him thy heart is aching. But be it known to thee that today his heart is calmer than thine, *ḳalbeh al-jowm afẓa' min ḳalbk*. He will return to thee merry and unwounded, *jeği farḥân má hw ḳarḥân*.' 791 787

'If he returns thus thou shalt get a dress or silk kerchief, *en čân ğâ' farḥânen leč ṯowb willa' makrúne*,' said I and left, somewhat relieved. And, true enough, five days after this Ğî'ân came back well and bringing four captured she-camels. Then I gave the soothsayer that silk kerchief."

Ğowfân eben Sûdân of the Ḳmuṣa lost a camel, *ẓajja'*. He looked for her in the whole neighborhood without result, and, although half of his neighbors knew of his trouble, *ruma-l-ḫabar benuṣṣ an-nâs*, no one came to him with news of the lost animal. After ten days he finally went to a soothsayer, *ẓarrâbt al-fâl*, Bosra bint 'Orejč by name, of the Ḥawâzem tribe, and said to her:

"I wish to go on a raid. What sign wilt thou give me?" The woman raised her hand with the twenty-three objects, lowered it again, threw them broadcast, and after observing them said:

"Why art thou talking of a raid? Thou hast lost a camel; that is what thou desirest to know — nothing of a raid. Be cheered with glad tidings. I see thy camel lying behind a stranger in the west." This gave Ğowfân a clue. He began to inquire what sort of a stranger camped in the western part of the large camp, and found that on that very day a tent had been pitched at the western end by an unknown Rwejli. Going there he began to search about the tent and at last saw in a neighboring gully his camel, fettered. The soothsayer received a *meğidijje* (90 cents) for the welcome news, *bšâra*.

A herdsman drove a flock of sheep to water. He drove them back again at sunset, *râbat 'alejha-š-šams*, and then let them graze as they pleased. Sitting down not far off, he soon fell asleep from exhaustion, *nâm 'anha*. When he woke up in the morning, his flock was gone. He looked all around, shouted for them, but all in vain. Hastening, then, to the owner of the flock, *ğâ' ḫaleh*, he reported what had happened. The owner called all his kin, *ḫaleh*, together and rode with them on horse-

791 back through the whole neighborhood, searching for the animals
●787 all day, but without avail, *'aǧaz*. Returning and saddling their camels in the evening, they began a new search, from which they did not return for fifteen days, *ḫanṣta'aš waǧbe* (sic), again without finding a single trace of the flock. Then the owner decided to visit a soothsayer. Scattering her twenty-three objects on the ground before him, she said: "Hurry after thy flock with the wind, with the wind! Thou wilt find one half, thou wilt find the other half. Thou wilt find one after another." When the owner asked what was meant by these words, the woman put him off with the remark that she did not know. Returning to his tent, he related to his people what the soothsayer had told him. The air was perfectly quiet at that time, but suddenly a strong wind began to blow from the south-southwest, which gave one of the relatives an idea. "Allāh sends us a leader," said he, "let us follow him." And exactly at noon they set off north-northeast. About the middle of the afternoon, *'aṣejr*, they found a piece of the skin of the first sheep, which by a mark on its head the owner recognized as belonging to his flock. Before sunset they found the skin of a second and then of a third sheep with the same mark. All three sheep had been torn to pieces by wolves. Greatly fatigued with their long ride, they lay down to sleep. Continuing their search next morning, they found one dead sheep after another until they reached the pasturing ground of the Rfede kin, where they learned that, a few days before, one of their members named Ḥsejni had found seventy-five sheep wandering aimlessly in the vicinity. This was exactly the half of the lost flock, the other half having perished in the meantime.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF ŠLEJB WOMEN

764 The Rwala also believe that many women of the Šlejb tribe can exercise a good or bad influence. They are said to be able not only to awaken love, but also to smother it; to strengthen and also to destroy the faculty of begetting; to increase as well as to hinder the growth of children; to lengthen and shorten life, etc. No one knows if they have direct connections with evil spirits, but the people are inclined to believe so. Such women are called witches, *saḥḥāra*, although none of them may be directly so called. Should that be proved of any Šlubijje, the Rwala would certainly kill her.

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preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdsman might easily give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves. 721

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delîl*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out. 701 721

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a seer or sorcerer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams in his sleep of a certain significance, *'arṣa ma'âwdijje*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arṣatk ǧatk*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is boiled. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḫa ḫaḍra*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arṣa ḥêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *wâḍe'en bel-ḥelîb*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow. 791 787

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any member of the 'Orṣân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eläğe'a, or of the Klûî (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking, *'arṣathom mâ hi zênc*. 721 784

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the 701 721

721 designed for their night's rest, they send one of their number to the commander with the report of what they have found, while the others keep an eye on the strange riders or continue their search for a better place to sleep in the direction given to them by the leader.

In the morning the leader announces to his troop: "Our supper will be in such and such a place." Each man saddles his animal. Then he looks fixedly at the leader. As soon as the latter jumps into his saddle, all follow his example and ride after him.

Raiders' Marching Songs

539x On the road, especially in the morning, the Rwala exercise their horses or let them prance at will, and amuse themselves with songs known as *ḥda'*.

Jâ-llâh ṭalabnâk jâ-l-ṛafûr
jâ-ba-d-daráǧ al-'âlije
teǧ'al lena ḥazzen jeṭûr
bel-awwala w-at-tâlije.

O Allâh! we beg of thee, thou forgiver,
O Lord of the stairs which lead up to the heights!
To let our luck uplift itself
With the first she-camel and the last one too.

Jeṭûr means a kneeling camel in the act of rising from the ground.

Fâlakom jâ ṛazw ṭib
fâlakom ṭarîeh 'azîb
fâlakom jâ ṛazw ṭajjeb
fâlakom ṭarîeh ḳrajjeb.

May your omen, O *ṛazw* (raid)! be good;
May it signify herds spending the night far from tents.
May your omen, O *ṛazw*! be good;
May it signify herds close by.

[787] *Fâl* is a sign, omen, from which either the success or the failure of the undertaking is judged. *Ṭarîeh 'azîb* is a herd grazing and sleeping far from the tents, which are usually pitched near a watering place.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

prudent — the more dangerous the region through which the tribe has to pass when migrating, or where it encamps, the nearer together stand the tents of the various camps.

When the Rwala engage in a war of *al-manâḫ* (see above, pp. 540f.), during which they move with all their herds and tents into an enemy's territory, the camel carrying the Abu-d-Dhûr walks at the head of the whole tribe, surrounded by warriors who follow every movement of the animal with the closest attention. They believe that Allâh gives signs by means of the Abu-d-Dhûr, from which the outcome of the fight can be foretold. Sometimes, in a dead calm, the ostrich feathers adorning the Abu-d-Dhûr begin to flutter. At other times the litter leans to the right or left, but suddenly straightens itself, remains quietly upright, and then rocks a few times from side to side. All this, the Rwala think, happens by the power of Allâh, *ḳudrat min allâh*, who sends them help, *'enâje*, from al-Markab, where He is believed to seat himself for a while. The waving of the feathers and the straightening of the Abu-d-Dhûr are signs that Allâh has touched it with his power.

After each victory a camel is killed before the Abu-d-Dhûr in honor of Allâh. This is also done every year, even if the Rwala have had no war to which the Abu-d-Dhûr had to be taken.

NARRATIVES OF RWALA WARS AND RAIDS

Ad-Drê'i eben Ša'lân's Raid on the Ẓefir (Early Nineteenth Century)

Of their wars and raids much was related to me by the Rwala.

In bygone days (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) they had a head chief named ad-Drê'i eben Ša'lân, who was celebrated for his bravery, *w-lah ṣît bel-furse*. Once, while encamped with his Arabs west of the Ḥawrân mountains, he heard of the defeat of Eben Haḏḏâl, the head chief of the 'Amârât, who, while migrating with his tribe, was attacked by the Ẓefir chief, Sulṭân eben Swejṭ, and despoiled of all he had. During the fight one of the enemy's warriors had tried to seize a pack camel guarded by Ḥoṣṣa, Eben Haḏḏâl's daughter. She had defended her animal from the man as best she could, but when he struck her she had cried out: "Ad-Drê'i, O my hero! *W-ṣâḥat ad-drê'i jâ raḏḏâli.*"

763 Allah will write to me, therefore, behold, I put my children and
429 my estate like the ring of a turtle dove's neck from my neck on thy neck. In the high station /before Allah/ I shall inquire of thee about them. "Ja flan ana ma-dri was allah jaktob 'alejji mar tara 'ejali w-halali towk hamamaten min rukubti birkubtak ansedk 'anhom bel-makez al-'azim."

The answer will be: "I shall take thy place. May Allah have mercy on thee. Ana lak bel-makan allah jarhamk."

In the absence of him whom he would like to appoint as guardi the sick man will declare before one or two men: "O ye, X and Y, I ask you to witness that I put my children on the neck of So-and-So."

/567/ In the majority of cases the sick man prefers to appoint a faithful slave to the guardianship. Sometimes he also names the camels which are to go to one or other of his children and what she-camel he wishes to be sacrificed for him. However, any of his stipulations may be annulled by his first-born son. Neither the father nor the mother give their children any last advice.

DEATH

764 Water is dropped into a dying person's mouth without my words.
They do not close the eyes of the dead, nor stop his nostrils, dead bodi
/787/ being carefully avoided by the Rwala. If they camp near a settlement, or some fellahin happen to be with them at the time, they hire them t bury the dead. Rubbing the body over with a wet cloth, they wrap it i its shirt, or when that is torn they lay it on a piece of white linen, cover it with the same material, then sew both pieces in three places, load the body thus enshrouded on a mule and carry it to the grave. This must be deeper for a woman than for a man. Its depth for a woman must be such that even the breast could not be seen if the body were placed upright; for the man its depth is only to his knees when in a standing posture. A stone is put under the head and the body is laid invariably with its right side downwards and facing south. Covering it then with a few stones they shovel in the excavated earth. For a man two stones, nasajeb, are raised above the grave, one for a woman. One and a half megidijje ($ 1.35) is paid to the gravedigger for this work. In the inner desert a grave about twenty-five centimeters deep is dug

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XVII

The War Goddess

TRA'D IBN SATTAM hurried with me to the sacred Standard, which rose high above the travelling-litters. We made our way through an agitated throng. The buzz of women's and children's voices intermingled with the grunting and complaining of laden camels. On nearer approach I noticed a group of women afoot, threading their way to the Standard; they waved their head-cloths and kept up a high-pitched chant. They were escorting a young woman, walking sedately in their midst. It was Tuëma. Her beautiful serene face was radiant and aglow with health. Her eyes under their long lashes were grave and devout, but she had a bright glance for Tra'd ibn Sattam, who had chosen her out of all the Ruala maidens for the signal honour of riding in the *Markab*, and on recognizing me her cheeks dimpled with a smile.

When Tuëma and her train of women had come up with the camel which bore the tribal symbol, a tall powerful animal led by a slave, she ran by its side for a space. The trilling and waving of the women rose to a joyous frenzy. Suddenly Tuëma broke away from her retinue, and with a running start grasped the camel's shoulder-girth and climbed nimbly on to its back and into the Palladium. In the left fore-corner of the sacred structure was a seat with a footrest, and on this she composed herself, enthroned on high like a desert queen above her

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people. Thereupon, she untied her head-cloth and her glorious tresses fell over her shoulders. At a sign from her, the escorting women, who had continued to walk beside the camels, climbed up again to their several litters.

From the midst of the migrating multitude now came the sounds of shots fired in jubilation, and soon tribesmen were galloping forward from all directions. They assembled and in a body raced toward the *Markab*, Faris at their head. Amidst the thunder of hoofs and the glint of carbines, there arose the wild chant of the young men as they pressed around their queen.

Tuēma had risen and stood erect in the lofty frame. Her face became transfigured in an ecstasy of joy. Suddenly she put both her hands to her throat and tore open her dress and broke into jubilant song. With bared breast she rose, straining her supple body until she was poised high above the ark, holding aloft a bunch of snow-white ostrich plumes. She looked like a goddess—the bravest and most beautiful maiden of her great tribe. She cried to the youths words of passionate eloquence. She inflamed them with warlike ardour. She exhorted them to remember the heroes who once had chained themselves to this Standard by means of the iron shackles of their mares, so that they might not leave their queen, but defend her to the last breath.

Faris's eyes were fixed in rapture on Tuēma, on her lofty throne. In his hand flashed the sword of Jidua, a great hero of the Ruala. He carried the historic blade to his lips with both hands and kissed it. "O Tuēma,

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guardian of my soul!" he cried. Then he wheeled his horse and raced off with his riders.

Tra'd ibn Sattam took the leading rope of Tuëma's camel from the slave and led her past the marching tribe. For all the dire distress, a festive spirit animated the whole people. It was a festal day, for the Ruala had a queen again—a virgin in the sacred Ark; and under her symbolic leadership they pressed forward to their destiny.

Evening came and the whole tribe made camp. But in the grey of the next dawn they were on the march again.

Armed motor-cars circled about the widespread herds and guarded the flanks of the great migration. Despite the fact that we marched in close formation, it was inevitable under the conditions that single families or even groups of them, with their camels, should lag behind or struggle in detachments; these would be an easy prey for the enemy, of whose presence we were fully aware from the surprise attacks made each day by strong mounted bands and the appearance of numerous hostile fighting-motors.

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132 A luxuriant growth of perennials in the autumn is a sure
137 sign that the particular district has been visited by good *ṣejfi* rains, whence the saying: "O that lovely little gazelle! it will eat its fill of the autumn pasture after the summer rain; *jâ 'ajn al-ḥšejf tar'-al-ḥelfi 'oḳb aṣ-ṣejfi.*" Abundant summer
[312] rain also fills both the natural and artificial reservoirs, but such water soon swarms with frogs, *daṛâliṣ*, and all kinds of worms, which render it foul-smelling and undrinkable in a short time.

PRAYERS FOR RAIN

539* If the earth does not receive abundant autumnal rain, the danger of a failure of the pasture, *maḥal* (or *muḥṭi*),
789 arises. In order to prevent it, the girls and wives of the Bedouins form a procession with the *umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of the rain (Fig. 1). A woman's gown is stretched over two sticks forming a cross and is carried by a girl (virgin) at the head of the procession, which wanders from tent to tent singing:

1. *Jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   belli bšejt râ'ina
2. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   min al-maṭar eẓîna
3. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   min midd allâh meddîna
4. *jâ-mm al-ṛejṭ ṛejṭîna*
   min al-wabel enṭîna.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Wet the mantle of our herdsman.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
With pouring rain allay our thirst.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
From Allâh's measure measure out to us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
A real flood let our share be.

Verse 1. *Ṛejṭ* signifies a rain of at least four days' duration
[291] extending over a vast region. *Bšejt* is a cheap gray cloak made of wool or cotton waste. 2. The girls gradually increase their prayers for rain. At first they want the rain only to wet the herdsman's mantle; then they pray for a downpour, *maṭar*,

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which lasts several hours. 3. If Allâh pours from his measure, or rain vessel, that is a cloud-burst. 4. *Wabel* is a downpour for several days, inundating whole plains. *Nafa'* is used for *'afa'*, to give.

1. *Jâ-mm al-rejt rejtina*
   dâjem ḥarreč bâlina
2. *jâ-mm al-rejt rejtina*
   dâjem 'aǧǧen 'âmina
3. *jâ-mm al-rejt rejtina*
   waḫj al-maḥal jatlina
4. *jâ-mm al-rejt jâ ṭak'a*
   ḳatalna-l-bard w-ṣak'a.

O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Thy evil is still tormenting us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
Clouds of dust are still blinding us.
O mother of the rain! rain upon us;
The specter of want speeds towards us.
O mother of the rain! O hungry one!
The chill and severe cold have destroyed us.

Verse 4. *Bard* is less strong than *ṣak'a*. In summer the saying "*bard al-jowm*, it is chilly today," is often heard, but *ṣak'a* is used only when the icy but dry north wind penetrates the bones.

1. *Alli ta'ṭina bel-rerbâl*
   ǧa'al wulejdah ḫajjâl
2. *alli ta'ṭina bel-menḫel*
   ǧa'al wulejdah jedḫel
3. *alli ta'ṭina bel-ḥafna*
   'asa 'aduwwateh ledafnah
4. *alli ta'ṭina bel-kamâa*
   ǧa'al 'ajûnaha-r-ramâa.

Of her who will give us a full sieve,
Oh may (Allâh) make the little son grow up a rider.
Of her who will give us a full bolt,
Oh may (Allâh) lead the ewe to a bride.
Of her who will give us a large handful,
Oh may the grave open for her enemy.
Of her who will give us a small handful,
Oh may her eyelashes soon grow thicker.

Verse 3. *Ḥafna* is as much as the hand with the palm turned upwards and with bent fingers can hold, or a large handful. 4. *Kamāṣ* is as much as can be held between the palm and the fingers of the hand turned downwards, or a small handful.

Erčebûni-l-ḥâši
w-eb'adâ bûkmâši
dem' 'ajni nawwâši
'ala-lli ǧarraḥûni.

Seat me upon a weak young camel,
And take away him who would hold me;
The tears of my eyes are exhausted
Weeping for him from whom they have parted me.

Ḥâši is a camel not yet three years old; an older she-camel is called *ǧill*. The young camel suffers from lack of pasture and water, the girl from sorrow for her lost sweetheart, and both will perish if no one cares for them.

Erčebûni-l-ḥamra'	Seat me upon a bay mare,
w-eṭ'emûni tamra	Feed me with one date.
allâh jeṭâl 'omrak	Oh may Allâh prolong his life,
jowm hom ḫallaṣûni.	For they have liberated me.

They (her relatives) saved her from death by bringing back her lover, who did not perish of thirst in the raid.

Já ǧîb já ṭâred al-ḥejf
oṭrod ḥabûb aš-šemâli
'ajjaxt 'alja' w-abu zejd
ahl al-ḳṣûr al-'awâli.

O wolf! O thou who strugglest with the hot south wind!
Drive away the cold breeze of the north wind.
Thou hast surely seen 'Alja and Abu Zejd,
Who used to dwell in manors high.

The wolf is not injured by the various winds and thus reaches an age so great that he could tell much concerning the occupants of the demolished manors which he has seen. *Al-ḥejf* is the hot dry wind blowing in summer from the south-east, causing much suffering, especially to children and women. *Aš-šemâli* is the icy north wind, which destroys plants as well as animals and human beings. If it blows for some time, the grass freezes and both animals and men fall sick. There are

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

no rains after the *ḥejf* in summer nor after the *ḍemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṭâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-ṛejṭ*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-ṛejṭ* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṯ-ṯurêwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'eśeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rubê'*. In the inner desert

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

1. *Jâ dâr jâ dâr arjaš al-'ajn wuddi*
   'oḳob al-maḥal jâ dâr ḫolli merîfe
2. *ana-nšedeč 'an ṣâḥebi wên meddi*
   ṣâjefeč ana limhazhaz aṣ-ṣedeż żîfe
3. *ḳâlat 'aširak medd ṣowbi w-ǧeddi*
   dûneh dijâren lar-rečâjeb muḫîfe
4. *en ta'ṭeni 'an ṣâḥebak testeǧeddi*
   telḳa' ma' al-bedwân binten naẓîfe.

1. "O camping place! O camping place of my beloved with thick long lashes!
   Thou wert deserted, and afterwards, O camping place of my darling! thou wert covered with densely growing plants.
2. I ask thee concerning my friend, whither went she?
   I tarry with thee as a true guest and shake thy right hand, that thou mayst tell me the truth."
3. The camp replied: "Thy beloved departed in the direction towards which I face, and hastened,
   So that between her and us there extend territories which fill the riding camels with terror.
4. If thou acceptest my counsel concerning thy friend, then seek a new one;
   Among the Bedouins thou wilt certainly meet a maiden without blemish."

A negro serving with one of the chiefs fell in love with a negress who was serving with the same chief. After a short time, however, he changed his service and departed to a new territory with his new master. His love did not wane and after a year he set out to seek his friend. He reached the camping place where he had last seen the negress. This camping place, which a year previously had been deserted and trampled upon, he found covered with a thick growth of plants. It had been made fertile by the ashes and camel excrements, so that after abundant rain the plants throve there. The negro dismounted from his camel, made a fire in the camping place — which was very easy to do, because on all sides there were lying piles of perennials and dry camel dung —, and acted as if he were the guest of the camping place. He tried to learn in what direction his beloved had departed.

Verse 2. Wishing to learn the truth, he seized in spirit the right hand of the camping place, took it and entreated it to tell him the truth, *muḥazhaz 'aṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*. This is what The Bedouin does when he wishes to obtain reliable news.

539x 789

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

233 stray beast to come back to its place. Often the lost she-camel joins another herd, goes with it to the camp, moans when she does not hear the familiar voice of the herdsman, and moves towards him as soon as his ditty catches her ear. In case the stray animal is not in the camp, the owner and his friends mount their horses and ride out the same evening to hunt for it. If it is not found, they return the next day before noon, saddle their female riding camels, and the search begins anew. During their absence a member of the owner's kin rides up and down the camp every evening shouting: "Who has seen such and such a she-camel?" If someone happens to have seen her, the usual answer is: "O thou who hast lost a she-camel, know that she is at So-and-So's." No one would ever keep such knowledge to himself. A stray or lost she-camel is called *ḍâheba*, the man who has lost her, *meḍheb*.

[789] Although sucking, young camels are constantly threatened with danger from many beasts of prey, mainly wolves, the herdsman cannot always watch them, especially in a rocky territory or sandy desert, full of drifts and pits. However, in order to preserve them he draws a circle around them with his staff or a sharp stone and says: "The circle of Solomon, son of David, is between us and thee [wild beast]! If thou breakest it, Allâh will break thee! *ḫoṭṭa slejmân eben dâûd bênana w-bênak w-en ḳaṭa'taha ḳaṭa'ak allâh*." This circle is also called *lejâm*.

VALUE AND USES OF CAMELS

231 511 438 Without camels the Bedouins could not live in the desert. The she-camels give them milk all the year round; this forms the principal, and in many families the only, food for months. With the money received from the sale of camels they buy clothes, arms, and grain for both themselves and their horses. The camels they usually sell to the *fellâḥîn* or to the merchants who import in caravans the various goods needed in the towns and settlements situated far from the sea or from railways; some camels are also sold for meat in Egypt and Irak. The *fellâḥîn* use the camels in plowing, hauling, and threshing, for raising water, and for bringing their various products to the market. Fat she-camels more than twenty years old are bought for their flesh by the 'Aḳejl.

ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-ḥalba' w-ar-raǧul al-malûs, as both are the cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ed-da"âja w-en-na"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her opponent in the following sentences:

"*Sab' ḥal-waǧh*. May [a wild beast, demon] tear this face!"

"*Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb*. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"*Row bek. Tekwû* (or *tekû*) *bak*. Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"*Ḥamdet ar-riḥ*. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"*Ḥâjbt as-sa'ad*. May success be far from thee!"

"*Ḥejb as-sedd*. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"*Mout an-nâr*. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"*Allâh jil'an zên hal-ḥdûm alli mâ hi 'al-âdmi mâr 'ala 'âd aš-šîjara*. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful. If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-s-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say "*'ala-š-šên w-as-zên*," if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry "*Semḥeč*," instead of "*Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mâuželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâǧa w-al-marat aš-ša"âǧa* (or *šarrâǧa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aḳer-*

2: Musil 8-4, 8 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

791 the *munâbi* is to appear. They come to the seer on Thursday
756 night, accompany him on his visits to the sick and on raids, and join him whenever he commands them. One part of their duty is to carry little drums and other musical instruments,
●[789] *dfûf w-ħilâ* or *dirbâš*. If the sorcerer wants to call the spokesman-angel to him, he beckons to the disciples to play, while he himself squats with his head bent down. After a while he begins to move, stands up, stretches out his hands, jumps about, contorts his body, and puts his hands, feet, and even his head close to the fire, clapping his hands. The Bedouins say of this that he is just playing, *jel'ab*, but his disciples call it yielding to the influence of the *islâm*, ecstasy. When his enthusiasm reaches its climax, either Allâh's spokesman or some of the seer's ancestors appear on the scene. After the climax has subsided, the seer, greatly exhausted, complains that he can do nothing. The Bedouins, however, who cannot be made to believe that this ecstasy is a mere preparation for the angel's appearance, deride the sorcerer, imitate his gestures, and call him one possessed and a juggler. Especially those of the new sorcerers whose ancestors were not known as seers are the target of their ridicule when trying to establish themselves. In this the Rwala are assisted by the acknowledged seers themselves, even by the new seer's temporary master. The new sorcerer is called *markî*, a fool; *masdûf*, bereft of reason; *ħabel*, feeble-minded; *wâše'eh kejfarda*, full of unbelief; *maṣfûħ*, drunk; *ma'rûṣ*, one possessed, etc. Should he declare something as the will of Allâh, all will laugh at him, for he could not learn anything from his ancestors who were not seers themselves, and the speaking angel does not know him. Yet even if, after all, he achieves something extraordinary, they say he was helped by some spirit, *ǧânn*, and with such the sorcerers never associate.
[555] However, by perseverance, patience, and courage a sorcerer-to-be in a few years will gain recognition not only from the Bedouins but from the hereditary sorcerers as well. The advance of such a sorcerer's son in his father's calling is, as a matter of course, much easier and speedier.

791 In defense of their honor the seers sometimes resort to
754 curses. They are unable by their own strength to ruin the scoffers, but their ancestors and the spokesman-angel with whom they communicate will ask Allâh to punish those who dare to persecute them. These will die prematurely, their sons

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

will be slain, their herds perish. The chief Ṣaḳr eben Meṣreb, a famous leader of countless raids, was greatly incensed against both the sorcerers and their disciples because of their incessant greed and was once heard to say: "Oh, may Allâh rid me of you all! If you have enough, you disturb everybody's rest by your music and your foolery; if you are hungry, there is no being rid of you, you beggars; *low šeba'tu awǧejtu w-low ǧi'tu arzejtu*." On hearing this the insulted sorcerers called a meeting and one of them, Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, cursed Ṣaḳr in the name of all present. A few days later the chief was dead.

Of the sorcerer's curse the Bedouins stand in much fear. If anybody hears that a seer has cursed him, he makes haste to find the seer and, falling on his face before the powerful man, crosses his hands behind his back as if fettered and says: "I ask the protection of thine ancestor and am willing to bring a lawful sacrifice as a gift to him, *ana dâḫel 'ala ǧeddekom w-ana ḥâṭṭ ḏebiḥat ǧeddekom mowkebha mowkebe šarʿijje*." The sorcerer answers: "Agreed, it has arrived; *támma w-jámma*." The animal selected for the sacrifice is killed by the sorcerer at the edge of the tent, with its head turned south, while the sorcerer says: "O Allâh, this sacrifice is destined for my ancestor." Then he besmears with the blood of the sacrificed animal the center pole of the tent and the strip which strengthens its roof, *ṭarîket al-bejt*; the meat he and his disciples eat, and the accursed is relieved.

At the time when this was written (1909) the following persons were recognized as true seers: men: Mnâḥi eben Dabbâr, Rannâm eben Ǧel'ûd, Ṣajjâḥ eben Ǧlejdân, Za'al eben 'Awwâd; women: 'Ešba bint Hmezi, Baṭḥa bint 'Awwâd, and Dlejjîl bint Mâṭi.

A sorcerer can give information whether and for how long it is going to rain; whether a wife will bear a boy or a girl; whether the young produced by the mare or camel will be a male or a female; whether a raid will succeed, etc.

War expeditions on a large scale are always accompanied by a sorcerer who instructs the commander in anything he may undertake. The latter asks the sorcerer's advice only on occasions when he is at a loss what to do. Then the seer stimulates himself with music and works himself into an ecstasy, which helps him hear the angel speak and proclaim the will of Allâh.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

on gravel and sand, and then waits a whole year. At the expiration of that time he scrapes away the sand and gravel, takes out the star, and brings it to a good swordsmith, who melts and beats it into a saber which can be sold for one hundred Turkish pounds ($450). 821

If there is lightning and thunder, but the clouds begin to scatter and disappear, the Rwala pray: "O, that he, who sends (angels) to the cloud, may send (an angel) to it on eight riding camels and say to it: 'The gift (of God) shall come down.' *Já min jirsel las-saḥâb jirsel leh ṯamân erčâb w-jakûl leh 'aṭwa' jîği.*" If merciful Allâh spreads out the clouds on high and but few drops fall, the Bedouins lament: "After this (rain) we have lost what might have brought us gold, (we have lost it) like a vibrating mirage. Truly, we can do nothing without Allâh. *Min 'oḳbeh raddejna-d-ḏahâb miṯl ṣaḥṣâḥ as-sarâb 'oḳb allâh mâ ḥenna šien.*" Abundant rain would have given the camels good pasture and for well-fed old camels gold can be had from the 'Aḳejl.

The end of the rain in the daytime is announced by the rainbow, *sejf al-maṭar*. As soon it appears, the clouds grow calm; *ilja sajjefat kajjefat*.

SEASONS AND RAINY PERIODS

In summer the clouds are plentiful, but they bring no rain. Only in the autumn there becomes visible either on the right or on the left of the sun a sun dog, *middat aš-šams*, a sure sign that rain will soon come. In this season the seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, of the Nṣejr clan, Mbârek eben Ḥwêmel, takes a large handful of salt and, dividing it into six small heaps indicating the principal rains, arranges them in the form of a cross, *sallab*, thus: 821 791 787

o *šhejlâwi*
o *šitwi* o *ṭrâwi* o *ṣejfi*
o *ǧôzâwi*,

and then lies down by them and waits for what Allâh's messenger will tell him during the coming night. On the next morning he and the others examine the heaps. The one where the most salt is melted is the one which will produce the most abundant rain.

The year of the Bedouins begins with the first heavy rain following the appearance of the star Canopus, *sheil*, in 805 132

CHAPTER XIV

SUPERNATURAL GIFTS

SEERS OR SORCERERS

791 756 Among the Bedouins there are persons, both male and female, who know and see hidden things and are able to heal the sick. The Rwala call them collectively *ahl as-sirr* or *as-serrijje*, and individually *rā' as-sirr*, a lord (or owner) of secrets, seer, whereas they are known among themselves as *aṣḥāb al-islām*, owners of *islām*, possessing the protection of God. They maintain that they inherit their supernatural qualities, their *islām*, from their forefathers and that, therefore, the ability to heal the sick, discover what is hidden, foretell the future, etc., is confined to certain families. This the Rwala refuse to believe and often deride the seers openly. If, however, both the seer's father and grandfather were also known as seers or sorcerers, then the Bedouins may admit the claim to be justified; but they scoff the more at the men and women who, having joined the seer, begin after some time to claim that they too have been endowed by Allāh with the gifts of *islām*.

The seer maintains that he communicates with an angel, *malak*, who announces to him the will of Allāh. Such an angel, an intermediary between Allāh and the sorcerer, is called *mundībi* or *mundīb*, spokesman. As a rule the *mundībi* appears in the shape of a rider seated on a white mare. He tells the seer what to proclaim in Allāh's name, and woe to him should he say something different from what the angel told him, *mā jeḥči kowd ḥaḏi al-malak*, for the angel would kill him on the spot. The *mundībi* simply says: "O So-and-So, this or that is going to happen; this or that thou wilt proclaim; this or that do!" Besides the angel the seer's ancestors also appear to him in the night between Thursday and Friday, instructing him how to behave. Yet neither the angel nor the ancestors ever appear without a thorough preparation on the part of the seer.

Every seer has his disciples, *ṭallābt as-sirr*, who are taught all the external performances necessary to display if

the *mwaḍḥi* is to appear. They come to the seer on Thursday night, accompany him on his visits to the sick and on raids, and join him whenever he commands them. One part of their duty is to carry little drums and other musical instruments, *dfûf w-ḥlû* or *dirbâz*. If the sorcerer wants to call the spokesman-angel to him, he beckons to the disciples to play, while he himself squats with his head bent down. After a while he begins to move, stands up, stretches out his hands, jumps about, contorts his body, and puts his hands, feet, and even his head close to the fire, clapping his hands. The Bedouins say of this that he is just playing, *jel'ab*, but his disciples call it yielding to the influence of the *islâm*, ecstasy. When his enthusiasm reaches its climax, either Allâh's spokesman or some of the seer's ancestors appear on the scene. After the climax has subsided, the seer, greatly exhausted, complains that he can do nothing. The Bedouins, however, who cannot be made to believe that this ecstasy is a mere preparation for the angel's appearance, deride the sorcerer, imitate his gestures, and call him one possessed and a juggler. Especially those of the new sorcerers whose ancestors were not known as seers are the target of their ridicule when trying to establish themselves. In this the Rwala are assisted by the acknowledged seers themselves, even by the new seer's temporary master. The new sorcerer is called *maṛši*, a fool; *mazdûf*, bereft of reason; *ḫabel*, feeble-minded; *wâlû'eh kejfarda*, full of unbelief; *maṣfûḥ*, drunk; *ma'rûṣ*, one possessed, etc. Should he declare something as the will of Allâh, all will laugh at him, for he could not learn anything from his ancestors who were not seers themselves, and the speaking angel does not know him. Yet even if, after all, he achieves something extraordinary, they say he was helped by some spirit, *ǧânn*, and with such the sorcerers never associate. However, by perseverance, patience, and courage a sorcerer-to-be in a few years will gain recognition not only from the Bedouins but from the hereditary sorcerers as well. The advance of such a sorcerer's son in his father's calling is, as a matter of course, much easier and speedier.

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Very often a sorcerer is summoned to the bedside of a person who is seriously ill. He comes either with all or a few of his disciples and settles down in the tent as a regular guest. During the day, but especially in the evening, he orders his disciples to play, while he squats by the fire with his head wrapped up and his face in his hands, listening to the music. After a while he begins to contort the upper part of his body, jumps up, seizes a small drum, beats it wildly, circles around the fire, and, dancing around the patient, raps him with the drum on the head and legs; then, throwing the drum aside, he lies above the patient, supporting himself by the feet and hands, breathes into his mouth and nostrils, kneels down, rubs the patient on the breast, stomach, and back, jumps up, dances around, and, then, lying on him again, mumbles unintelligible words. Sometimes he cures the sick person by this process; sometimes the patient dies. 755

Ṣulhân's little son, Feǧer, six years old, fell ill. Greatly troubled, the father entreated a sorcerer to cure his child. The seer soon appeared with his wife, and the first thing they did was to lay the boy's head south and his feet north. The woman began to play, while the sorcerer bent down to the fire, waiting for the *islâm* to take hold of him. Then he jumped up, danced, lay on the boy, covering him with his body, breathed on his cheeks, and made curious grimaces, *la'ab 'alejh*, the woman beating a little drum all this time and dancing around them. The boy recovered.

A certain woman was paralyzed for many years and unable to stand on her feet. Finally Mnâhi eben Dabbâr was brought to her and played over her, *la'ab*, for three evenings. On the third evening the sick woman suddenly jumped up and began to dance with him, and was well ever after.

Feǧer eben Ṭajjeb of the Mwâhîb clan suffered from gout and was unable to walk, *mḥarwal*. On being sent for, the sorcerer stayed with him seven days, played over him every evening, daubed him with his spittle, spat on him — and Feǧer became well.

The sorcerers are accustomed to sing: 533 791

Hala b'ali az-zêni Welcome, 'Ali, thou benefactor,
jâ ḫejḫ al-Ǧeddêni Chief of my ancestors both;
w-'ali jâ-bu ḥsêni. 'Ali, thou father of Ḥsên.

533 *Já bâz já ǧeldi* O Falcon! O ancestor mine!
791 *hala' b'ezzaddîn* Welcome to us, O 'Ezzaddin!
já šejḫ al-jemîn. Thou chief powerful.

Hala' bzên an-nijje Welcome to us, thou who well meanest
já ra' aṭ-ṭawijje And knowest what is hidden.

It is even said of the sorceresses that they can disappear from the tent unobserved.

SOOTHSAYERS

791 There are people living among the Bedouins, both men
787 and women, who in some inexplicable way are able to tell of hidden things, whether of the past, present, or future. One of their ways is to prophesy from the position of twenty-three objects cast about promiscuously. These objects are: seven round white pebbles, *marwât*; one small piece of ambergris; one fragment of broken glass, *ṛaẓâra*; one small piece of a burned brick, *ḫuẓrime*; one fragment of a broken glass armlet, *ḫuṣmat ma'ẓad*; five small white sea shells, *ḫams wad'ât*; one small piece of sea shell, *miṣarra*; four date stones, *ṯumât*; one small piece of a glass ring such as is worn by mares on their necks, *ḫuṣmat ḫaršat faras*; and one smooth silver ring, *ḫalḳat ḫâtem fuẓẓa*. The soothsayer, who keeps all these twenty-three objects in a leather pouch, shakes them out on the palm of his hand, throws them down on the carpet, and then begins to prophesy from their relative positions.

Blejhân related to me: "My little brother, Ǧî'ân, went on a raid and did not return for a long time. My heart was sick with longing for him, *w-ḳalbi waǧ'ân 'alejh*. So I went to a Ḥâzmijje (woman of the Ḥawâzem tribe) soothsayer, *naḥarṭ al-ḫaṭṭâṭa alli 'endana min al-ḥawâzem*, and gave her a little tobacco, *'aṭajtah šwajje titen*. She said:

'What brings thee here, O youth? *wêš ǧâjebk jâ walad*. Dost thou need something? *!ak ṛara;*.'

'I seek a lost camel and want thee to give me the sign, *ana medheb w-abîč teẓrobi li bel-fâl*.' Taking out from a bag, *mezwede*, the pouch with those twenty-three things, she shook them out on her right palm, which she first lifted and then lowered again, threw them, *faššatha*, broadcast on the carpet, glanced over them, and then exclaimed:

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'O youth, thou seekest not a she-camel, *eat má mṛáje'en* 791
mḡáhbe. Thou art troubled about a raider; it is for him thy 787
heart is aching. But be it known to thee that today his heart is calmer than thine, *ḳulbeh al-jeum afge' min ḳulbk*. He will return to thee merry and unwounded, *jeği farḥân má ḥw ḳarḥân*.'

'If he returns thus thou shalt get a dress or silk kerchief, *en čân ğâ' farḥânen leč ṭowb willa' makrâne*,' said I and left, somewhat relieved. And, true enough, five days after this Ğl'ân came back well and bringing four captured she-camels. Then I gave the soothsayer that silk kerchief."

Ĝowfân eben Sûdân of the Ḳmuṣa lost a camel, *'njja'*. He looked for her in the whole neighborhood without result, and, although half of his neighbors knew of his trouble, *ruma-l-ḫabar benuṣṣ au-uâs*, no one came to him with news of the lost animal. After ten days he finally went to a soothsayer, *ṣarrâbt al-fâl*, Boṣra bint 'Orejč by name, of the Ḥawâzem tribe, and said to her:

"I wish to go on a raid. What sign wilt thou give me?" The woman raised her hand with the twenty-three objects, lowered it again, threw them broadcast, and after observing them said:

"Why art thou talking of a raid? Thou hast lost a camel; that is what thou desirest to know — nothing of a raid. Be cheered with glad tidings. I see thy camel lying behind a stranger in the west." This gave Ĝowfân a clue. He began to inquire what sort of a stranger camped in the western part of the large camp, and found that on that very day a tent had been pitched at the western end by an unknown Rwejli. Going there he began to search about the tent and at last saw in a neighboring gully his camel, fettered. The soothsayer received a *meğidijje* (90 cents) for the welcome news, *bšâra*.

A herdsman drove a flock of sheep to water. He drove them back again at sunset, *rûbat 'alejha-š-šams*, and then let them graze as they pleased. Sitting down not far off, he soon fell asleep from exhaustion, *nâm 'auha*. When he woke up in the morning, his flock was gone. He looked all around, shouted for them, but all in vain. Hastening, then, to the owner of the flock, *ğâ' haleh*, he reported what had happened. The owner called all his kin, *haleh*, together and rode with them on horse-

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791 back through the whole neighborhood, searching for the animals
787 all day, but without avail, *ʿaǧaz*. Returning and saddling their camels in the evening, they began a new search, from which they did not return for fifteen days, *ḫamsṭaʿaš waǧbe* (sic), again without finding a single trace of the flock. Then the owner decided to visit a soothsayer. Scattering her twenty-three objects on the ground before him, she said: "Hurry after thy flock with the wind, with the wind! Thou wilt find one half, thou wilt find the other half. Thou wilt find one after another." When the owner asked what was meant by these words, the woman put him off with the remark that she did not know. Returning to his tent, he related to his people what the soothsayer had told him. The air was perfectly quiet at that time, but suddenly a strong wind began to blow from the south-southwest, which gave one of the relatives an idea. "Allāh sends us a leader," said he, "let us follow him." And exactly at noon they set off north-northeast. About the middle of the afternoon, *ʿaṣejr*, they found a piece of the skin of the first sheep, which by a mark on its head the owner recognized as belonging to his flock. Before sunset they found the skin of a second and then of a third sheep with the same mark. All three sheep had been torn to pieces by wolves. Greatly fatigued with their long ride, they lay down to sleep. Continuing their search next morning, they found one dead sheep after another until they reached the pasturing ground of the Rfede kin, where they learned that, a few days before, one of their members named Ḥsejni had found seventy-five sheep wandering aimlessly in the vicinity. This was exactly the half of the lost flock, the other half having perished in the meantime.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF ṢLEJB WOMEN

764 The Rwala also believe that many women of the Ṣlejb tribe can exercise a good or bad influence. They are said to be able not only to awaken love, but also to smother it; to strengthen and also to destroy the faculty of begetting; to increase as well as to hinder the growth of children; to lengthen and shorten life, etc. No one knows if they have direct connections with evil spirits, but the people are inclined to believe so. Such women are called witches, *saḥḥāra*, although none of them may be directly so called. Should that be proved of any Ṣlubijja, the Rwala would certainly kill her.

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preserve, as some wayfarer or foreign herdsman might easily give warning to the hostile tribe and enable it to lay a trap for the raiders. It is generally the slaves of the prince or commander who overhear the conversation and then relate it to show that they know more than the Rwala themselves. 721

On the day agreed on they depart in smaller or larger groups either for the commander's tent or the appointed place of rendezvous. A guide familiar with the watering places, *delîl*, is always taken and, whenever possible, a member of the tribe to be attacked as well. This is usually an elderly herdsman who has hired himself out with them; he is sent for by the commander at the last moment before setting out. 701 721

The commander is also accompanied on the raid by a seer or sorcerer, *ṣâḥeb es-sirr*, to whom Allâh sends dreams in his sleep of a certain significance, *'arṣa ma'âsdijje*. He is asked by the commander: "O So-and-So, didst thou have a dream of such-and-such a significance? *'arṣatk ǧatk*." It is a favorable omen, for instance, if he has dreamed of a mare or a she-camel; if he has kissed a girl, put on a new dress, or eaten dates—all these presage a rich capture of camels. If he has eaten meat in his dream, it means that tents will be captured, together with the kettles in which the meat is boiled. If he has put on a greenish jacket in his dream, *ǧowḫa ḫaḍra*, the commander will distinguish himself in a duel. If he dreamt that he was standing on a high hill, it is a sure sign that the commander will defeat the enemy decisively. If he has seen regular soldiers attacking the Bedouins, it is a sure sign that a heavy rain will compel the raiders to rest for some time. Of unfavorable significance, *'arṣa šêna*, is a dream in which the sleeping seer sees a wounded, a naked, or a snake-bitten man; or one in which he has his front teeth knocked out; or in which he falls down a well, *wâḳe'en bel-ṭelîb*, or is fettered, or holds gold in his hand, or goes blind. But if he puts on a red jacket in his dream, then the commander's blood is sure to flow. 791 787

The commander takes care not to meet before his tent any member of the 'Orṣân (Misfortunates) kin of the Kwâčbe, of the Flete (Surprised) of the Rwala, of the Bdûr (Oppressed) of the Eššâġe'a, or of the Kšûš (Chased Away) of the 'Abdelle, for the names of these kins prove that they possess qualities very unfavorable to any large undertaking, *'arṣathom mâ hi zênc*. 721 784

When the commander reaches the place of meeting, the 701 721

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Verse 3. *Ḥafna* is as much as the hand with the palm turned upwards and with bent fingers can hold, or a large handful. 4. *Ḳamša* is as much as can be held between the palm and the fingers of the hand turned downwards, or a small handful.

Erčebûni-l-ḥâši
w-eb'adû bikmâši
dem' 'ajni nawwâši
'ala-lli fâraḳûni.

Seat me upon a weak young camel,
And take away him who would hold me;
The tears of my eyes are exhausted
Weeping for him from whom they have parted me.

Ḥâši is a camel not yet three years old; an older she-camel is called *ǧill*. The young camel suffers from lack of pasture and water, the girl from sorrow for her lost sweetheart, and both will perish if no one cares for them.

Erčebûni-l-ḥamra'	Seat me upon a bay mare,
w-eṭ'emûni tamra	Feed me with one date.
allâh jeṭûl 'omrah	Oh may Allâh prolong his life,
jowm hom ḥallaṣûni.	For they have liberated me.

They (her relatives) saved her from death by bringing back her lover, who did not perish of thirst in the raid.

Jâ ḏîb jâ ṭâred al-hejf
oṭrod habûb aš-šemâli
'ajjant 'alja' w-abu zejd
ahl al-ḳṣûr al-'awâli.

O wolf! O thou who struggleest with the hot south wind!
Drive away the cold breeze of the north wind.
Thou hast surely seen 'Alja and Abu Zejd,
Who used to dwell in manors high.

The wolf is not injured by the various winds and thus reaches an age so great that he could tell much concerning the occupants of the demolished manors which he has seen. *Al-hejf* is the hot dry wind blowing in summer from the south-east, causing much suffering, especially to children and women. *Aš-šemâli* is the icy north wind, which destroys plants as well as animals and human beings. If it blows for some time, the grass freezes and both animals and men fall sick. There are

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821 who walk by night': *allâh jeċfina šarr az-ẓalma w-az-ẓâlmin.*"

In winter time the moon passes across the center of the heavens, but in summer it stays on the edge, *ma' baṭin as-sema'*, while the sun burns right overhead.

805 The Bedouin divides all time into two periods: one when the moon reigns and the other when the sun reigns. The first is called the night, the second the day, *nahâr*, and together they form our day of twenty-four hours, *jourm*; this name, however, is not used by the Bedouin, who speaks only of the night or the nights; the day, the reign of the sun, is regarded as an appendage of the night, which begins with sunset and ends with sunrise. The period of sunset is called *moṛreb*; the first part of the night, *'aša'*; the time between sunset and dark, *'atîm*; then follows *al-'atîm al-aḫîr* (the second *'atîm*) and finally midnight, *nuṣṣ al-lejl*; the period between midnight and sunrise is *tâli-l-lejl*; then comes *šaḳḳat al-'amûd*, or the time when the morning star begins to rise above the dark horizon; and finally the dawn, *ṭa'at al-ḥamâr*. The period of sunrise is called *ṣubḥ*; when the sun has risen and dried the dew, or about halfway between sunrise and noon, *ẓaḥa'*. Noon is called *ẓuhr*; then follows *al-ḳâjile* or *ṣakkat al-'omaj*, the time of the siesta. About midway between noon and sunset is *'aṣr*, and then comes *'aṣejr*.

The division of the day into hours is not known. The word hour, *sâ'a*, they use, but in the sense of "right away," "in a minute." For instance: "Light the fire right away! *bsâ'a.*" The days of the week are not counted. *Sbû'*, a week, means not only seven, but also five or even nine or more days. Whether the month has twenty-eight or thirty days they do not know and do not care, as they count the nights alone.

For the individual months they have no special names. Ḥmâr, first slave of Prince an-Nûri, insisted that the successive months are named as follows: *'âšûr, ṣafar*, four months of *at-twâm, al-ṛarra, al-kṣejjer, ramaẓân*, two months of *al-afṭâr*, and finally *az-ẓaḥijje*, but none of the common Bedouins, not even one of the younger chiefs, knew all these names. *Ramaẓân* and *az-ẓaḥijje* were known to all; of the rest everybody could name some but without knowing the order.

The year itself begins with the autumn. When every stalk cracks, *jiṭeḳḳ al-'ûd*, and breaks — a sign of its being completely dry — then the Bedouin observes the clouds and waits for the rain and the new year which follows.

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on gravel and sand, and then waits a whole year. At the expiration of that time he scrapes away the sand and gravel, takes out the star, and brings it to a good swordsmith, who melts and beats it into a saber which can be sold for one hundred Turkish pounds ($450). 821

If there is lightning and thunder, but the clouds begin to scatter and disappear, the Rwala pray: "O, that he, who sends (angels) to the cloud, may send (an angel) to it on eight riding camels and say to it: 'The gift (of God) shall come down.' *Jâ min jirsel las-saḥâb jirsel leh ṭamân erčâb w-jaḳûl leh 'aṭwa' jiği.*" If merciful Allâh spreads out the clouds on high and but few drops fall, the Bedouins lament: "After this (rain) we have lost what might have brought us gold, (we have lost it) like a vibrating mirage. Truly, we can do nothing without Allâh. *Min 'oḳbeh raddeina-d-ḏahâb miṯl ẓaḥẓâḥ as-sarâb 'oḳb allâh mâ ḥenna šien.*" Abundant rain would have given the camels good pasture and for well-fed old camels gold can be had from the 'Aḳejl.

The end of the rain in the daytime is announced by the rainbow, *šejf al-maṭar*. As soon it appears, the clouds grow calm; *ilja sajjefat kajjefat*.

SEASONS AND RAINY PERIODS

In summer the clouds are plentiful, but they bring no rain. Only in the autumn there becomes visible either on the right or on the left of the sun a sun dog, *middat aš-šams*, a sure sign that rain will soon come. In this season the seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, of the Nṣejr clan, Mbârek eben Ḥwêmel, takes a large handful of salt and, dividing it into six small heaps indicating the principal rains, arranges them in the form of a cross, *ṣallab*, thus: 821 791 787

o *shejlâwi*
o *šitwi* o *ṭrûwi* o *ṣejfi*
o *ǧôzâwi*,

and then lies down by them and waits for what Allâh's messenger will tell him during the coming night. On the next morning he and the others examine the heaps. The one where the most salt is melted is the one which will produce the most abundant rain.

The year of the Bedouins begins with the first heavy rain following the appearance of the star Canopus, *sheil*, in 805 132

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805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at aš-shejl nužarreḥ*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṯrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṯrâwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-šta'*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-wasm*, *aš-*
132 *šitwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *as-shejlâwi*, *aṭ-ṭrâwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which
[731] are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen as-sejl watlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-ḫerfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arṣ mawsûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

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In the inner desert

the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arẓ alli mâ tinwasem mâ terabbe' muḥtije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

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831x 5. Her cheeks are as smooth as gossamer, which none must touch roughly
539x And which a light breeze lifts when unburdened with dew.
6. Her breasts thou wouldst liken to eggs, the halves of which lie on a sand drift,
While on her temples the hair waves like black [ostrich] plumes.
7. Her belly — neither fine cloth nor cotton
Nor even the Kashmir wool is as soft as her belly, not the smooth wool used for weaving rugs.
8. O little daughter of him who stands firm when the terror is at its height
And proves no coward when all rush about and bend over the necks of their horses.

The author of this poem was Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr, a member of a once famous kin, the remains of which now usually camp in the neighborhood of Ḍmejr. Abu Rašîd was a friend of the love-stricken Čen'ân, whose sweetheart, a chief's daughter, was staying with her father in the inner desert.

Verse 1. *Malkûš* is one wounded or stricken; *lakešni hassejf* means "this saber wounded (struck) me." *Muntaha šakwâj* means "my last consolation, or comfort, is the man whom I trust the most." *Al-ḳalb muṛtall* or *al-ḳalb beh ṛoll* (or *hamm*) means the heart filled with unsatisfied, passionate love. 2. *Al-'afw* or *jâ-llâh 'awntak*, meaning "May Allâh have [782] pity on you!" or "May Allâh help you!" is a usual cry when one hears of a great misfortune. Allâh visits man with torments for his sins, hence the exclamation "*al-'afw*," meaning "Forgiveness!" "Mercy!" or "Pardon!" If Allâh forgives the mis- [805] deeds, the misfortune is past. *Šawwâl* is the tenth month. Čen'ân, who lived permanently with the settlers, uses this word, which is not usual in the desert. *Al-ḳṣajjer* is the name given by the Arabs living in the neighborhood of Damascus to the eighth month, *ša'bân*. The poet's sweetheart moved with her father to the inner desert in the month of *šawwâl*, and now *al-ḳṣajjer* was nearing its end; thus ten months were almost past and, still, neither messenger nor traveler, *ṭâreš*, had come bringing word of her. 3. *Baṭṭûš* is a plant with red fruits preserved for their pleasant odor. 5. *Dehdâr* is gossamer. 6. *Ḥača'* or *teḳel* means "resembles." A *ṭe'es* is a smooth drift of rosy sand. The halved shell of an ostrich egg lying on the smooth rosy sand reminds the poet of his sweetheart's charms.

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777 which to begin a task are Mondays and Thursdays. Their *waǧba* is not only favorable, *zêna*, but their countenance, too, is sweet, *ḥelw*, so that they insure good results. Wednesday, Saturday, and the forenoon of Friday are not suitable. There is no spirit which would assist a Bedouin who begins an undertaking on any of these days, and he would be left to his fate, *naṣîbeh*. The other days of the week are of no significance whatever.

[805] The Bedouin observes the moon very carefully, counting his days in accordance with its waxing or waning. For both of these also have their good or bad countenance, *waǧh*. The most suitable or lucky day is the first day of the month, if it falls on Monday or Thursday. Then the success of an undertaking is assured. Unlucky are such nights and days of the month as contain the numbers six or seven. The sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-sixth days of the month, called *al-farad*, are considered unlucky, as they break up or disintegrate any undertaking precisely as one can divide the figure six into two and two and two. The nights of the sixth, sixteenth and twenty-sixth of the month are called *lejâli-l-ṛarak*, the nights of flood, destruction. He who undertakes a work of importance on those days will drown his efforts in failure. Every being that comes into the world on any of these nights will surely perish and is on that account called *ṛarḳân*. A baby boy born on such a night will not learn to walk. *lâ jaskom*.

The seventh, seventeenth, and twenty-seventh days of the month are likewise unlucky. The number seven, *sab'*, is wholly under the domination of the spirits; anyone pronouncing it irritates the evil spirits and repels the good. Colloquially *samḥ* is used instead of *sab'*, which is employed only in conjuring or swearing, and also in cursing to perdition — that is, when calling on the spirits with some object in view.

The ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth days remind one of the waning of the month. *nefâż aš-šahr*; for this reason it is better not to begin anything important on these days. A raid made on any of them will certainly fail, especially if led by several chiefs. On no other days of the month are there so many disputes and quarrels as on the ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth — it seems as if every human being was then unconsciously subject to irritation, *mat'ûs*.

The twenty-first day brings much evil into the world. The traveler loses his way most easily on that day. A child born on the twenty-first is called *maḳrûd*, pursued by trouble;

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3. I for myself twisted a rope to pull this world with, 539x
But, instead, the world pulled me without a rope. 577x
4. O thou who sittest in the shade! it is as if thy shade were gone,
And over thee who sittest in the sun has fallen a shade.
5. He that says "I am better than others" is destined for torments,
And he that says "I am violence" will be violated by men.
6. Become not a long spear, even if thou reachest its length,
But be not downcast, even if the present has treated thee mercilessly.
7. A well cannot be filled with dew or moist fog,
And a revolt will not be calmed without an effort.
8. The informer shall not whisper in a noble man's ear,
And true men shall not eat lies.
9. How many are there who rest on the goods of their father and grandfather,
But, if the Lord of this world shall destroy those goods, they will perish.

The poet was Kumejzân at-Tamîmi of the Beni Tamîm tribe, who live in various settlements of Neǧd; the reciters, Prince an-Nûri, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd, and Ǧwâd al-'Âni.

Verse 1. *Jowm* signifies a day from sunset to sunset, hence the night too. The days are secret, because nobody knows how many people were begotten in them, *ad-dinja telkah w-teled*. 2. Grief caused by various troubles does not torment so much in the daytime as at night, when the troubled man cannot sleep. *Čwaneh* means that the nights lay on the red-hot iron used in curing various diseases. *'Âtihen* means putting oneself above or being offensive to others. 3. Sooner will the surroundings spoil a man than a man reform his surroundings. 4. A despised person ought to be conscious of his condition and should not press into the foreground, while he who is famous ought not to forget that the time may come when his fame will end. 6. *Marhâš* is the term applied to an unusually long spear. No matter how many good qualities a man may have, he should not put himself above others and wound them with his sarcasms. *Heǧ'en* is one low in spirit, downcast, crushed. 7. *Ǧibb* is a deep well. *Neda'* means the dripping moisture which settles on clothing, tents, animals,

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

ing the emblem of the tribe, and brought it to the ground. With the sudden overthrow of the Holy Standard, the resistance of the Amarat also broke down and, terror-stricken, they suffered a crushing defeat.

On the battlefield the victors found Jidua, killed from ambush by a foot-soldier, and the Amarat maiden of the camel throne—Jamila—who had stabbed herself to death so as not to survive the shame of her people's defeat. The Wuld'Ali, indeed, claim to this day that Jidua had been Jamila's lover; for, they say, the lifeless bodies of those two were found side by side beneath the collapsed *Markab*, and one of Jamila's hands was still clenched round the hilt of her dagger while her other hand clasped the hand of Jidua.

After the defeat of the Amarat, the *sheykh* of the Wuld'Ali presented the *Markab* and with it Jidua's sword, now famous, to the Ruala, since it was a Rueyli who had overthrown the *Markab* and thus brought about the victory to the Wuld'Ali. Since then this sacred emblem has been in the hands of the Sha'lan family and has accompanied the Ruala in all their victorious wars, a symbol of their dominant position among all the Bedouin tribes of Arabia.

Of Jidua's sword—Thu'l-Hayyatu—"the-one-endowed-with-life"—there is also an older legend, which the aged Prince Nuri Sha'lan thus related to me:

In the fifth century of the Hegira (the twelfth by our reckoning) when the 'Anaza Bedouins were still grazing their camels south of Teyma at the Jabal Bird, it happened on the sacred pilgrim's road to Mecca from Damascus. Janda ibn Mubadir, an ancestor of Jidua, was

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

travelling with his clan toward Khaybar, seeking the *Dira* (pasture grounds) by the Jabal Abyadh and in the Wadi Rama. One still dark night, when the red campfires flickered in the tents, the air was suddenly filled with a terrific roaring. A mighty thunder-clap rent the sky, the ground trembled and swayed, and the whole world seemed to be tumbling. Every living thing leapt up in mortal terror and ran hither and thither. From the midst of the dark heavens above there broke forth a light that shone over the quaking earth with swiftly growing brilliance, until in a moment it had equalled the luminous power of the noonday sun and surpassed its heat. It blinded men and beasts and struck them down. The earth split; a sound of hissing, tearing, and crashing beyond the power of description filled the air, and a sulphurous smoke hung over the scarred earth.

When morning dawned it was found that many persons had been struck dead; their mutilated bodies were lying about. A crater-like scar marked the place where an unusually large meteorite had buried itself. In addition, a number of men and camels had disappeared without trace into the bowels of the earth, buried forever under sand and stones.

Janda ibn Mubadir and his war-mare, as well as two of his camels, lay dead before the wreck of his torn and partly burned tent. From opposite ends of the desert, from Haleb (Aleppo) in the north and el-Tayef (near Mecca) in the south, came reports that this exceptionally brilliant meteor, with its eerie sound, like "ker-ker-ker", had been observed, and that even the noise of its striking had been heard.

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Some years afterwards some bolder spirits among th Bedouins nerved themselves to examine the hole torn i the earth. To their joy, these Bedouins discovered tha the rift, widened and cleared by them, began to fill wit water. Bir er-Ra'ad (the Thunder Fountain) they name the well. During the excavation, they found small frag ments of the splintered "messenger-from-the-sky." son of Ibn Mubadir took one such fragment from th meteor and fashioned from it a sword two and a hal feet long. It gleams to-day as it did then, as if it wer brand-new. It is of a bluish tint without one rust stai and fine silvery wavy marks run down the precio blade, which is as light as a feather. A silversmith Damascus made a handsome hilt and an equally hand some scabbard for it, and another artist engraved th blade with Arabic runes in gold.

"The Sword-of-Janda-and-Jidua" is thus, in the tru est sense, a gift of heaven, and that is why it is calle also the "Sword of God" and "The Life-endowed One

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When, at the end of that time of grievous famine, t Ruala had entered the life-giving pastures of the Fid' and Saba, Amir Nuri Sha'lan presented me with th sword, to keep in remembrance of this adventure a my share in it.

I need not say how much I treasure it.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER I

THE HEAVENLY BODIES AND THE WEATHER

THE SUN AND MOON

The Rwala imagine that their life is regulated by the moon. The moon condenses the water vapors, attracts the rain clouds, distils the beneficent dew on the pasture, makes possible the growth and longer life of plants — particularly the perennials, which are of the greatest importance to the camels — and grants to the traveling Bedouin comparative safety and refreshing sleep. 821

On the other hand, the sun would like to destroy the Bedouins. It dries up all moisture, not only from the ground, but from plants and animals as well as from man, destroys all life, renders possible the invasion of enemies by allowing them a wide view, and takes revenge on the destroyed animals and human beings by transforming their dead bodies into deadly poison. The sun is a strong, bony female, full of passion and anger. Being sterile herself, she is jealous of all life and would spoil it while yet in embryo. Ever since the woman sun has been known to the Bedouins, she has always been equally old and equally mean. Whether she ever was any younger and has had children they do not know, but they think that, if she could be restored to youth and could bear children, she would at once grow kinder.

The moon is a merry youth, full of vigor and high spirits. The sun is his wife, but he does not live with her. Only on the last day of the old and the first of the new moon does he stay with her for sexual intercourse, but her passions he is unable to satisfy. From fear of her and the needless waste of his vigor the moon grows very thin. At first he refused to gratify the desires of his old yet insatiable wife, but this enraged her and a fight took place between them, in which they each knocked out the other's eye. Since that time they have both a dark stain or scar in that place. Each longs for

821 the lost eye: the moon in order to do good to the Rwala, the sun to hurt them still more. The moon sometimes says: "By God, if thou hadst not knocked out my eye, I could bring it about that the falconer could hunt in a bright night; *w-allâh law lâč faṣṣaḫti ʿejni la-ḫalli aṣ-ṣaḳḳâr jihedd beḳamrâje.*" To which the sun replies: "By God, if thou hadst not knocked out my eye, I should have had a two-year-old she-camel roasted in a red-hot plain; *w-allâh law lâk faṣṣaḫt ʿejni la-ḫalli ḥeżżjet al-bel tišwa' bramżâje.*"

The moon and sun have a common enemy. This is a fish-like female monster called *ḫawt*. *Al-ḫawt* has persecuted them from time immemorial but seldom succeeds in deceiving them. Still, whenever she does so, she opens her maw and tries to swallow them. Sometimes they elude her, so that the monster gets only a small piece of them, but at other times she gulps them down whole. The woman sun is so scorched and bony that even the *ḫawt* cannot digest her and she is soon vomited out unhurt. Then the Rwala are vexed that even the *ḫawt* cannot rid them of the murderous sun. But for the moon they are much concerned. When they notice that the *ḫawt* has bitten into the moon youth, most of the camps become agitated and from the tents pour out both men and women hurrying to the moon's assistance. The women beat their copper pots, the men brandish their spears, cut the air with their swords, and shoot, all crying in unison: "O *ḫawt*, let the moon go! *jâ ḫawt eṭlaži al-ḳamââââr.*" If that is of no avail, the men leap on their horses, the women on the camels, and all gallop in the direction where the female monster is threatening the moon. So far they have always succeeded in rescuing the moon, but they still fear that the *ḫawt* may win; therefore there is a night watchman in every camp, whose duty it is not only to watch over their property but over their benefactor, the moon, as well.

Much uneasiness, too, is felt by the Bedouins on the first night of the new moon, *lejlet as-sarra*. Since the moon at that time appears neither west nor east, they watch the western sky anxiously after sunset on the following day, in the hope of discovering at least a little piece of the circle, *lâžmeu min ḳarṣateh*, of their emaciated benefactor. If they sight the new moon, they show him to each other and raise their hands to him, crying: "O thou new moon! O lord! O our benefactor! O powerful new moon! O thou, who savedst us (from

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

an attack) this (month) just passed, wilt surely save us also 821
in that which is now beginning. *Jâ helâl jâ sajjed jâ sa'îd jâ 'azz al-helâl jâ-lli fakkejtna bha-lli zell tafekkna bkalli hell.*"

The Rwala never know positively how many nights old the new moon is. When discussing this they fall to quarreling and then have to believe what the older and more experienced say about it. But from generation to generation the confidence [593] in the elders is on the wane. The young men are too clever and heed neither the advice nor the hints of their parents; whereat an old father thus complains to his son: "My son, there will come a disobedient generation, which will claim of (the first night of) the moon that it is already two nights old; *jâ woledi jeṭla' ǧîlen wâni jeḳûl lal-helâl eben ṯâni.*" An old neighbor of his adds: "A perverse generation is coming; if thou invitest them to feast, they will never find enough to drink or eat; if thou raisest thy war cry for help, they will not come; *jeṭla' ǧîl medfa' ilja 'azzemteh mâ jarwa' wmâ ješbaʿ w-ilja naḫejteh mâ jefza'.*"

The Bedouin is most happy from the eighth to the eighteenth night, for the moon in that period is still alive at sunrise, *taṭla' aš-šams w-al-ḳamar ḥajj.* These nights are called the white, *lejâl al-biż.* The Bedouin cannot then be discovered from afar, nor suddenly attacked from near by, as he sees farther than the rifle would carry. Beginning with the eighth night he can sleep easily; from the tenth onwards, he need not drive together the camels which lie here and there around his tent; *lejlet ṯemân nim bamân w-lejlet 'ašar lâ tarodd an-našar.* In these nights the fire of a lonely traveler can be left burning; on war expeditions no lantern is needed to show the way — what wonder then that the grown youth wishes: "I would that the night were always bright moonlight, the depression always freshly green, and that I might live on, growing neither younger nor older; *abṛi enna-l-lejl aḳmar w-ar-roż aḫḍar w-ana ḥajj lâ aṣrar w-lâ akbar.*"

But after the eighteenth night trouble begins. Thieves prowl around, hostile troops ride through the region, the smallest fire can be seen from a great distance, and danger threatens from both near and far. Therefore the warning is heard over and over again: "The twentieth night! Guard thy property, wretch! *lejlet 'ašrin eḥfaẓ mâlak jâ maskîn.*" The darkness of the night fills the wakeful with terror, and they cry out: "God save us from the evil of the darkness and of those

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

821 who walk by night': *allâh jeṭfina šarr az-ṣalma w-az-ṣâlmin*."

In winter time the moon passes across the center of the heavens, but in summer it stays on the edge, *ma' baṭin a-sema'*, while the sun burns right overhead.

805 The Bedouin divides all time into two periods: one when the moon reigns and the other when the sun reigns. The first is called the night, the second the day, *nahâr*, and together they form our day of twenty-four hours, *jowm*; this name, however, is not used by the Bedouin, who speaks only of the night or the nights; the day, the reign of the sun, is regarded as an appendage of the night, which begins with sunset and ends with sunrise. The period of sunset is called *moṛreb*; the first part of the night, *'aša'*; the time between sunset and dark, *'atîm*; then follows *al-'atîm al-aḫir* (the second *'atîm*) and finally midnight, *nuṣṣ al-lejl*; the period between midnight and sunrise is *tâli-l-lejl*; then comes *šakkat al-'amûd*, or the time when the morning star begins to rise above the dark horizon; and finally the dawn, *ṭa'at al-ḥamâr*. The period of sunrise is called *ṣubḥ*; when the sun has risen and dried the dew, or about halfway between sunrise and noon, *ẓaha'*. Noon is called *ẓuhr*; then follows *al-kâjile* or *ṣakkat al-'omaj*, the time of the siesta. About midway between noon and sunset is *'aṣr*, and then comes *'aṣejr*.

The division of the day into hours is not known. The word hour, *sâ'a*, they use, but in the sense of "right away," "in a minute." For instance: "Light the fire right away! *bsâ'a*." The days of the week are not counted. *Sbû'*, a week, means not only seven, but also five or even nine or more days. Whether the month has twenty-eight or thirty days they do not know and do not care, as they count the nights alone.

For the individual months they have no special names. Ḥmâr, first slave of Prince an-Nûri, insisted that the successive months are named as follows: *'âšûr, ṣofar*, four months of *al-twâm, al-ṛarra, al-kṣejjer, ramaḍân*, two months of *al-afṭâr*, and finally *aṣ-ṣaḥijje*, but none of the common Bedouins, not even one of the younger chiefs, knew all these names. *Ramaḍân* and *aṣ-ṣaḥijje* were known to all; of the rest everybody could name some but without knowing the order.

The year itself begins with the autumn. When every stalk cracks, *jiṭekk al-'ûd*, and breaks — a sign of its being completely dry — then the Bedouin observes the clouds and waits for the rain and the new year which follows.

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CLOUDS AND RAIN

821 The rain is caused by the new moon. As soon as the rainy season ends, the new moon sucks and draws the water from the great sea in such tiny drops that even the *ḳaṭa* bird could swallow a hundred of them at once. These drops the new moon places in symmetrical rows and forms of them vapors and thin clouds, *rejm*, somewhere far in the west — at al-Ḥazra, or Tunis, as some think. Then, scarcely has the star Canopus appeared on the horizon in the autumn, *al-ḥarîf* (for *al-ḥarîf*), the time when the Bedouins have neither water for themselves nor pasture for their herds, than Allâh sends his angel to the far west. The angel compels the drops to cluster closer together and thus forms the dark clouds, *seḥeb*, which he draws to the left (that is, to the north), where he puts them in chains. These clouds he thickens, *jeḫaǧheǧ*, by more and more small clouds, *rejm*. Finally, grasping the stick, *meḥǧân*, with which he guides his female riding camel, he drives them before him, *ješi'lha*, above the territories of the Rwala and other Bedouins and compels them to let their water fall on the scorched desert. If any cloud resists, the angel beats it with his *meḥǧân* into lightning, *jer'aǧ*, and thunder. The lightened cloud then gives up all the water it is carrying, dissolves, and disappears.

But it is not every cloud that brings rain. The Bedouins like best the clouds called *seḥeb* and *mizen*. A *saḥâba* or *saḥâb* is a dense gray cloud, which often becomes yellow-stained and then never fails to give rain, *ilja rakkaṭat nakkaṭat*. A *mizne* is a small cloud, originally white, which is joined by many other similar clouds, *jitafâze'en*; the augmented cloud rises, grows black in places, flashes with lightning, rumbles with thunder, and produces heavy rain, *ṣana'at*. The Bedouins are wont to say: "Thou art the cloud with the white spot whose abundant rain has surprised us. Truly, I welcome thee twice, for even the earth welcomes the moisture it has received. *Enti mirnet al-ṣarra alli ṣaššâna halalha wa-halli bič halûtên ḥalwat al-arẓ bebelalha.*" When it is raining very heavily, the Bedouin rejoices, saying: "The rain is pouring in streams, the world has changed into a torrent; *hallal al-maṭar hallal sajjalet ad-dinja.*" If rain can be seen falling at a distance, men say: "The world has prayed successfully for an abundant rain, *istahallat ad-dinja.*" A downpour which lasts a little while only

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321 is called *rahâžijje* (or *marhâž*). A downpour which irrigates a small territory is *hemlûl* (pl., *hemâlil*). If there is abundant rain over a wide district, the rain is called *dîm*. The *saḥâb* cloud brings the heaviest downpour; therefore one may often hear: "The *saḥâb* cloud is a robber strewing on the hills a mixture of stones and gravel, *saḥâb nahhâb jarmi 'ala rûs al-ḥzûm ekhlâl*." A heavy downpour carries away the fertile soil suitable for different plants from the lofty hillocks, which resemble waves, and there remain large stones of various sizes only, among which the camel can find but sparse pasture. The Bedouins call a completely overcast sky *mṭawwag*. The semi-transparent, cobweb-like clouds floating under the upper dense clouds are the rain-giving clouds, *rwêjât al-maṭar*.

All clouds obey the dictates of Allâh, who sends his angel to them. The angel holds a stick, *mehǧân*, in his hand, urges on the clouds, shouts at them, and beats the disobedient. A swish of the *mehǧân* is the lightning's zigzag course, *'akraba*: the shout and the blow are the rumbling of thunder, audible as far as a two days' march (over one hundred kilometers). If a thunderstorm is near, *'lja ra'edat as-sahâba*, the Bedouins, in happy anticipation of rain, shout: "Bring us a good pasture, O mighty one! O what a lovely sound! *A'mer jâ kerîm jâ zên al-waṭaj*." At each flash of lightning they exclaim: "How powerful art thou, whose countenance is glorious (whose protection is known to all)! *'azzak jâ 'aziz al-waǧh*." If the lightning strikes something, *ta'aš al-barḳ*, in the neighborhood of the camp, the Bedouins fear lest pieces of the clouds may fall down and bury them; hence they cry: "Lift the sky from the ground, thou strong one, who art merciful (when thou couldst slay)! *erfa' al-'arš 'an al-ard jâ mâne'en žûwi*."

Sometimes a piece of the sky, consisting of fire and iron, actually breaks off and falls on a Bedouin, killing him, *flân ṭâḥat 'alejh aṣ-ṣâže'a*. If it rains from a great height, the water floods some small star, of which there are thousands floating in the firmament on cold nights. Every little star burns like a piece of red-hot coal, *ǧamra*. When the rain falls upon it, the star is quenched, begins to hiss, breaks to pieces, and falls down to earth. While falling it wails for help, *ǧaraǧ*. In the desert such a fallen star forms a furrow, *maṭîh an-nejm*, forty to sixty paces long, at the end of which it hides itself. Whoever observes the fall of a star runs instantly with a water bag to its hiding-place, pours water over it, shovels

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on gravel and sand, and then waits a whole year. At the expiration of that time he scrapes away the sand and gravel, takes out the star, and brings it to a good swordsmith, who melts and beats it into a saber which can be sold for one hundred Turkish pounds ($450). 821

If there is lightning and thunder, but the clouds begin to scatter and disappear, the Rwala pray: "O, that he, who sends (angels) to the cloud, may send (an angel) to it on eight riding camels and say to it: 'The gift (of God) shall come down.' *Já min jirsel las-saḥâb jirsel leh ṭamân erčâb w-jakûl leh 'afwa' jîği.*" If merciful Allâh spreads out the clouds on high and but few drops fall, the Bedouins lament: "After this (rain) we have lost what might have brought us gold, (we have lost it) like a vibrating mirage. Truly, we can do nothing without Allâh. *Min 'okbeh radd ṭwa-d-ḍahâb miṭl ṣakṣâḥ as-sarâb 'okb allâh má ḥenna šien.*" Abundant rain would have given the camels good pasture and for well-fed old camels gold can be had from the 'Akejl.

The end of the rain in the daytime is announced by the rainbow, *sejf al-maṭar*. As soon it appears, the clouds grow calm; *ilja sajjefat sajjefat*.

SEASONS AND RAINY PERIODS

In summer the clouds are plentiful, but they bring no rain. Only in the autumn there becomes visible either on the right or on the left of the sun a sun dog, *middat aš-šems*, a sure sign that rain will soon come. In this season the seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, of the Nṣejr clan, Mbârek eben Ḥwêmel, takes a large handful of salt and, dividing it into six small heaps indicating the principal rains, arranges them in the form of a cross, *ṣallab*, thus: 821 791 787

o *šhejldawi*
o *šitawi* o *ṭrâwi* o *ṣejfi*
o *ǧôdawi*,

and then lies down by them and waits for what Allâh's messenger will tell him during the coming night. On the next morning he and the others examine the heaps. The one where the most salt is melted is the one which will produce the most abundant rain.

The year of the Bedouins begins with the first heavy 805
rain following the appearance of the star Canopus, *šâ'il*, in 132

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805 the first days of October. "Canopus has shown himself; well,
132 then, let us go into the inner desert; *ṭala'at as-shejl nušarreẓ*," is now the cry of the Bedouins, who, leaving the borders of the settled and cultivated districts, wander with all their possessions into the interior of the desert in search of pastures. Canopus reigns for forty nights, after which the Pleiades, *ṭrajja*, take the helm for twenty-five nights, *ṭrûwi*, to be followed by Gemini, *ǧawza'*, for an equal period. Thus the reign of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini lasts ninety days in all — three months — and this season of the year is called *aṣ-ṣferi*, corresponding approximately to October, November, and December. Next, the star Sirius, *aš-ša'era*, rules for forty nights; this season of the year is called *aš-šta'*. For fifty nights after Sirius the ruler is Arcturus, *as-smâk*, but in the middle of our April the reign of the stars ends, as then the summer, *aṣ-ṣejf*, appears, which lasts to about the beginning of June and is succeeded by the dry season, *al-ḳêẓ*, extending over four months, to about the first days of October. The Bedouin knows, therefore, five seasons of the year: *aṣ-ṣferi*, ninety nights (from the beginning of October to the beginning of January); *aš-šta'* forty nights (to about February 20), followed by a period sometimes called the second part of *aš-šta'*, ending about March 4; *as-smâk*, fifty nights (to the middle of April); *aṣ-ṣejf*, to the beginning of June, and the four months of *al-ḳêẓ*. The common Bedouin is quite ignorant of any other division of the year.

821 The rains are divided by the Bedouin into *al-wasm*, *aš-*
132 *šitwi*, *as-smâk*, and *aṣ-ṣejfi*. The first includes the rains of *as-shejlâwi*, *aṭ-ṭrûwi*, and *al-ǧôzâwi*, i. e. the rains of Canopus, the Pleiades, and Gemini, or the *aṣ-ṣferi* or autumnal rains.
[221] As soon as Canopus appears, the Bedouins leave their camps, pitched in the valleys and the broad dried-up river beds, which are often over two hundred kilometers long. After copious
[131] rains have fallen at the heads of these valleys, the water rushes wildly through the channels, washing away the camps and drowning both the people and their herds; hence the
[245] proverb: "When Canopus rises, trust not the creek and gather dates even at night; *ilja ṭala'at as-shejl lâ tâmen aš-sejl wa-tlammes at-tamr bel-lejl*," because at that period the dates are ripe and no selecting is needed. The *shejlâwi* rain is also called
132 *al-ḫerfi* (or *al-ḥerfi*). If the ground is thoroughly soaked with
137 it, *arṭ mawsûma 'alejha-l-ḫerfi*, there soon appear on all sides

In the inner desert

the word *rabî'* does not signify a season of the year; it is therefore impossible to translate it by the word spring, as we may when we are dealing with the settled and cultivated territories. The *fellâḥîn*, inhabitants of the cultivated territories, enjoy the *rabî'* from year to year, and, as it always begins at the same season, the *rabî'* for them signifies the spring. The angel Ǧibrîn, who rules over the rain clouds, likes neither the Rwala territory nor the desert; therefore he spreads his wings over them, so that it rains there only in narrow strips, i. e. where the rain slides off his wings. On the contrary, when he flies over the territory of the *fellâḥîn* he folds his wings as close together as possible, and then the rain falls everywhere. On his journey over the desert Ǧibrîn beats the clouds to make them fly the faster, but over the settled territory he leaves them in peace and it rains abundantly there. The teachers of the Koran in explanation of this conduct of Ǧibrîn say that he is angry with the Bedouins because they disregard the instructions which he imparted to the Prophet (Mohammed).

If the earth is not thoroughly soaked by any of the autumnal rains, then there is no *rabî'*; *al-arẓ alli mâ tinwasem mâ terabbe' muḥtije*. The abundance, *rabî'*, is also greater and of longer duration if the ground, after its soaking by the autumnal rain, is visited in addition by an abundant *smâk* rain. Then the whole steppe and even the desert are transformed into a delightful meadow. Every valley and piece of low ground or gentle slope, all the plains composed of fine red sand, as well as the rifts and heights are at once covered with an infinite variety of annuals and perennials. The camels nibble at the greatest dainties only and grow so fat that they can hardly move. The milk often flows or drips from the udders of the she-camels, which are full to overflowing; the mares and foals roll about in the thickest grass and the Bedouins, men, women, old people, and children, have more sweet or sour milk and camel's fat than they know what to do with. Moreover, they have the hope of a sure profit in selling the superfluous old or sterile she-camels to the 'Aḳejl buyers, who pay well for fat animals. In a territory where there is a *rabî'* tents can be seen scattered all around. With plenty of good pasture close to their tents the herdsmen do not drive their camels far out. Pure cold rain water can be found in every low-lying place, rock crevice, and hole in the river beds. Every one bathes, the clothes are washed, and parasites of all kinds

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

a dead and death-dealing desert. This[1] is the work of the woman sun, whose sole aim is to burn and destroy.

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821 ●

HOT AND COLD WEATHER; DEWS; WINDS; FOGS; MIRAGES; SAND STORMS

The greatest heats, called *ḥâmm al-ḳlejbên*, occur in the season of *al-ḳêẓ*; *ḥamm as-shejl*, the season immediately before the rise of Canopus, is the next hottest. When the Pleiades, *aṯ-ṯrajja*, disappear from the heavens, every stalk dries up, *ilja ṯâbat aṯ-ṯrajja kill ʿûden jibes.* 132

The season of *aš-šta'*, with a few days before and after it, is the coldest of all; from about December 11 to January 20 is the time of the real winter, *al-marbaʿanijje*. The *šta'* cold is followed by the seven poisonous nights, *sabaʿ semm*; then come the seven bloody nights, *sabaʿ demm*; and finally seven nights in which the fat (of the camels) is either increasing or decreasing, *jisîr ad-desem w-lâ jisîr*. In explanation it should be said that the nights of the first and second week following the *marbaʿanijje* are often so cold as to make the life of both human beings and animals miserable; the noses of the camels even bleed from the effects of the cold. Not until the third week, or about the middle of February, do the cold nights begin to alternate with warm ones. In the daytime the earth is warm but at night the air stratum more than one meter above the ground cools off; wherefore the two giants (i.e. the camel and the palm) suffer much from cold, *bard aṯ-ṯawîlên*. In winter, *al-marbaʿanijje*, all of Palmyrena, all the territories of al-Ḥamâd, al-Wudijân, al-Ḥeǧera, al-Ḥunfa, Ḥesmaʾ, and even the Nefûd are covered with white frost, *ḥalît*. In Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and al-Wudijân trees and bushes become white with hoarfrost, *ǧelîd*, at that time. Snow falls, *feleǧat ad-dinja*, in Palmyrena, al-Ḥamâd, and Ḥesma in large flakes, *ṯwêrât*, regularly every year, but as a rule it remains on the ground no more than one day, excepting in Palmyrena, where it sometimes stays longer, causing great losses to the owners of sheep and goats. [821]

The dew, *ṯall*, *neda'*, or *ṯofal*, is plentiful all the year round, especially during the summer months. It is sent by the moon to refresh both the annuals, or grasses, *ʿeśeb*, and the perennials, or woody plants, *šaǧar*, which otherwise could [821]

not support the sun's heat.

1 [The drought--Analyst]

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not support the sun's heat. Hail falls sometimes instead of or with rain, and the hailstones are often of a size large enough to wound and even kill young camels.

[821] As every breeze comes from Allâh, nobody dares curse the winds. A light wind is called *hâwa*, also *habûb*; a strong one, *ṣalf*. The west wind is the most frequent. In summer it springs up regularly two hours after noon, cools the heat of the day, and is called *barrâd* or *ḍa'ḍâ'i*. The north wind, *aš-šemâli*, blows almost exclusively during the *šta'* season, dispersing the clouds and absorbing their water, and therefore called *as-salâjta*. In the winter time the Bedouin likes the south wind, *al-žibli*, best, as it is always accompanied by rain, *as-ṣkajje*. The east wind, *aš-šerži* (or *aš-šeržijje*), generally blows for only three or four days, and the west wind always follows after it. Towards the end of the *smâk* and *ḳêẓ* seasons the east wind is especially strong, blowing then for as long as seven days and nights. It is called *semûm*, is exceedingly dry and hot, and causes much suffering especially among women and children. They would all perish if it blew for more than seven days. Sometimes the northwest wind, *an-načbe*, blows in winter, usually on nights when there is no moon and the stars alone are shining. A night of this kind is called *ǧird*; it is very bright, but icy cold. If a stiff but cold west wind blows at night, the night is called *šalta*. A warm, cloudless night is known under the name of *ḳamre zerîž*; a warm but clouded night is called *ẓalma' delkes*, and a dark rainy night, *ṛadra'*.

If on a bright sunny day the view is not clear and the horizon is slightly hazy, the day is spoken of as the *ṛaṭâṭ mâ ja'ṭi-š-šowf*. During the hot summer days the noon atmosphere is almost opaque and the sun resembles a yellowish disk; this is the *čatme* (or *čitâm*). In autumn and winter a dense moist [821] fog, *ḳubejs* (or *kubejs*), hangs over the country. The Bedouins think that the fog can hear like human beings and is afraid of the fox, and therefore they shout at it: "O father of the fogs, run away! The fox! *Jâ-ba ḳbâs 'ank aṭ-ṭa'leb.*" They take fog to be the creation of the earth spirits, *ǧinn*, as it usually appears to come out of gullies and jagged rocks, where it also remains longest. Besides the *ḳbejs* in the cool season, the *'aǧâǧ* and *sarâb*, which occur in the hot season, are likewise the work of the *ǧinn*. On hot and bright days, especially about noon, there appear on the scorched plains of al-Ḥamâd many ponds hedged in with bushes and tall grasses.

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The stranger, deceived by the apparition, urges on his tired animal to the water near at hand and wonders why the animal does not itself hurry. But here the beast is wiser than the inexperienced stranger. Those ponds, bushes, and grasses do not rest on terra firma, but merely vibrate in the air and are nothing but a mirage, *sarâb*. At other times again the *ǧinn* raise a strong wind with clouds of dust and sand, which they drive against the Bedouins, trying to blind them, to overthrow their tents, and to entomb every living thing. Such a storm is called *ʿaǧâǧe*. Dreadful are the days and even more so the nights during the sand storms. In the south a tiny dark cloud appears on the horizon. The wind dies down, the sun is enveloped with quivering veils, and a peculiarly depressing feeling takes hold of the people. The camels become excited, and, collecting in groups, stop grazing. The tiny veils grow to a cloud, which covers the edge of the horizon to a considerable height and, steadily rising, sends forth a rumbling noise. Before long there appears a dark wall in front of it, which advances along the whole line. The rumbling increases, changes into a wild roar, the wall comes rolling on, covers everything with dust and sand, carries away whatever resists, and buries what it cannot carry away.

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831x
539x

Ḥarrân jâ lâbes al-mezwi
lâ jâ ba'ad man nazel ğubba
ḥalaft mâ ḳiltaha hazwi
jista'hel al-ḥozen w-al-ḥubba.

Ḥarrân, dressed in a light black mantle,
Oh, that he who has dwelt in Ğubba may live long!
I vowed earnestly
That he deserved both my bosom and k

The loving maiden promises to reward Ḥarrân, who has returned from a lucky raid to the vicinity of Ğubba, a settlement in the Nefûd.

Aḫîl dîrat mselli
w-en ḥâl dûnaha 'asâma
jâ ẓâmer al-baṭn jâ-lli
mâ ṭḏûḳ ṭa'âmen w-lâ ma'
jâ 'ejâl 'elwa halen li
elja ğâ nahâr az-zaḥâma
bârûdahom mustağilli
jakṣom metîn al-'aẓâma
jâ niğmet aṣ-ṣubḥ jâ-lli
hâẓaw 'alejč an-nišâma.

I wish to see the land of Mselli,
Even if scorched deserts divide it from me.
O thou with a sunk-in belly, who
Tastest neither food nor water!
O sons of 'Elwa, of my kin!
And if the day of horror comes,
Their gunpowder will be famed far and wide,
For it breaks the bones of the spines.
O morning star! O thou
About whom the flower of the youth gathers!

821 The lover was dispatched by his chief to look for pasture in the direction of brilliant lightning. On clear nights lightning can be observed even on the distant horizon. The old men among the Bedouins then judge whether it lightens from rain clouds or not and in what territory. "Where do you place this lightning? *wên tḫîl hal-barż.*" "I place it, I judge that it lightens, *aḫîleh* (or *aḫajjeleh*), there or there." If they wish to be perfectly sure, the chief sends out men mounted

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on camels to examine the region in question. This is done especially in years of little rain, when both the Bedouins and their herds are threatened with want. The lover approaches the territory of Mselli of the 'Elwa kin, to whom he is related. Mselli means, according to 'Awde al-Kwêčbi, a sweetheart; according to Ḥmâr, a region in Neǧd. *'Asâma* is a sunburnt desert without pasture or water. The lover, desiring to be near the girl of his heart, must cross this desert. *Niǧmet aṣ-ṣubḥ*, the morning star, signifies in this verse the beloved girl, excelling all others in beauty. In the moment of greatest danger she throws herself against the enemy. Then the flower of the youth gathers around her and, encouraged by her, beats back the enemy.

[821] ● 539 × 831 ×

Al-waǧd waǧdi 'ala ḥurma
low hi 'aǧûzen w-maǧnûna
w-al-faḥad minha čennaha-š-šelfa
w-teṭajjer al-ḳalb be'ajûnah.

Alas, for my grief for a woman!
Even if old and foolish
And with a thigh as lean as a spear blade,
Yet she sets the heart in motion with her eyes.

1. *Jâ râčeben malḥa' tebûǧ ašhab al-âl*
   ejza w-lâ 'alejha radîfen maḥanha
2. *awwal nahârha bass mašjen w-ḏowmâl*
   w-tâli nhârha ṭajjer ar-rabḥ 'anha
3. *w-ekṭa' leha min ṛâjet al-lowz miḥǧân*
   w-estadnîha bin-nâjfa min šaṛanha
4. *telfi-l-bejt rab'ateh čannaha-l-ǧâl*
   low ǧît bejt aṣ-ṣwejḥbi fekk 'anha
5. *fkûk rîžak ṭal'at aš-šams finǧâl*
   w-ḥâjel ṭemân ijâm jenda' ṣaḥanha
6. *čejf riǧlak jâ ḏera' kill mišwâl*
   elja ṭâr 'an serd as-sebâja jaḳḳanha
7. *jâ lejt šarrak jinžesem bên al-enḏâl*
   jâ rabb riǧl ṣwêḥbi 'ef 'anha.

1. O thou who ridest a black she-camel which examines
   the gray quivering air
   On the march and is worn out by no second rider,
2. In the first hours of the day keep her at an easy pace,
   But at its end let pebbles and sand fly from her.

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would deserve, he would need"; *bel-ʿown* (for *beṣ-ṣaḥîḥ*), there is no objection, with the consent of all. 2. *Tawâfîž* or *bel-wafaḳ*, *beṣ-ṣadfe*; *tawâfaḳû* or *taṣâdafû*: they happened to settle it among themselves, they punished each other. 3. *Rṣâṣ* are balls, usually leaden ones. *ʿAdemlijje* is an old rifle with which the marksman is so well acquainted that he never misses his aim. *Saḥar* may mean the lungs, liver, or stomach, while *maʿâlîž* signifies the heart and the arteries leading to it. 4. "My hands have mixed, *anžeḥan*, this powder." The Bedouins frequently prepare their own gunpowder, trusting it more than that sold by the wandering merchants, who mix it with crushed charcoal, while the Bedouin knows that his powder is pure, *naẓîf*. *Anḳaḥt hal-binduḳ*, however, may mean "I loaded this rifle." The sound of a shot is compared to the sound of a meteor falling on a high hill. According to the Rwala this is a frequent occurrence, and they preserve the pieces of broken meteors as keepsakes. 5. Thus ʿAwde threatens to shoot Ršejd, if he does not give up Ṛuṣna. Ršejd would like to marry the girl secretly, but that is no longer possible, as everybody is talking about her and she is looked upon in the same manner as the moon or the dome dedicated to some Mohammedan saint, which can be observed from afar. Both ʿAwde and Ṛuṣna were encamped at that time in an-Nuḳra, a region south of Damascus, where along the old Pilgrim Road to Mecca many white domes were built in honor of various saints. Ṛuṣna is then likened to a dome trodden by no man as yet, hence a virgin. 6. She has very thick hair and her tresses end in ostrich feathers entwined in the hair, *zerânîž*. 7. All that Ṛuṣna handles succeeds, grows, takes life, just as the *ṭrajjâwi* rain gives new life to the grass seed. The constellation of the Pleiades catches water in a large bailing bucket and then pours it over the scorched lowland. *Rijâẓ* are depressions in the bare plains into which most of the water runs, fertilizing them also with the mud it carries along. The seeds of the annuals, which sometimes lie dormant for two to four years in these depressions, begin to sprout after an abundant *ṭrajjâwi* rain, and with more rain the lowland becomes a blooming meadow. 8. The thought of Ṛuṣna quickens the beating of ʿAwde's heart. The camels do not like the pasture in the settled territory; they yearn for the inner desert, to which they proceed either to the east of Damascus or to the south of Der'ât. Near the latter town rises the hillock of

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ousing their wrath to the highest pitch. If twenty camels are o be watered from a well in which the water accumulates but lowly, five men must work hard for full four hours. No vonder, then, that the waterers pray Allâh to help them do heir task quickly and Himself to fill the necessary utensils, *edâd*, with water.

â ṛzajjelen bumm iḍen Oh, that gazelle in Umm Iḍen!
etli maṭabb al-mizen. She goes there where rain fell from the clouds.

The Bedouins carefully watch the rain clouds to judge heir direction and where their sluices may open. They even end a watcher to follow them and, if he comes back with a avorable report (i. e. that the rain has been abundant) they nove to the place with all their herds. Thus a little gazelle, a maiden drawing water from the rain pool by Umm Iḍen, had ome there after having followed the rain cloud which had illed the pool.

Iâ mizen ar-raʿâdi O thou cloud rumbling with thunder!
emṭer ʿala-l-ḥamâdi. On al-Ḥamâd let down thy rain.

Al-Ḥamâd is the western half of north Arabian desert between Palmyra and the Nefûd.

Al-bîr tabṛi ḥâder Into the well should descend
eben ḥalâ'en žâder. A son of honest parents, a strong one.

An *eben ḥalâl* is a man against whose father there is no reproach and on whose mother's name there is no stain. The water in the well is clear, for it flows from a clear spring; therefore it should be drawn only by a man whose face and origin are clean and pure.

Welli ʿağûzen šiba Run from the gray-haired woman!
allâh jikṭaʿ naṣîbah May Allâh cut her fate, for
ted'i ʿala naṣîbah. She curses her son-in-law.

Allâh cuts someone's fate if he visits him with death. *Ted'i ʿala*, she calls upon or implores, is used in both a good and bad sense. *Naṣîb* is the name that a mother gives not only to the man who has married her daughter but also to a man who as yet only calls on the daughter.

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When yawning the Rwejli must also be very cautious, as the throat opens wide during this process and the demon then may let a drop of its urine, *jebûleh*, fall into the man's throat; the urine enters the stomach and causes various diseases.

The Bedouins should also watch the stars most carefully, because they have more properties unfavorable to man than favorable. Wounds will not heal when pierced by the rays of either the stars or the sun. Therefore the wounded person is laid, wrapped in all sorts of covers, in some corner of the tent so as to keep the rays away from him. Whenever people came to me with one of their wounded relatives, they first pitched a small tent behind the one occupied by me, closed it tightly, and then — not before — proceeded to uncover the wound. If a Rwejli loses his way at night, the stars are to blame, for he took his course from a certain star which changed its position imperceptibly, making the man take a wrong direction. Therefore he will not say *"Tiht*, I lost my way," but *"Enǧemt*, I was led astray by the stars." When the stars begin to play with a Rwejli in this manner, even the North Star cannot be depended upon. The best thing to do in that case is to lie down and wait for sunrise. Then the Rwejli can take his bearings himself according to the landmarks and continue his journey.

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cient military ability, or is ailing, or too old. Sometimes the chief's son or one of his relatives is entrusted with the command. But any Bedouin conspicuous for his prudence and bravery in time of war may be promoted from leader of the men on foot to leader of mounted men and may even be recognized as the commander-in-chief. The chief generally tries to gain his favor, marries his daughter to him, and adopts him into his kin, but likewise may bring about his death on finding that the commander does not wish him well. For a leader who rises in such a manner usually deposes the reigning kin and becomes chief himself. Therefore the members of the reigning kin are very careful when choosing a chief and recognize only the most distinguished of their kin. This is also the reason why the dignity of a chief does not pass from father to son as a matter of course.

The commander of the smaller expeditions gives notice to his friends: "We intend to start on foot — or on horseback — on a raid, *nabṛi neḥanšel* or *ne'ajjer*." When some men have declared their willingness to participate, he says to them:

"We shall go when the sign is favorable, *aimedd bel-waǧbet az-zêne*, either on Monday or Thursday."

For the small expeditions dark nights are the most suitable, *lejâl az-zalma' zêne lil-ma'âjir w-al-ḥanšel*. But by far the best is the *lejlet as-sarra*, the last night of the lunar month, when the moon does not appear at all, "as he is then staying with the sun." On clear nights, *lejâl al-ḳamra*, small expeditions are never undertaken. Among the seasons of the year the cold period is the most favorable, as there is not so much danger from thirst, which is greatly feared. On the whole, both small and large expeditions are made preferably in the time of abundance, *rabî'*, when edible plants, good pasture, and plenty of water may be found anywhere. This is the time when the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description.

Preparations for a Large Raid

Whenever the commander intends to undertake a large raid, *jimedd razzâj*, he announces it to the chiefs in substantially these words: "Behold! we wish to go on a large raid under the leadership of the All-Highest. Shoe your horses and prepare supplies for yourselves, *ḥḍû ḥejlkom w-wazzenû zehâbkom*. Behold! ye will assemble at the appointed place on

757 On falling sick a Rwejli instantly ties into his hair or to his head rope some red or green thread as a preventive, *ḥeğâb*, against pain. If he gets worse and the home remedies will no longer suffice, his relatives send for a seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, entreating him to come and help the patient. A she-camel is promised to Allâh as a sacrifice for restoring health to their sick relative in these words: "O thou face of Allâh, if thou curest this man and liberatest him from the captivity of his disease, I will give thee this she-camel in sacrifice; *jâ waǧh allâh in ṭajjebt hal-walad w-fakkejteh min hal-maraṣ ilak hal-ǧezûr.*"

752 Fractures are healed by a Bedouin versed in the art. He sets the broken bone, lays the limb between narrow boards, and then packs it round with dough made of barley flour, salt, and eggs, or lacking these of tragacanth, *ḥelbe*. This composition hardens like rock. After the expiration of twenty-five days the bandage is loosened but it is not removed until after forty days. During that time the patient must not eat anything sweet and is fed on meat only, or, if that cannot be had, on milk.

752 757 A small wound is called *ṣwâb*, a large one *ǧurḥ*. The wounded man, *ṣawîb*, is assigned a separate corner in the tent always on the windward side, so that no bad odor can reach him. Any scent, *rîḥa*, opens the wound anew, increasing the pain and swelling, *tirfer* or *tizerr*. Harmless are the odors of tar, *ḳuṭrân*, and the drugs of *ḥantîta*, *ǧawelijje*, *ebhel*, *seʿed*, *hawaǧawwa*, *ʿûd al-hawa*, *damm al-eḫwên*, the smoke from the camel manure, *ǧelle*, tobacco smoke, and sulphur. The wounded person stops his nose with the *ḳejṭarân* or *ḥantîta* drug as a protection against injurious odors. Also he must deny himself sweet dishes, which according to the local belief would cause the wound to fester, *jiddi*, still more. At first soap is applied to the wound, later the *subl* drug. The urine of little children, *bowl al-wurdân*, is used in cleaning wounds. [821] As the wound could not heal if reached by the light of stars, the couch of the wounded person is curtained on all sides by clothing and carpets, and he must not leave it even to satisfy his natural wants. If it is intended to camp in the same place for some length of time, a separate small tent is put up for the patient, closed on all sides, *ḥeğra*, and at some distance from the camp. Visitors sit round the tent and converse with him, but no one will go inside except his nearest relative. For there might be a visitor who, having just had sexual inter-

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539x

1. *Jâ ʿîd waʾ waǧdi ʿala rabʿana al-ʿâm*
   hâḏi manâzelhom ʿala-l-ʿajn ḥelwât
2. *tesmaʿ zebîḥ neǧûrahom teḳel dammâm*
   nîrânahom min kiṯr al-wuḳûd ḥajjât
3. *mislâfahom ʿasren ʿala rabʿ ṛannâm*
   mâ jilḥaḳ al-meṭleb salafhom elja fât
4. *ḳaṭʿânahom jirʿan elja ḥabb lezzâm*
   tabra lehen sird al-emhâr aṣîlât
5. *muṭḥejzemîn belḳaʾ miṯl ʿazzâm*
   čam fâresen darrabûh w-al-ḥejl ʿağlât
6. *mâ jilbesûn illa ḳmâšen min aš-šâm*
   wa-nšâlḥen min ʿamal dâûd zejnât.

1. O ʿÎd, alas! my heart follows our friends of last year;
   This is their camping place, lying deserted by the fountain.
2. It is as if one could hear the angry voice of their mortars, like to the sound of a great drum,
   As if one could see their fires fed with abundant fuel.
3. The journeys of their leading riders are burdensome for the companions of Ṛannâm,
   No pursuer can overtake their advance guard if they have passed him.
4. Their herds graze even when death is pressing on,
   For behind them there are armed men on noble mares.
5. They are girt with sharp swords like the sword called ʿAzzâm.
   On how many riders have they inflicted defeat, even though their horses were the swiftest.
6. They are attired only in costumes of Damascus silk,
   And they enwrap themselves in armor, the rings of which are of the best Dâûd's handwork.

This poem was composed by a member of the Dahâmše clan; I record it as it was repeated to me by my companion Ṭâreš eben Melfi.

Verse 1. A troop of riders is passing across a broad empty desert and approaches a fountain, within the vicinity of which they had encamped a year previously with their kinsmen. Each kin had pitched its tents at a short distance from the others, had its pasture in the neighborhood, and met the others when the animals were taken out for water. The poet longs for his acquaintances. 2. In the opinion of the Bedouins the mortar is angry because coffee is beaten in it, and it emits sounds of anger and irritation, zebîḥ.

539x 822

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539x

3. Memories of your distant sweethearts will come to your mind; for them you will long.
Her neck is like a gazelle's alarmed by a shot.
4. Her teeth glisten like Egyptian sugar,
Sugar, the food of rulers, of sweet taste.
5. She is not of those who emit a disgusting odor,
But an odor appreciated only by men of sense.
6. The fragrance of *ḫzêra* her tresses emit,
Oh, may the eye be blinded that is incensed at this beauty!
7. When, O people, she comes nearer, her eyes enchant,
And when she ascends from the valley, O people, she slays with her charms.

The poet was a member of the as-Sba'a tribe; the reciter, Blejhân eben Meṣreb. The poet went out on a plundering expedition, *muḥanšel*. On his return he was told that his kin were camping east of Salamja. On arriving there he saw from the tracks that the camp had been removed farther west. He therefore ascended a high hill and looked over the western horizon, hoping to see a few tents he knew, among them the tent of his sweetheart.

Verse 1. *Al-ferîž mužîm* signifies a few tents, which remain for a considerable length of time in the same place. 4. The cane sugar, which contains more of the glittering crystals than the best European sugar, is made in Egypt. 5. The Bedouins hate all strong odors, believing that some odors give rise to many diseases, or at least irritate old wounds; for this reason they stop the nostrils of sick persons. It is considered a matter of individual taste which odor is harmful and which helpful. 6. He who cannot tell an injurious odor from one that is beneficial looks with disfavor on the person or the object by which an odor is disseminated. 7. *Šeṭanjaha* or *štûnaha* are the several charms of a beauty, in this case the girl's full hips.

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1. *Jâ meḥsen al-wejlâd 'ankom ṛadû bi*
hal-ḫzûz alli wasî'en ṭenâjâh
2. *kazzejt mirsâl w-lâ radd nowbi*
w-lâ ğâb li 'elmen šefijjen w-lâ ğâ
3. *jâ rabb lâ tarzoḳ ḥaṭṭât al-čeḏûbi*
alli jeḫumm al-'elem min dûn melfâh
4. *m-âkel w-low ḥaṭṭû 'ala-š-šetel ar-ṛowbi*
barbûr ṣejfen sâḫenâten šwâjâ

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right hand he holds his staff or a rifle, to which he ties his kerchief for a flag, and points it in the direction of the threatening danger. *Ḥṣân* always means a stallion, *faras* a mare, *ḥejl* horses in general. The *ḥṣân* is, as a rule, more enduring than the mare. *Al-ḥṣân balad* means "the stallion became tired," implying that he stopped moving owing to oversweating or because he was so weakened by heat and thirst that he could not escape from the enemy hard in pursuit of him. *Zaban*, he protected, took his part. He that is threatened with death or is in fear of an avenger asks the protection of one more powerful, who will then shield and bring him to a place where he can live in peace, *zabaneh*.

Jâ ʿejâl duḳḳû-l-barûd — My sons, pound the powder;
lel-morrebi muḫḫ al-ḥadîd — For al-Morrebi we need steel,
lâ budd min jowmen jaʿûd — And the day is sure to come
jafroḳ wadîden ʿan wadîd. — Which will take the lover from his sweetheart.

A Turkish officer, known to the Rwala only by the name of al-Morrebi, was in command of the regular troops who drove back the Bedouins whenever they tried to encamp in the settled territory. This happened in the seventies of the last century, when it was the policy of the Turkish Government to protect the *fellâḥîn* from the Bedouins. The Rwala, who had lost many men, thirsted for revenge and as they could go neither to Syria nor to Irak they manufactured their powder themselves. *Muḫḫ al-ḥadîd* is steel. They wished to shoot al-Morrebi with a steel bullet, thinking that an ordinary one of lead would not kill him.

Narmi-l-ʿaša benḥûrhen laṭ-ṭejr
w-en kankabb al-adnas waraʾ
bemšenšelâten ṣanʿahen bed-dejr
berḳab ʿadlât al-ǧenaʾ.

Before the throats [of the she-camels] we shall throw
their supper to the birds of prey,
Though the base one still lingers behind;
With spears adorned with chains made at ad-Dejr
[Driven] into the necks of mares fed from the new crop.

Benḥûrhen means the confusion of galloping camels and also their throats. Our riders are loath to retreat; they want

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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it. This calmness so terrified the curious Bedouins that they instantly took to their heels.

In the *še'îb* of al-Ča'či which opens into the valley of al-Člâbât stands a large boulder facing eastwards and entirely covered with curious marks. This boulder is a place of pilgrimage for the *ğinn*, who gather there in the end of May to kill their sacrificial animals. They were seen performing these rites by the Ṣḳûr clan subject to the chief Eben Ḥaddâi.

At aš-Šubejče there are a few large black boulders said to be inhabited by *ğinn*. Close to them yawns the opening of an ancient well from which they water their herds.

In the neighborhood of Ğâwa and Ğennâwa lie many boulders shaped like cows. A long time ago the *ğinn* kept a herd of cows there, which pastured on grass grown on firm soil as well as on the *rimṭ* and *ṛaṛa'* thriving only in sand. Allâh, however, forbade them to raise cows and transformed the cows into boulders. *Ğâwa w-ğennâwa behen ḥağarât loyn al-baḳarât bên ad-dimṭ w-ar-rimṭ w-al-ṛaṛa'.*

Near the ridge of Lâha the *ğinn* have an underground village; also near Bâjer and al-Mwejsen.

In the wide level desert delightful music may often be heard and pretty girls seen coaxing the traveler to join them. But woe to him who succumbs! The girls will tickle him to death, suck out his blood, and devour his flesh. As my companion, Blejhân, related: "Once I went with three of my comrades on a marauding trip, our goal being the pastures of the Sirḥân tribe at the southern foot of the Ḥawrân. When already near our destination we were surprised in a deep gully by a strong troop of our enemies of the Ṣḥûr tribe and were scattered in several directions. I luckily got out of the volcanic rocks into the level Ḥamâd desert, where I rested at night, squatting by my camel and filling my short pipe, *sebîl*. Some days before, it had broken in the middle and I had repaired it by replacing the stem with a piece of bone and tying it to the bowl with a strip of leather. A pipe thus mended is called *bûz* or *bazbûzt as-sebîl*. Having filled it with tobacco, I wrapped my head and the pipe in my cloak, so that the sparks flying from it and the smoke could not be seen from a distance; *taṛâmaṭṭ bel-'aba' 'an bazbûzt as-sebîl lâ tenšâf*. Suddenly I heard a sound as if somebody were running in front of me. Raising the cloak a little, I looked round but saw nothing and thought it might have been a wild beast, a wolf perhaps. Some

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 time after this, *'okob miŝwâr*, I heard singing and the beating
823 of a drum. This time I looked up with more attention — and there, right before me, shadows of dancing girls were flitting. And yet there was no camp near. The girls went within a stone's throw of me, beckoned to me, smiled, and tried in various ways to draw me towards them. But I pressed my face close to the ground and hugged it as tight as I could with my whole body so as to see and hear nothing. Then I fell asleep."

A Rwejli was riding at night through the al-Ḥadîṭa ruins in the Sirḥân depression. Suddenly he heard the voices of women rejoicing, *zarârît*, and calling: "Welcome to thee! welcome to thee! *jâ hala bak jâ hala*." A little while afterwards he was surrounded by pretty girls who asked him to dance with them, but when our Rwejli pronounced, *samma*, the word Allâh, the girls suddenly vanished.

At another time a small troop of migrating Rwala arrived late in the evening at al-Ḥadîṭa. As there was good pasture in the neighborhood they pitched their tents and, being very fatigued by their long march, lay down to sleep, from which they did not awake till the sun was up. But their surprise may be imagined when on rising they found their tents struck, rolled together, and ready to be loaded on the camels. They loaded them with all the speed possible and at once rode from a place evidently inhabited by malevolent *ğinn*.

824 In every tree and bush of the *sidr* and *'awseğ* variety
776 there lives a spirit, and for this reason the wood of these thorny trees and bushes must not be used for fuel. Where the *sidr* trees grow in a cluster, the *ğihn* have their gardens, as for instance at al-Obejjeż, Sejdarân, and al-'Âmeż.

776 Some of the earthly spirits are given to harming men and
854 take on various shapes for that purpose. They have various names. Of these most dreaded by the Bedouins is a female spirit called *sar'at aš-šibe*. In appearance she is a tall thin woman wearing a dress made of leather. This spirit wanders about the desert from camp to camp, looking for children. If she hears a child crying, she crawls near, gropes about for it with her hands till she finds it, then catches it, and runs with it to her own kin. There the child is torn partly open, its blood sucked by all the spirits present, and its flesh devoured raw. Therefore mothers try to frighten their crying child with the warning: "Keep quiet or *as-sar'a* will come for thee!" To protect a child from the spirits the Rwala women

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesaẓẓemin ʿejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

FIG. 22—A water trough, *ḥawḍ*, on a camel (see p. 71).

WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS

The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellâḥin* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *fellâḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedw ʿejšathom ʿala-l-fellâḥ.*" If the *fellâḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *fellâḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-fellâḥ mâ lâḥ.*"

Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert, *jeḥarreḫûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ṣaʿûf* or *ḥelâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *ʿašîni jâ ḫajje ʿašîni.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *ʿejš*, bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-ḥamḥ alli baʿad ḥabben ṣaḥiḥ."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

276, 539x dueling. 7. *Kûz* is a pear-shaped earthen vessel, used for measuring butter. The men who sell butter are misers. The butter should be consumed in the tent.

Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd knew the first two verses. According to him, the second one runs as follows:

aladḏ w-aḥla min naba kill mambûz
'aẓmen towli jeṭred na'âse.

More pleasant and sweeter than the word sent by a full-hipped maid
Is the little bone which pleasantly repels slumber.

[824] Tumbac, *Nicotiana persica*, Lindl., is smoked in a water pipe by certain chiefs only. The common Rwala think that tumbac is injurious to the health and also stupefies the powers of observation. Often have I heard the verses:

Jâ šâreb at-tumbâk šârebk lâ ṭâl
ajjâk w-ajji wâḥeden ḥâl dûneh.

O thou who smokest tumbac! if thou smokest long,
Woe to thee and woe to me, for there is one who is drawing near.

Thus spoke a woman of the 'Aǧmân tribe, who camp on the Persian Gulf, to her husband, who could not, even at night-time, part with his water pipe, *narkîle*. Angered by this habit, she reminded him by that verse that she might find some one to take the place of the husband who loved nothing but his tumbac. No sooner had the Bedouin heard these words, than he threw the water pipe on the ground, seized his saber, and asked the woman to explain the verse. She hesitated at first, but, realizing that the husband was greatly excited, she said:

Šarrâbt at-tumbâk ma'hom fuẓa bâl
elja ṭâl šâreb wâḥeden jeḳaṣrûneh.

Those who smoke tumbac have a big heart,
If one smokes too much, he must be warned.

The man pondered over her words, became calmer, and promised not to smoke as much as before.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 823 time after this, *'okob mišwâr*, I heard singing and the beating of a drum. This time I looked up with more attention — and there, right before me, shadows of dancing girls were flitting. And yet there was no camp near. The girls went within a stone's throw of me, beckoned to me, smiled, and tried in various ways to draw me towards them. But I pressed my face close to the ground and hugged it as tight as I could with my whole body so as to see and hear nothing. Then I fell asleep."

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 was indeed a formidable cat. Her paws, not big but very powerful, were armed with claws as long as a man's finger, which doubtless had ripped the jugular vein of many a gazelle and antelope and broken the back of many a goat.

Ralib plunged his long knife into the panther's body, then drew it across the throat and ankles, severed the head and paws and flung them at my feet as souvenirs. Then he ripped open the belly and chest and tore out
• [825] the heart. Like a savage-bred animal, he bit into the bloody tissue and sucked his mouth full of the panther's life-fluid. He believed that this potent draught would add to his own boldness and strength.

In the course of our progress Ralib discovered imprints of the big feet—the two pairs of toes—of an "Earless One," as the Bedouins call the ostrich. We followed the well-marked track until we could make out the bird with our field-glasses, far away. It was feeding. Cautiously we beat up, taking three hours to cover a couple of miles or so; then waited while the ostrich took a sandbath. Presently a second ostrich, not visible to us before, rose from the ground nearby and joined the bather—clear indication that they were brooding birds and that their nest must be quite close.

During the heat of noon the birds rested, then resumed feeding till evening. Several times they disappeared from sight, but Ralib was certain from experience that their nest was not far from the spot where the second ostrich had first shown itself; and, sure enough, before sunset the pair returned and bedded down near the place where we had first observed them.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

"They bring good luck," he replied dreamily.

He then transferred his caresses to a bedraggled ostrich plume, stuck in the radiator cap.

"And this feather duster, what is that for?" I asked.

"This feather stands for strength, speed and endurance such as Allah has given to the male ostrich," Ibrahim replied impressively.

Now I knew!

Ibrahim twinkled at me with his one eye and with an air of superiority took the trouble in hand. Coolly he announced that the springs of the car had given away, and, still worse, that the front axle was broken.

"Then the 'wild ostrich' cannot run any more," I said sarcastically.

Ibrahim now lost his lamblike patience. He darted a look of scorn at me and angrily chased the volunteer experts away from his car with some highly original curses. The sleeping volcano had suddenly burst into activity. He replaced every screw, nut, spark-plug and wire which his "assistants" had pulled out. Then, with the boards of a box and strips of a gasoline can, he made a "splint" for the broken axle. For this job he needed also wire or rope, of which unfortunately we had only a few odd bits. Ali's shirt and my two (the only shirts amongst the seven travellers) had to serve as bandages for the broken limb of the "wild ostrich." As substitutes for the springs, Ibrahim cleverly fitted several padded boards over the rear axle. The result looked marvellous—but would it hold out?

We discarded all superfluous luggage, and even ate the two chickens.

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

224 of the hunting trophies; and several injured greyhounds into the bargain.

●825 554 Noticing on Amir Fuaz's *aba* droppings of his falcon, I attempted to brush it off, but the young Prince stopped me and said proudly: "No—no, Aziz! The excrement of the noble falcons stamps us with the hallmark of noble birth."

224 181 His words explained better than any conception of mine the true inwardness of these hunts; they are considered noble and honourable. The nobility of the desert (its "large-eyedness" as the Bedouins call it) must be experienced and tested; but noble and large-eyed as the Bedouins are, so are also their horses, camels, greyhounds, and falcons, and no less the Bedouin's prey—gazelles, antelopes, and ostriches.

But the ignoble man or beast the wandering Arab despises. He holds them beyond the pale, beyond the law of the desert . . .

> ". . . die that they might have new life;
> For only what is weakling dies,
> That what is strong may live."

539* 789 804 Verse 3. *Ḥafna* is as much as the hand with the palm turned upwards and with bent fingers can hold, or a large handful. 4. *Kamša* is as much as can be held between the palm and the fingers of the hand turned downwards, or a small handful.

Erčebûni-l-ḥâši
w-eb'adû bikmâši
dem' 'ajni nawwâši
'ala-lli fâraḳûni.

Seat me upon a weak young camel,
And take away him who would hold me;
The tears of my eyes are exhausted
Weeping for him from whom they have parted me.

539v 789 *Ḥâši* is a camel not yet three years old; an older she-camel is called *ǧill*. The young camel suffers from lack of pasture and water, the girl from sorrow for her lost sweetheart, and both will perish if no one cares for them.

Erčebûni-l-ḥamra'	Seat me upon a bay mare,
w-eṭ'emûni tamra	Feed me with one date.
allâh jeṭûl 'omrah	Oh may Allâh prolong his life,
jowm hom ḥallaṣûni.	For they have liberated me.

They (her relatives) saved her from death by bringing back her lover, who did not perish of thirst in the raid.

Jâ ḏîb jâ ṭâred al-hejf
oṭrod habûb aš-šemâli
'ajjant 'alja' w-abu zejd
ahl al-ḳṣûr al-'awâli.

O wolf! O thou who strugglest with the hot south wind!
Drive away the cold breeze of the north wind.
Thou hast surely seen 'Alja and Abu Zejd,
Who used to dwell in manors high.

789 132 825 The wolf is not injured by the various winds and thus reaches an age so great that he could tell much concerning the occupants of the demolished manors which he has seen. *Al-hejf* is the hot dry wind blowing in summer from the south-east, causing much suffering, especially to children and women. *Aš-šemâli* is the icy north wind, which destroys plants as well as animals and human beings. If it blows for some time, the grass freezes and both animals and men fall sick. There are

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

no rains after the *hejf.* in summer nor after the *šemâli* in winter. The wolf struggles, *ṭâred*, with the south wind and overcomes and drives away the north wind. Abu Zejd and his sweetheart 'Alja are the heroes of stories that are told among

FIG. 1—*Umm al-ṛejṭ*, mother of rain.

the settlers. They are supposed to have owned the towns now lying in ruins and to have lived in manors, the crumbling walls of which rise high above the horizon on the borders of the desert.

In every tent a gift of some kind is handed to the girls accompanying the *umm al-ṛejṭ*. Having visited all the tents in the camp, they go with their *umm al-ṛejṭ* to a small tent pitched at some distance, where they divide and eat whatever has been given them, remove the gown from the cross, and in the evening return to their tents.

PERIODS OF ABUNDANCE AND WANT

An abundant *wasm* rain, especially the rain of *aṯ-ṯrûwi* (of the Pleiades) assures to the Bedouins, as we have already said, a rich pasture of annual plants or grasses, *'eśeb*, and thus abundance, commonly called *rubi'*. In the inner desert

CHAPTER II

ANIMALS

CARNIVOROUS ANIMALS

136 Various animals live on the pastures visited by the Rwala. The *fahad*, panther, is found particularly on the uplands to the northeast of the depression on Sirḥân as well as in the environs of al-Ḥazel.

The *ḳurṭa* is a beast of prey similar to the wildcat, only larger, dark yellow in color, with cropped ears ending with a tuft of long straight hairs. It lives in the territories of al-Heǧera and al-Labbe. It lies in wait for gazelles and is fond of hiding itself in the dry annuals, *al-ḥemri*. The breeze blows the hairs on its ears as it moves the annuals; the gazelles are thus misled and approach it, whereupon it leaps on to their backs, thrusts its claws into their throats, and sucks their blood.

The *ẓab'a*, hyena, dwells in large numbers in dens on the at-Ṭawîl range. By day it is timid, but by night it infests the whole territory, opens graves, devours corpses, attacks wounded or ailing camels, and even preys on crying babies. 224 It has three or four cubs. If the Bedouins observe its fresh spoor near a den, they surround the den, bring a long rope, make a noose in it, and send one of their number after the hyena. The hunter slips the noose on his left arm, crawls along on his stomach, draws the rope after him, and gropes cautiously on all sides searching for the beast. As soon as he catches hold of it, he shouts: "It isn't here, this isn't it! isn't here! I have found a piece of old sheepskin, but it isn't here!" In the meanwhile he slips the noose round the hyena's neck and crawls out. At a given sign his comrades draw the hyena 262 out, kill it, and eat its flesh. The flesh of the young hyenas, about six months old, who are living with their mother, is ● 825 particularly appetizing. The teeth of the hyena, hung round 751 the neck, protect children against various diseases. The gall of 278 the hyena, when mixed with water and taken as a drink, 757 assuages fever.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ḏib*, wolf, is most fond of frequenting caves and crevices in rocks. Only when it is about to give birth to young does it crawl into a deserted hyena den. In color it adapts itself to its surroundings. In the volcanic territory it is dark brown, *aṣḥam*; in the sandy desert of the Nefûd it is a light brown with a greenish tinge, *azraḳ*; and in the plains of al-Ḥamâd and al-Wudijân it is gray with a tinge of blue, *ašhab*. Wolf skins are used in making rebecs, or one-stringed viols, *rebâba*, which then have a particularly high note. The wolf's eye fetches a very high price, because it affords protection in the greatest danger. The wolf thoroughly understands human speech. He himself was once a human being and his name was Serḥân. At that time all the sheep and goats belonged to him. Because of some great sin he was changed into a wolf, and his flocks were taken by man. But the wolf even now regards goats and sheep as his own and has a grudge against shepherds and their dogs because they prevent him from enjoying his property. Once a wolf said to a sheep dog: "Tonight I will take some of my property for supper, *al-lejle ʿašâje râs mâl*." The dog replied: "We shall see. If I get supper from my masters, I shall protect their property, so that thou wilt not get a taste of it; *elja ʿaššûni-hali affekaha lâ tḏûḳaha*." If the dog does not receive an adequate supper, his hunger causes him to seek food throughout the neighborhood, and the wolf can plunder to his heart's content.

There was a certain Bedouin who went out on his camel for booty. He met a wolf who likewise was going in search of spoil. They agreed that they would help each other like brothers, *taḥâwow hu w-aḏ-ḏib*. The wolf sat on the camel behind the rider. While the rider slept, the wolf watched over the grazing camel. When they reached a high hill, from the top of which there was a good view, *merḳâb*, the wolf crawled out on to the hill and inspected the region on all sides. Finally he caught sight of grazing camels which belonged to a hostile tribe. They rode cautiously in their direction. The rider kept his camel in a hidden gully and crept with the wolf towards the camels. The wolf ran up to the shepherds, who immediately seized their weapons and pursued him with shouts. Scarcely had they disappeared when the Bedouin seized the finest camel and rode with it into the gully. The wolf led the shepherds far away from their herd; then he returned to it, caught by the throat a tiny young camel, which was covered with

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The *ab-al-ḥsejn, ṭa'leb,* or *rorejri,* fox, is found all over the territory of the Rwala. If its spoor is seen in the morning in the dew, a greyhound, *sluke,* is set on to it. The flesh of the captured fox is eaten. The fox has a great grudge against human beings for pursuing it and accuses them of ingratitude. Adam, the first father of all human sons, once found a half-frozen serpent outside the garden of Eden. Being moved by compassion, he laid the serpent in his bosom and returned with it into his garden. The serpent became warm, recovered, and shouted to Adam: "Carry me back at once to the spot whence thou didst take me; I have my family there. If thou dost not carry me back there at once, I will bite thee." Adam could not exactly remember the spot. He walked to and fro with the serpent, who kept shouting: "This is not where my family lives. Carry me back there at once, or I will bite thee." Adam, wearied and terrified, was glad to meet a fox, and proposed to the serpent that the fox should act as judge. The serpent agreed. Adam sat down in front of the fox and was about to explain what the point at issue was, but the fox interrupted him with the words: "Be silent until thy adversary comes." "My adversary is here." "I do not see him." "I am here. I am lying right on Adam's belly." "If thou art Adam's opponent, *žebîleh,* thou must sit opposite him, *žebîleh,* otherwise I cannot acknowledge thee as such." "Very well, then I will crawl out." The serpent crawled out from beneath Adam's garment and sat down in front of him. The fox said: "Thee, O man (Adam), I will call Nejṣûbe, therefore pay heed that thou mayest comprehend everything. Behold the serpent's head, O Nejṣûb beh!" But *Jâ nejṣûb beh* means: "Oh! a blow upon it." Adam understood the meaning of the fox's challenge, seized his cudgel, which was provided with a heavy knob, *ḳena,* and smashed the serpent's head. Since then the sons of Adam have slain every serpent at sight. But when they began to pursue the descendants of the fox also and to eat their flesh, the latter complained: "Shame unto thee, thou black-headed one! Why am I being pursued? Is it thus that I am requîted for my good deed? *Aḫs jâ sêwed ar-râs lêh atanâčer tesla-l-melîh.*"

The fox declares that he wishes to live at peace with everyone, but in reality he wishes to beguile everyone. Thus he sent a message once to the raven: "Gladly would I entertain thee, *abṛi akrom lak.*" "Good! entertain me! *zên okrom.*" The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 825 fox boiled some *'aṣide*, gruel made of milk and flour, poured it out on a shallow rock, and invited the raven. The raven came and the fox urged him, saying: "Enjoy thyself, comrade! *efleḥ jâ ṣâḥbi*," and at once began to lap the fluid from the surface of the rock, *aṣ-ṣafa'*, while the hungry raven was unable to get anything into its beak. He thought to himself: "Very well, then; that is the fox's hospitality." But he did not show his dissatisfaction and invited the fox to visit him for sweet dates. The fox's mouth watered. He was very fond of sweet dates, but he could never pluck them; they hung too high, and it was only for them that he had wished to make friends with the raven. The raven shook the finest and ripest dates into a dense shrub containing long and sharp thorns, *žetâde*, and he then said to the fox: "Enjoy thyself, comrade!" The fox ran round the shrub trying to snatch out at least a single date with his tongue or his foot, but in vain. The thorns wounded his legs. Enviously he watched the raven, who with his claws drew forth date after date and picked them up with his beak. Since that time the fox has acknowledged the raven as his equal.

The fox is very fond of feeding on grains of wheat. He therefore invited the hedgehog, *ḳumfoḏ* (pl., *ḳenâfiḏ*), to till a field in common with him and to sow wheat. The hedgehog agreed, and with his family — he had twenty-four children — he set about the work. They plowed the soil, sowed the wheat, and protected it against trespassers. From time to time the fox came running up to look at them, but he did not help them. He promised that he would reap, thrash, and winnow the wheat. But this work also he left to the hedgehog. When the wheat was thrashed and winnowed, the fox suggested to the hedgehog: "Thou and I shall run a race. Whichever of us runs first from my den to the pile of wheat, shall take it all. We are friends. Why should we divide it?" The hedgehog agreed. The race was to begin at sunrise. In the night the hedgehog brought his wife and his twenty-four children to the pile of grain, placed his wife up against it, and proceeded straight to the fox's den, posting his children at fixed intervals, so that he reached the den alone. "O father fox, the sun is rising. Wilt thou not run?" "Run thyself. I will catch up with thee!" "Good, I will run." When it grew warm and the dew had dried up — that is, in the time of *aṣ-ṣaḥa'* — the fox jumped up from his lair and shouted: "Where art

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thou, hedgehog?" "Near thy jawbone," and actually he perceived the hedgehog in front of him. He went a short distance farther and asked afresh: "Where art thou, hedgehog?" "Here, in front of thy face." The fox was surprised at seeing the hedgehog in front of him. He set off at a trot. The hedgehog was still in front of him. He ran leaping on. The hedgehog was still in front of him. The sweat was pouring off him when he drew near to the pile of wheat, but the hedgehog was sitting on it. Thus the hedgehog gained a victory over the fox.

The foxes wanted to make friends with the dogs. After conferring together, the foxes wrote a long letter in which they described their love and devotion as well as their longing for peace, and they sent a young fox to hand the letter to the chief of the dogs. Scarcely had the fox reached the frontier of the territory belonging to the dogs, when he was observed by the guard, and five dogs set upon him. The fox shouted that he had come to negotiate for peace and showed the letter, but the dogs did not believe him. He threw the letter to them in order that they might read it, but the dogs continued to snarl angrily and rush after him, without taking any notice of the white paper. The fox was glad to escape with his life. Bleeding from many wounds and all covered with sweat, he reached his companions. When he had recovered, the foxes asked: "What about the letter?" "They did not believe it." "What? they did not believe it? Why, we stamped it with our seal." "Then the dogs do not trouble about your seal. I showed the letter to five of them. Not a single one could read or write, but they could all snarl and bite, as you see from me."

THE LARGER HERBIVOROUS ANIMALS

The *beden* (or *wa'al*), ibex, with long powerful horns, lives in the mountains of ar-Rawâḳ, aš-Šâma, aṭ-Ṭawîl, and al-Hûǧ. If it descends to the plain, it does not escape the dogs, but in the mountains it cannot be overtaken. The hunters track the fresh spoor which it leaves when going at night to the pasture. They crouch in a rocky cleft and wait until it passes. Sometimes five or even more men go out to hunt it. One proceeds along the ridge of the mountain, the rest go at fixed intervals along the slope, and during the day they search for the place where the ibexes take their ease. The ibex has very

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a thousand paces distant one from the other. The gazelles at first advance quietly, but later on, becoming scared, they run along the two walls and try to penetrate as rapidly as possible through the narrow opening into the upper and completely closed loop. As soon as they run through, the narrow opening is blocked up and a greyhound, *sluḳe*, attacks the gazelles. The frightened animals run round the wall, jump across it where it is lowest, and fall into the pits that have been dug outside. It is said that the gazelles even dream of the narrow opening, *ẓejž*, through which they rush to certain destruction. If a Bedouin wishes to stop a gazelle in flight, he shouts: "A narrow opening is in front of thee, O gazelle! *aẓ-ẓejž jâ ṛazâl*," and the gazelle at once stops and looks round. If a Bedouin perceives a gazelle when he is undertaking an important task, he is afraid of bad luck, and shouts: "Gazelle, gazelle, let the misfortune vanish as well! *ṛazâl ṛazâl w-šarren zâl*."

224 825 [777]

SMALL ANIMALS

The *arnab*, hare, is found throughout the territory of the Rwala. In the sandy Nefûd it is pinkish-white; in the volcanic regions it is black; in al-Ḥamâd it is grayish-yellow. Hence it cannot be distinguished from its surroundings. The male is called *ḫazaz*, the female *ʿedene*, and the young *ḫurnež*. The full-grown hare is not as large as the wild rabbit of Europe. Like the gazelle and antelope it quenches its thirst with dew only. If a man approaches it, it crouches close to the ground or hides behind a stone in a brushwood thicket and does not move even if the man walks right past it. If, however, it notices that the man is returning, it seeks safety by rushing madly away.

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The hare is said to boast: "I am he with the white lip in the plain with the dried-up plants, who satisfies two and makes the mouth of the third one water; *ana-š-šerma bḳâʿat al-žerma mišbeʿ aṭ-ṭnên w-mlaṛṛem aṭ-ṭâleṭ*," or "I am he who hides beneath a tiny shrub, whose fur gives pleasant warmth, and who is not seen except by the camel herdsmen; *ana šǧêreti ḫafijje w-wbêreti ẓafijje w-lâ jišûfni kûd râʿi al-belijje*." If the hare runs away, the Rwala shout after him: "Furry one, furry one, into the fire with him when he's caught! *wabra wabra w-ben-nâr minṭabra*." If the hare shows himself to men hunting with falcons, they shout: "Thy appearance is a

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825 good omen to us, but we will show thee to the falcon; *'araṣtina-l-ḫejr w-'araṣnač laṭ-ṭejr.*"

136 The *ḫanzîr*, wild pig, lives only in Palmyrena and in the environs of al-Azraḳ, where it hides in the marshy thickets. The boar is called *šiḥl*, the sow *šibe*, the sucking pig *ḳarnûṣ*. [262] Instead of *ḫanzîr*, the Rwala use the word *taḥzîr*. The flesh of wild swine is generally eaten.

The *ṣejd aṭ-ṭas'a* is an herbivorous animal of the size of a six-months lamb, gray in color; its head is said to resemble that of a wether below and a human being above. It lives almost solely on the border of the Nefûd, and its flesh is very tasty.

The *wabr*, marmot, is found in the same mountains as the ibex.

The *nîs*, porcupine, is particularly abundant in the environs of al-Ḳa'ara, where the innumerable caves and rocky hollows of all sizes serve as its refuge. When wounded, it attacks a man by biting and scratching. Its flesh is very good.

[224 The *ḳumfoḏ*, hedgehog, is also hunted, as its flesh is very tasty. Hedgehog skin is tied round the neck of timid camels. 825] It is said that when they have worn it for at least a month, they cease to be scared.

The *ǧerdi* is a large variety of jerboa. It scrapes deep holes on the uplands and excavates passages into them in such a way that the water does not penetrate even during the heaviest rains. Its flesh is not particularly savory.

The *ǧarbû'* (or *jarbû'*), a smaller variety of jerboa, prefers to dig holes in plains with soft sandy soil and forms long and easily recognizable passages immediately below the surface. These passages are known as *neṭâḳa*. When it runs into its hole, it immediately stops up the entrance with a heap of clay, *ḳaṣ'a*, for fear of snakes. This heap of clay is 224 an unfailing sign that the *jarbû'* is in its passages. If the Bedouin wishes to hunt it, he thrusts stalks or branches of plants into the passage at several spots and waits until one or another of them moves. That shows him that the *jarbû'* is trying to crawl through, and he kills it with his stick or tramples on it. If he has no time to wait, he tramples on the passages until he drives the *jarbû'* out. In its terror the animal often penetrates the roof of the passage and escapes, if 252 the Bedouin fails to reach it with the stick he throws. The flesh of the *jarbû'* is very tasty, similar to that of chicken. The

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skin is removed and the carcase roasted whole together with the entrails, only the lower part of the legs being thrown away. 252

The *ǧarbû'* and *ǧerdi* boast: "I am *al-ǧarbû'*, the son of *al-marbû'*; on me ten people can easily eat their fill at supper, and pieces of my extremities will still be left in the scrub; *ana-l-ǧarbû' eben al-marbû' mu'ašši 'ašara ma'ašera w-ḳaṣâlîmi 'ala-š-šǧera.*" "If my forelegs were as long as my hind legs there is no *'obejje* mare, which could overtake me; *law idejje ṭûl riǧlejje mâ talḥaḳni kill 'obejje.*" "I am *al-ǧerdi*, the son of *al-ǧerdi*, who thrusts a man in armor into a mouse hole; *ana-l-ǧerdi eben al-ǧerdi rammâj al-milbes bel-ḫabâra.*" The man in armor always rides on a horse, which stumbles if it steps into the deep hole of a *ǧerdi* and throws its rider. 539* 825

An old *ǧarbû'* was giving advice to her child. Amongst other things she said:

Fuz bna'sak en šufet ẓejmen
w-ḫalli-d-dâr tan'a' limin banâha
ad-dâr taǧed dâran aḫejr minha
w-rûḥak lam taǧed rûḥ sawâha.

Flee alone if thou beholdst a mightier
And let the dwelling mourn for him who built it.
A dwelling, thou wilt find a dwelling better than this one,
But a soul, thou couldst not find a soul such as the one thou hast.

Elja ḫall aṭ-ṭeżîl bdâr ḳowmen
w-mâ lis-sâčenîn illa-r-raḥîl."

If the oppressor penetrates into the dwelling of his vassals,
There is nothing left for the dwellers but to go.

The *fâr*, mouse, is found everywhere. It penetrates into the tents, carries away food, and often gnaws even sleeping persons. A Bedouin recites: [136]

Ana-sharatni tâli-l-lejl fâra
tâḫod zahâbi jamm ḥeǧrah twaddîh
ẓarabtuha ḳaṣdi-lha bel-feḳâra
min ǧûd melḥi râḥ dammha jibârîh
w-adḫol 'ala ḫaṣnân w-šejḫ al-wabâra
w-allâh jiẓajje' min ḫalla 'awânîh
amm-ente jâ ẓarbûl mâ bak ḥemâra
aḳṣa ǧûdak bṭâref al-ǧoḫr taflîh.

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A mouse woke me at the end of the night,
Taking my food and carrying it into its hole.
I fired at it, aiming at the tip of its back,
But my powder was fresh, and therefore its blood
immediately gushed forth.
I will place myself beneath the protection of the fox
and the chief of the marmots;
Allâh would destroy him who would desert his protégé.
But thou, O badger! thou art not afire with courage,
Thy courage extends at the farthest to the border
of thy pits, whither thou bearest [thy children]
to the pasture.

A Bedouin was sleeping in the desert while on a raid. His provisions, *zâd*, were lying beside him. Waking up, he saw a mouse stealing from them. Wishing to frighten it, he aimed his rifle, which was loaded only with powder, at the tip of its back, in order that he might singe its fur. But he had fresh powder which pierced the fur, so that blood immediately appeared. Fearing the blood revenge of the mice, the Bedouin placed himself under the protection of the fox and the chief of the marmots, who are famed for never deserting their protégés, *'awânih*, which include a neighbor, *ḳaṣîr*, a fellow-traveler, *ḥawi*, a guest, *ẓejf*, as well as one who takes refuge with them, *daḫîl*. The badger, *ẓarbûl*, rebuked the Bedouin for not turning aside to him in the desert, but the Bedouin disposed of him with scorn, saying that even when going to the pasture he did not venture farther than to the border of his pits; whence then would he derive courage to protect him from the revenge of the mice?

The mouse laments: "I am a mouse, the daughter of a mouse, my forefeet were deformed by a mattock; *ana-l-fâra bint al-fâra ḳaṭa'at idejje al-meḥfâra.*"

The greatest adversary of mice is the cat. The mother of all mice feared the mother of all cats. Once she was crawling along the roof of a tent and perceived the cat below the tent. In her terror her legs were benumbed and she called on the name of Allâh, just as children call when they tumble; and she added: "O Allâh! if thou protectest me from this creature, I will never again demand thy protection." Allâh was very angry with her for this, and the cat immediately ate her up.

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Once the mice summoned a great meeting and agreed with one accord that every cat must wear around its neck a little bell which would give warning to the mice. The mice bought many little bells, and their chief, *čebîr al-fâr*, called on the bravest to come forward and undertake to hang them around the cats' necks; but so far no mouse has ever come forward. The little bells are lying in the storeroom of the mice, and the cats still torment the poor creatures.

The *ḫlend*, mole, grayish in color, lives particularly in the depression of Sirḥân. Once a mole encamped with an owl, *bûma*, a swallow, *rḳêʿi*, a frog, *ẓafẓaʿ*, and a moth, *šerâra*. There came to them a man riding on a camel. They all entertained him; he was the guest of all. At the time when the morning star rose, someone stole his camel from him. All his hosts had just fallen asleep. The lamentations of their guest woke them up. They at once left the camp and went in search of the stolen camel. The mole searched for it under the earth, the owl among ruins, the swallow among herds of grazing camels, the frog in the water, and the moth among garments and carpets. The butterfly moth is unhappy because it has not yet succeeded in finding the camel, and throws itself into the fire with the words: "Rather into the fire than live in dishonor."

CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

The Rwala divide birds into *ṭjûr* and *ḥummar*, the *ṭjûr* comprising all carnivorous birds.

Falcons and Falconry

The main representative of the *ṭjûr* is the hunting falcon, *ṣaḳr*, which is often known as *ṭejr*. The Rwala buy hunting falcons from the settlers in aš-Šejḫ Miskîn and ar-Rḥejbe, who either select young ones or catch fully grown ones. The best hunting falcon is *al-ḥorr*. It is reddish brown, *ašḳar*, with many white spots, *ṭrejwât*, on its tail; or dark brown, *adbas*; or even black. The male falcon is called *šabbûṭ*, the female *šêhâna*. The Bedouins relate that the young falcon remains forty days in embryo, forty days before it is hatched from the egg, and that only after another forty days does it show whether it will fly or not; *arbaʿîn jowm fêẓ w-arbaʿîn jowm bêẓ w-arbaʿîn jowm jeṭîr w-lâ jeṭîr.*

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A pity is this loss; I shifted it into my other hand,
But it is like a *meseḫḫ ar-riẓân*, which because it is
a sluggard cannot be trained for flight.

The falconer seizes the falcon, places it on his hand on which he wears a leather gauntlet, unfastens the chain from its foot, and by swinging it to and fro in his hand compels it to fly. When one hand becomes tired, he shifts it into the other and repeats his attempt. The *meseḫḫ ar-riẓân* is a bird of prey similar to the falcon.

Aṭ-ṭejr jâ ʿammâr jâ čâseb aṭ-ṭena
allâh w-lâ leh ǧerraten nastahdi bah
ṛadat beh ʿarda min al-ḳerânîṣ ḥâjel
ʿâmên šâtên muḫḫaha biǧerîdah.

Of our falcon which was so winsome and ever capturing booty,
By Allâh himself! there is no trace which we could follow;
It was joined by a hardy female falcon, a barren one,
Whose marrow after two summers and two winters had gathered in her feet.

The *žernâṣe* (pl., *ḳerânîṣ*) is the full-grown female falcon. The *ǧerîd* are the falcon's legs from the talons to the knees. The female falcon had not paired for two summers and two winters; she had remained *ḥâjel*, barren. In the opinion of the Bedouins the marrow — mainly that which has accumulated in the region of the shin — escapes from the bird's body during pairing.

Other Carnivorous Birds

The *ǧeleme* is a bird of prey smaller than the falcon, *ṭejr*, but larger than the *bâšeḳ* (known also as *čḥala*), a kind of hawk. It catches and devours all *ḥummar* birds (see below, pp. 37—41) and seeks particularly after *al-ḳaṭa'*, the sand grouse.

The *meseḫḫ ar-riẓân*, a kind of falcon, is fond of catching the *ǧarbû'*.

The *bâz* is the sparrow hawk.

The *ḥdajja* is a kite.

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136 The *'aḳâb*, eagle. Not even a *bâšeḳ*, nor a *ğeleme*, nor the falcon itself is safe from the *'aḳejb al-ğerdân* species.

223 The *nisr* (pl., *nsûr*), vulture, especially the *ḥabaši* species,
825 is shot and eaten, for its flesh is healthful. Seven pieces of
757 its flesh dried in the sun are the best remedy for rheumatism and hemorrhoids. The patient should eat these seven pieces at once, cover himself with seven quilts, and sweat, and Allâh will help him.

136 The *raḥama* (*Vultur perenopterus*) migrates at the be-
825 ginning of the autumn rains and does not return until the beginning of the *smâk* season. The Bedouins greet its return with joy, for they know that within ten or fifteen days there will be warmer weather. The *raḥama* is unwilling to give up its booty and exerts all its strength to get possession of it. Hence the saying: "So and so craves for something like a *raḥama*, *twaḥḥam twaḥmet ar-raḥama*."

The *sa'adi* or *abu sa'ad* is the stork.

The *ṛarḳ* is a water bird.

The *ṛurâb*, raven, is found in three varieties: the *zâṛ al-baḳ'*, the smallest, is black with a bluish or greenish luster on its chest; the *ğab'a*, somewhat larger, has a short tail and very tasty flesh; the *ṛurâb al-'aḳ'aḳ* is the largest. All three species accompany the camels far into the desert and from them they pick ticks, *ḳarâd*, and the larvae of the gadfly, *ḥeleme*; but they also gnaw at the blisters under the saddle, and for this reason the herdsmen drive them away. If they see a raven settling on a camel, they call to it: "Fly away into the inhabited regions! *ṛarreb ṛarreb*." Or: "Beware of the awl! The awl will prick thy throat! *mḥejriz jibeṭṭ le-ḥâṭak*!"

777 If a man undertakes an important journey and observes
825 a single raven, he laments: "Oh! weary with weeping is the eye of him whom a single raven has approached. *jâ ḳard al-'ejn min ğâh al-ṛurâb whid*." He knows that he will have bad luck, and therefore he will prefer to return. If, however, he sees two ravens, he exults: "Oh! blissful is the eye of him whom two ravens have approached, *jâ ḥaẓẓ al-'ejn min ğannah al-ṛurâbên*."

539x The young ravens are more wary than the old ones. An
825 ancient raven was giving instruction to its great-grandson: "My son, do not trust people. If thou perceivest a man approaching thee, fly away as soon as he bends down. He might

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lift a stone and throw it at thee." "Granddad, do not be afraid for me. I shall not wait until he bends down, but will fly away as soon as I catch sight of him. Why, he might be carrying a stone in his hand, and then he could throw it at me without having to bend down." 539* 825

NON-CARNIVOROUS BIRDS

Non-carnivorous birds, known as *ḥummar*, are as follows: 136

The *ḥabâra* (pl., *ḥabâri*), a variety of bustard. It is dark-gray, with white feathers in its wings and tail, and is the size of an average hen. It runs quickly but flies clumsily. It is most fond of frequenting plains and valleys covered with perennials, and for the most part it lives on seeds and young shoots. When frightened it hides under a shrub and does not fly out until its enemy draws near. It flies close to the ground for a distance of one or two hundred paces, settles down for a moment, makes off again for several paces, and once more nestles close to the ground under a shrub or a leaning slab. It is very difficult to get within striking distance of it, because it flees continually. Only a rider on a horse full of endurance can weary it. Its greatest enemy is the falcon, which watches its movements from above and when it settles down swoops upon it like lightning.

Originally the falcon was afraid of the *ḥabâri*, for they were more numerous than his own stock. Once a wounded falcon asked for their hospitality. They received it kindly, fed and nursed it, so that it completely recovered. It seemed strange to the falcon that they did not hold any councils together. Accordingly, it asked the hostess: "To what tribe do you belong?" "We are the *ḫôm* (subjects of) az-Zennâra." "And who is your chief?" "I am the chief," said the hostess, but her neighbor exlaimed: "Not at all, I am the chief." A bird which was flying past contradicted her: "Why, how so? I am the chief." The falcon was very much pleased, for it thought to itself: "Surely I shall not be afraid of these. They will never attack me together. I shall be able to feed on one after the other. I shall have less trouble than if I were to catch only small birds, as hitherto." From that time the falcon, *ṣajr*, has devoured the *ḥabâri*. 539* 825

The *ḥabâra* mocks at the falcon: "I am the *ḥabâra*; in the region where there is no camp the shouting of the herds-

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539* 825 men [who have observed thee] scares me, so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-l-ḥbâra barz ekfâra ḥess ar-ra'jân jeğazzîni mâ teḳwâni jâ mesčîni.*" The falcon replies: "I am the commander assigned to thee, with very keen eyes, although I do not rub indigo upon them; *ana ḥurren leč maḏkûren leč makḥûl al-'ajn belâ nîli.*" The *ḥabâra*: "I am like a snake crouching under a shallow stone, so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-l-ḥajje taḥat aṣ-ṣfajje mâ teḳwâni jâ mesčîni.*" The falcon: "I am a snake charmer, the son of a snake charmer, I charm the snake, so that thou canst not harm me; *ana-l-ḳarrâ'i eben al-ḳarrâ'i aḳra' al-ḥajje mâ teğîni.*" The *ḥabâra*: "I am a tiny date, hidden at the top of the palm [protected by the spikes of its leaves], so that thou wilt not overcome me, my poor fellow; *ana-s-sḫala brâs an-nḫala mâ teḳwâni jâ mesčîni.*" The falcon: "I am a climber, the son of a climber, I will cut the spikes with my knife; *ana-r-raḳḳâj eben ar-raḳḳâj aḥask* (sic) *aš-šowk besečîni.*"

136 The *na'âme*, ostrich, is found mainly in the Nefûd, particularly in the northwest part, also to the west of al-'Elejm, in the environs of aṭ-Ṭawîl, in al-'Arejž, and in al-Ṛwêṭa. In the dry season the ostriches go far to the north, as far as the environs of Palmyra. On account of its dark-gray plumage the male ostrich is called *ẓlîm* (or *muzellel*); the female is called *rabda* and the young, *rîlân*. In the *smâk* season the female lays ten to thirty eggs in shallow holes in the sand. Such a heap of ostrich eggs is known as *deḥw*. As soon as the first egg has been laid, the guarding of the nest begins. According to the Rwala, in the daytime it is guarded by the male, while the female feeds, and during the night she does the watching. When the last egg is laid, three or four are rolled away to a distance of one pace from the nest. The bird does not trouble about these, but turns the others over and during the night sits upon them and warms them. The male bird, which remains by the nest during the day, does not sit on the eggs, as they are then warmed by the sun, but the female protects them against the night cold with her body and plumage. After what is said to be twenty-one days the young are hatched. The male then pecks through the eggs, which were removed from the nest one after the other, and makes the young birds feed on their contents. When they have finished these eggs, they go to the pasture under the protection of their parents. They

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are always led by their mother, while their father walks behind them and protects them from wolves, hyenas, and *nsûr*. The ostrich has very bad hearing; on the other hand its sight is excellent. It is easiest to hunt near its nest. When there is no wind the spoor of the ostrich is very plain in the sand. The hunter follows it, hides behind every shrub, crawls on his stomach, and so draws near to the bird. If the male observes from a distance any suspicious movement of the shrub or the hunter, it flees with the whole flock, which cannot be overtaken in the sand even by the swiftest horse. Near the nest the hunter can fire at the birds he is stalking. The fat of the ostrich, known as *zihem*, is a remedy for various diseases.

The *ḳandara* is a pinkish bird about the size of a hen. It flies badly and runs in a clumsy manner. It is found solely in the Nefûd, especially on the precipitous slopes of the pits.

The *ḳaṭra* is larger than the *ḥabâra*. It flies very little. If attacked by the falcon, it lies on its back and defends itself with its claws.

The *ṭarše* is a dark bird the size of a small duck. It lives only in pairs in al-Ḥamâd. It has no sense of hearing.

The *bawwa* is half the size of the *ḳandara*. Two varieties live in al-Ḥamâd, of which the darker and larger is the *kidri*.

The *ḳaṭa'*, sand grouse, is found in the interior of the desert only as long as the various natural reservoirs are filled with rain water. When these dry up, it migrates to the edge of the desert about a hundred kilometers distant from permanent water The *ḳaṭa'*, *ḥaǧal* (see next page), and the pigeon are the only birds which regularly drink water after sunrise and before sunset. The *ḳaṭa'* never lays eggs near a watering place, but in a remote valley covered with grass and bushes. It digs a tiny hole alongside a shrub, and the female lays three or four eggs, gray in color with dark spots, the size of a pigeon's egg. The birds leave their nests only when flying to the watering place; otherwise they always keep close by them. In such valleys there are usually at least a thousand nests. When the young are hatched they run about like countless tiny chickens and search for seeds. The *ḳaṭa'* never flies alone, but always in flocks. If the flock does not contain more than ten birds, it is known as *firs*; otherwise as *raff*. The Bedouins express surprise that the *ḳaṭa'*, when flying to a watering place — even though it may be a hundred kilometers

136 825 away — never goes astray and never deviates from the straight course; and therefore they say of a good guide, *delîl*, who has an excellent knowledge of the flat desert, that he is *delîl ḳaṭâwi*. The *ḳaṭa'* is very fond of entering encampments, where it seeks for grain. Its arrival is known immediately throughout the camp, for it is always possible to hear the cry of the bird: "*Ḳaṭa' ḳaṭa'*." The Bedouins say: "The *ḳaṭa'* have come to us with a deafening cry; would that Allâh had not blessed the *ḳaṭa'*; *ğâna-l-ḳaṭa' leh farḳaṭa' lâ bârak allâh bal-ḳaṭa'*."

The *ḳêrwân* is a variety of *ḳaṭa'*, but smaller; the outer half of its wing is black.

The *ḥağal*, partridge, lives in flocks of eight to sixteen in the depression of Sirḥân only, where there is abundance of water everywhere. On hot days it hides in the bushes. The male bird calls his flock together by crying: "*Ḳor, ḳor, ḳor*." The flock, thus alarmed, flies out but soon retires again and hides. If a Bedouin wishes to stop their escape, he shouts: "*Ḥawğelô ḥawğclô*." The male bird never hides but jumps from boulder to boulder, watches the enemy, and warns his charges.

136 The *mrê'i* is a smaller variety of the *ḥağal*. It does not live in flocks but only in pairs, and it flies well.

The *samaḳmaḳ* is a dark-gray bird the size of a small pigeon. Its legs and neck are long, and it lives on fish in the lake near al-Azraḳ.

The *ṣabri* collects seeds and insects, but it also gnaws the young of the *ğerdi* and *ğarbû'*.

The *ḏabbâḥ ummeh w-abûh*, murderer of its mother and its father, is the hoopoe.

The *sammûne*, a small dark-gray bird, creeps among the bushes.

The *fsejsi*, a small bird with a white belly and a dark back, flies only among the tops of bushes and trees.

The *ṣâ'w* is a small bird similar to our finch. One variety is yellowish, another black and white.

The *ğarğara*.

The *ša'êle*.

The *rḳê'i*, swallow.

The *ṣaffâra*.

The *ḏhejjen*, a dark-brown bird, smaller than the hoopoe.

The *sumarmar*.

The *mlehît ar-ra'jân*.

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The *umm ṯwejž*, the turtledove, lives only in the oases. 136
The *ḫẓâri'* is found only in palm groves.
The *mḳaṭṭa'* eats ripe dates.

The *umm sâlem* is a small ash-colored bird which always flies round camels. If it flies up to a height of ten or fifteen meters, it begins to choke and at once comes down again. Its voice is very pleasant. Once the *umm sâlem* came to the 539x ant and begged: "Give me supper for my children." The ant disposed of her by saying: "Depart! I am constantly attending to the harvest, but thou to singing; *ana hammi al-ḥaṣâjed w-enti hammeč al-ḳaṣâjed.*" The *umm sâlem* replied: "And yet my voice is often more precious than the whole of thee with thy ragged tail, *ana jowmen min ajjâm ṭrubi jeswâč jâ mḥazûḳat aḏ-ḏnebi.*"

REPTILES

Of reptiles the Rwala are most interested in the following: 136

The *ẓabb*, also known as *abu ḥamad*. Many declare that it does not belong among the reptiles, because it has four feet of which it can make good use. It is a large lizard with seven vertebrae. It has five toes on each of its feet. Its tail is longer than its actual body. It lives on plants only and is fond of lying in the clefts between stones. The Bedouins eagerly pursue it. 224 If they catch it, they turn it over on its back in order to cut its throat. It then raises its forefeet to protect itself. The flesh of the dead lizard twitches for a long time. It is very tasty. Generally the Bedouins push the *ẓabb* into the sand and light a fire above it. After about an hour they rake the fire away, dig the *ẓabb* out, turn it over, push it back again, and make another fire over it.

The *ẓabb* was originally the chief of all reptiles, being 539x the first one who urged them to prayer and who taught 825 them how to bow down, while praying, and to kneel and touch the earth with their foreheads. When human beings began to increase in number, the *ẓabb* sent forth his spies into the territory inhabited by human beings, in order to find out what weapons the latter possessed and how war could be waged with them. The spies, who were the actual sons of *abu ḥamad*, informed him of what they had seen and heard, and he realized that war with human beings was not possible and that it would be best to hide from them. Accordingly he

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dug dens for himself and his numerous family. To the rest of his subjects he said nothing. When he used to come from his work into the assembly, his whole forehead was gray with dust and clay. His companions asked him: "What makes thy forehead gray?" "Constant praying, during which I touch the earth as is prescribed." One day the guards who had been posted on the boundary came running up, shouting: "The Arabs are approaching with dogs and weapons." *Abu ḥamad* and his family at once hid themselves in the dens which had been prepared, so that none of them perished.

The Rwala divide serpents into *ḥajje* and *dâbb*, the former being any short snake and the latter any long serpent, irrespective of whether it is venomous or not. In poetry the latter appellation is always used for venomous serpents. Of the short serpents they are afraid of the viper, *efâ'i*, which is found in the rocky desert, as well as of the *baṭra* and the *ḥaẓaf*, which live in the sandy desert. The latter crawl out only by night. During the daytime they dig themselves into the sand, so that the tips of their heads alone project.

Of the long serpents the *ḥanîš* is particularly venomous. It is one meter long, covered with patches of color, and swims in pools of rain water.

The skin shed by a serpent, *silb*, serves as a remedy for various diseases of the eye. The Rwala all eat the long serpents. The flesh of the short snakes they give to camels suffering from the disorder of the stomach known as *roššš* and from caries, *rasîs*.

The *ḥarḏawn*, chameleon, basks in sunny spots and nods its head at passers-by.

The *ab-aṭ-ṭhejh* is smaller than the *ḥarḏawn*. It lives exclusively in the Nefûd, where it hides in the sand, leaving its head alone uncovered.

The *malas*, a reptile similar to the *ḥarḏawn*, is found likewise in the Nefûd. It is spotted with red and black patches. Its flesh dried in the sun and ground to powder is eaten by impotent old men.

The *solejmâni* (or *ǧlejmâni*) and the *ḥabananijje* are harmless lizards.

The *ba'erṣi* (or *brejṣi*) is a venomous lizard of the Nefûd. When a man is bitten by this lizard, he becomes very restless. He cannot remain in one place. If he is lying in the shade, he craves for the sun, and if he is carried into the

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sun, he wants the shade. Hence they say of a man who runs from place to place: "He has been bitten by the *brejṣi, hu ḳerîṣ al-brejṣi.*" 136 825

The *ʿaḳrab*, scorpion.

INSECTS

The Rwala are infested by the following insects: 539x

The *ʿankabût*, a venomous spider. 136

The *naḥal*, bees, which are found particularly in the rocky regions. They are tiny creatures, and their sting is insignificant. Their honey has a sour taste. If anyone finds a swarm of bees, he endeavors to reach the honey. There is a well-known riddle: "It feeds in the waterless region, no man tastes its flesh, but its offspring is eaten by every passer-by; *žâfer al-arẓ marʿaha w-mâ ḏâḳ an-nâs laḥamha illa waladha jâkeleh kill min ǧâh*"; the answer is: the bee.

The *ḳaʿejṣi*, a species of large ant, is known also as *šejḫ an-naml*. It forms the subject of the following riddle: "It devours barley and is not a camel; it devours straw and is not an ass; it pulls down a dwelling and is not a mouse; it is black as night and yet is not night; *jâkel aš-šaʿîr w-lâ hu baʿîr jâkel at-tiben w-lâ hu ḥmâr jiḫarḳ ad-dâr w-lâ hu fâr aswad al-lejl w-lâ hu lejl*"; the answer is: *ḳaʿejṣi*.

The *naml*, the ordinary ant, of which there are three varieties: *ṭajjâr, farsi*, and *ḏarr*.

The *arẓa*, wood borer, a small insect somewhat larger than the ant. It devours everything that it can reach.

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whole tent in the interior of the desert where there are few guests, but only a part of it; this is known as *aṭlaṭ*. 484 342

The tent is always pitched according to the direction of the wind. The long side facing the wind is completely closed and is called *ḳafaʾ-l-bejt*. The opposite long side is open and is called *waǧh al-bejt*. The short sides are regularly closed and are known as *ksûr al-bejt*.

If the tent rope gets slack, *aṭ-ṭoneb šalaʿ* (or *inḳalaʿ*), the occupants of the tent tighten it, *jekarrebûneh*.

A guest who wishes to spend the night in a tent always halts his camels by the side wall of the men's compartment, never by the women's compartment, *muḥarram*. If the wind is blowing against the open front side, the owner of the tent shouts: "Change the back wall! *žabbelû al-bejt ǧâna-l-hawa*." The women or the slaves at once unfasten the *rwâḳ*, throw down the front poles, fix the *rwâḳ* in their place, and insert the front poles where the *rwâḳ* had previously hung. [574]

If it is very hot and there is no wind, the mistress of the tent gives the order: "Take away the *rwâḳ*! *šawreʿû al-bejt*." The women unfasten the *rwâḳ*, roll it up, place it in a corner, and insert the poles beneath the front and back ropes, *îdên w-riǧlên*, by which the side walls, *ruffa*, are raised at each corner. Thus the tent is open on all sides and the air can circulate freely. During the heat it is best to sleep with the side wall raised up, as this can then move freely and fan the sleeper. In the cold season a wall is suspended on the front side also, so that the tent is completely closed in, *muḥaǧǧar*. 342 354

By the side wall of the women's compartment sleeps the household dog. There is perhaps not a single tent among the Rwala which does not contain at least one watchdog. These dogs are strong, thick-set animals with short, shaggy hair and broad heads. In the opinion of the Rwala they are unclean, *mâ huna anǧas min al-čalb*, and therefore they must not eat from any vessel intended for food or cooking. Generally a morsel of food, *ʿejš*, is thrown to them on the ground, or sour milk is poured out for them into an upturned sheet of iron used for baking bread, *sâǧ*. The dogs guard the camels and the tent, not only against various beasts of prey, but also against thieves who creep into the encampment during the night to steal an animal or something from the tent. Woe to the guest who is compelled to leave the tent several times during the 231 [825]

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the Bedouins a family whom he serves and whom he calls his uncles. 3. In the men's compartment a small pit varying in shape and size is dug for the fire, so that years afterwards it shows who had encamped there previously. 4. Some clans have a preference for horses whose eyeballs vanish in a white circle; they call them *ḥowḳa'*. 6. Šeṭâṭa and Lamlûm are settlements in Irak. Ostriches are hatched in the Nefûd southeast of Šeṭâṭa. 7. The plants upon which the camels thrive best are called by a single word, *ḥamż*.

1. *'Ajni ǧezat 'an nowmiha bân al-aṣbâḥ*
   w-'ajni ǧezat 'an nowmiha w-asharatni
2. *ǧît al-manâzel rab'ana w-ǧît al-emrâḥ*
   w-laḳejt marka' delâlahom ḏakkaratni
3. *jâ dâr lâ tebčin amren maża' w-râḥ*
   dowr as-sene jâ dâr erǧîhom etni
4. *fâraḳatni jâ dâr čal-bedr w-enlâḥ*
   jowm erḥalat jâ dâr mâ šâwaratni.

1. My eyes have had enough of sleep, morning has appeared;
   My eyes have had enough of sleep and have awakened me.
2. I went into the encampment of our comrades and to the spot where the herds had passed the night,
   And I found where their coffeepots had rested, and these brought back much to my mind.
3. O camping place! mourn not for the thing which has passed away and vanished;
   After a year, O camping place! hope and wait.
4. She left me, O camping place! like the full moon when its luster wanes.
   And when she departed, O camping place! she asked not for my counsel.

The poet was a member of the Fed'ân tribe, who went on a warlike expedition against the Šammar. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and when he had fully recovered he returned after about six months. His wife, of whom he was very fond, had fallen ill and died. Having learnt of his grievous loss, the Fed'âni hastened to the camping place where he had last been with his wife and described his memories in a long poem, of which Blejhân communicated this fragment to me.

In verse 4 *jowm erḥalat* has the same meaning as *jowm mâtat* (or *râḥat*), she died, passed away.

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Saḥr is a piece of camel's fat spitted on a small stick and 252
oasted on the fire.

Camel's fat is known as *šaḥm*; cut up and boiled into
uet it is known as *maḥlû'* or *widač*. In the kettle in which
he fat is thus rendered a sediment called *ḥalî'*, something
ke swards, remains on the bottom. The *widač* is poured into
leather bag, *ẓarf* (or *naḥw*), and kept for as long as three [752]
ears. In the hot season the Rwala prefer it to butter because
is cool. Nobody sells camel's suet, except perhaps a very
ingy person. *Widač* is a good remedy for boils and suppu-
ting wounds.

The best meat is obtained from a fat she-camel, *'adla*,
etween four and ten years old. The flesh of an older she-
amel, especially a lean one, *helîme*, cannot be properly boiled.
always remains tough and has no taste. The flesh of young 262
amels less than three months old, *ḥwâr*, has a bad effect on 825
he stomach.

The Rwala also feed on blood. Only a bird's heart they
row away for fear of becoming as timid as the bird. "He
as a bird's heart, *ḳalbeh ḳalb aṭ-ṭejr*," means: "He is easily
rightened."

MEALS

Members of the family of the tent owner take their meals 264
the women's compartment. Food for guests is carried into 574
he men's compartment, where sometimes their host sups with
hem together with his eldest son.

When supper is ready, the host gives the order: "Pour
ater for the men so that they can wash! *ṛasselû 'a-r-reǧâl*." A
lave, a son, or a younger relative takes a *žedaḥ*, wooden vessel,
ith water, goes from man to man, and pours a few drops upon
he contracted fingers of the right hand. If the master is wait-
ng with his acquaintances for supper, he calls to his son, his
aughter, or to a male or female slave: "Give us supper! *ḳalleṭ
ma-l-'aša*." The person who brings the meal places it before him,
aying: "Here is the supper, *hâhi-l-'aša*." If an esteemed guest
present, the host himself goes to fetch the supper, accom-
anies the sons or the slaves carrying the *ṣaḥn*, and places it
ither in front of the most esteemed guest or at the side of
he fireplace. The host calls by name those who are to take
upper first, *tafwît*. The person thus invited rises, goes to

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was indemnified, *jeddûn 'alejk*. Not long after Sâbel's departure Saṭṭâm led his young warriors on a raid against the Fed'ân. In the depression of Sirḥân he met Sâbel. "Where are thy she-camels?" "I haven't found them." "Why, were they 302 628

Fig. 32—Coffeepots (see p. 100).

not branded with the mark of thy kin? What did the chief say to thee?" "I did not go so far. I was caught by the Ṣḫûr pasturing their camels, who bound me in my own plaits, put the Ṣḫûr brand on my right thigh, cut off my plaits and half of my chin beard, and then drove me away with the words: 'Show thy relatives what thou hast got for thy she-camels!'" No sooner did Saṭṭâm see the brand mark of the Ṣḫûr, than he shouted: "Let Allâh judge between them and us! Up and at the Beni Ṣaḫr! *Jeḥûf allâh lena w-lehom 'ala beni ṣaḫr*." Then the Rwala attacked the Beni Ṣaḫr camp, captured more than a hundred men, cut off their beards with sabers and daggers, made the Rwala mark on both cheek and ear of every man, and took all their herds.

Many elderly men have the whole head shaved. Such are called *aṣla'*. Those naturally bald are nicknamed *aḳra'*. 302 551

A maiden is very careful of her hair. In the morning she waits for the female riding camel to get to its feet, and, catching its urine in a small dish, she washes her hair with 302 515

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it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos, refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids it, *telemm râsah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *ḳuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḏâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *ḳuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *žiḏle*, *'erf*, or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ḳa'ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telahha' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧîk al-manḳûše*."

Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *nûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *daḳḳ al-wšâm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *min šân zerâfa*.

Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gazelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *rusejni*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *ma'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *meǧîdijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ṯowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

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831x 539x

The pure-blooded bird knows how to trot both in defense and attack before he is able to use his reason.

10. I said, 'Ah! What a word has reached my heart, which has rebelled,
For my soul's mate has given me to drink snake poison.'
11. But since the day when she beckoned twice to me with her fingers
The full moon [of my bliss] has reached its zenith.

The poet was an unknown Šarâri; the narrator, Mas'ûd aṣ-Ṣbejḥi, who accompanied me on my journey toward the oasis of Tejma'. The poet wakes up towards the end of the night between the twelfth and the eighteenth days of the lunar month; noticing lightning above the high hills shutting in the horizon, he asks his comrade to saddle the she-camels, and both then ride as fast as possible over the plain. The fast gait of his animal he compares to the mad gallop of a terrified ostrich and thinks of his sweetheart, who caused him much grief at first but later much gladness.

Verse 3. *Zôr* is the spot in the middle of the lower part of the breast, on which the kneeling camel leans against the ground. When kneeling, the shins of the forelegs touch the *zôr*. To "remove the *zôr* from the shins of the forelegs" means to induce the camel to rise and start. 4. *Reḳârîž ḳâ'i* are plains [133] covered with coarse sand, where mirages may often be observed, mostly at noon. *Raḳrûḳa* is a plain covered with weather-worn débris; *ḥamâd*, a plain covered with hard gravel and much flint. 5. *Šeḍa'* means any kind of a spook; it is frequently seen [825] by the animal alone and is supposed to be especially fond of the taste of brains. 9. *Ṭard* are the movements of attack [231] and defense of a horse in a fight. It takes some time to train a horse to the *ṭard*, while a pure-blooded male ostrich knows it long before he can use his reason, *ḳabl jâ'i*. 10. *Šerîč ar-rûḥ* is a sweetheart. 11. The poet's soul was comforted when his beloved gave him the longed-for sign.

In Praise of a Sweetheart's Kinsmen

Hala hala jâ 'arab farḥân
jâ marḥaba bdâbel ar-rîži
w-ahl az-zêne mâ hom šerdân
ḥamâjeten lil-mesâwîži

231 three years of the she-camel's life are called *ğlûs*, the different years being known as the first *ğils*, *awwal ğils*, the second and the third *ğils*. In her tenth year a she-camel is known as *nuṣûf* (without a plural), and this name she retains to her twentieth year; from then until her death she is a *fâṭer* (pl., *fuṭṭar*).

Young she-camels between their first and eighth year o age are commonly called *bakra* (pl., *abkâr*); between the sixt and tenth year, *fetijje* (pl., *fetât*).

Young male camels for the first six years, until thei eye-teeth, *nîbân*, become fully developed, are called *ḳa'ûd* (pl *ža'dân*).

From his sixth to his twentieth year the camel is calle *ğemal* (pl., *zeml*, *zwâmel* or *zemâjel*) and from his twentiet year to his last day, *herš* (pl., *hereša*).

A good she-camel has small ears pointed like a spea blade, *eḏânaha miṯl al-eḥrâb*; eyes shining like red coal *'ajûnaha miṯl al-ḫalâṣa*; a neck arched like the stalk of date bunch, *ruḳubatha miṯl al-ğerîda*; the shoulders are mus cular, *'aẓûdaha mubramât*; both the breastbone and hoof small, *zowraha w-ḫaffaha ṣaṛîr*; the shoulder blades bulging *nâbijet al-menčeb*; the axillae, *obṭaha*, the lower rib borders *ṭafḥ aẓ-ẓlû'*, and the chest, *ğifšer*, are broad; the thighs finely shaped, *zênat al-fḫûḏ*; she is narrow in the loins, *ẓâmerat aṣ-ṣulb*, and the hump is exactly above the abdomen, *senâmaha markûz fowḳ sirraha*. A hard and therefore erect neck, broad breast, arched ribs, and a bulging hip covered with flesh are likewise signs of the good qualities which a she-camel should have.

The camels are variously colored, the Bedouins having a special name for each shade.

●[825] They dislike white animals with some black hairs, *zerḳa*. Calves of this color are generally killed. Those that are not killed are sold to the settlers but never used for breeding.

Pure white is the most favored of all. A white she-camel is called *waẓḥa*. Up to ten heads the plural, *wuẓuḥ*, is used; for a larger, indefinite number, *maṛâtîr*. If the brows and the tail of a she-camel are also pure white, her name is *waẓḥa rḫama*, but if she has black hairs there she is called *waẓḥa mukaḥḥala*, and if she is creamy white all over, *waẓḥa ṛaṭra*. A white she-camel with a shade of pink color is known as *šaḳḥa* (pl., *šiḳḥ*); if of rose tinge, *šaḳḥa' mṛara'*.

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A light-brown she-camel is known as *ḥamra* (pl., *ḥumr*). 231
If the forelegs are a shade lighter, she is a *ḥamra ḥağla'*; with lighter spots on the breast, *ḥamra zṛaba'*. A bright brown she-camel without a shade of another color is called *ḥamra damijje* or *damûn*; if the hair around her jaw and nose is a little darker, *ḥamra dṛama'*.

An animal of yellowish color is called *ṣafra'*. If the color recalls *dibs*, or grape sugar, she is known as *ṣafra' dabsa'*. That colored like roasted coffee beans is *ṣafra' ḥabbet al-ḳhawa*; when of a still darker shade, resembling coffee already made, she is called *ṣafra 'abâdijje*.

An ash-gray she-camel is known as *ša'la* (pl., *ši'el*).

Malḥa' is a black she-camel; if glossy like a raven she is a *malḥa ṛurâbijje*. A *malḥa ḥaṣṣa* has hair of the same color but curly. No more than ten heads are designated by the words *milḥ* or *meğehmât*; for larger numbers, *meğâhîm* is used.

The Bedouins give each she-camel a name according to [552]
her real or alleged individual qualities, *asâmi-l-bel bwuğîhah*. For example: Ṭâfḥa, Ṭajjâḥa, Šarha', 'Ağla', Ḥarûfa, 'Awğa', Balḥa, Rîma, Bwêẓa, Ša'êla, 'Alja', Duḥejna, Mlêḥa, Saḥla, Ṛabša, Ṭamša, 'Ejda, Ğerîda, 'Amra', Sa'fa, etc.

Each animal bears a mark, either branded or cut in, of [422]
the tribe and kin to which it belongs, *wasm*.

Pure white she-camels the Rwejli likes the best of all. 825
Although he knows that he cannot use them on a dangerous 231
trip because of their color, which makes them conspicuous to the enemy at a great distance at night as well as by day, and although he also knows that every robber or raider prefers the white animals to all others, nevertheless he continues to breed them. It is as if he enjoys playing with the danger threatening his favorite animals, and, the greater the risk, the more white she-camels he wishes to have. As long as he has less than ten he calls them *wuẓuḥ*, but when his little herd has grown to eleven he uses the word *maṛâtîr*. A herd of white 422
she-camels is generally owned by the whole clan under the 471
control of the chief, and every animal of that color captured in a raid is added to it. As soon as the number of the *maṛâtîr* has reached a hundred, a second herd is formed. The *maṛâtîr* 231
are the pride of both the clan and tribe, especially if the herd 556
has not been captured by the enemy for the past fifty years. Then it is called *al-'eli*, it is talked of in the whole desert, and the bravery of the clan that owns it is praised by all,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XII

HORSES

The Bedouins assert that no horses were created by Allâh in Arabia. According to their tradition they brought their first horses from the land of the settlers whom they raided. In the inner desert the horses have no place and would perish, did not the Bedouins look after them better than they look after their own children. A runaway horse cannot live long in the desert, while a camel will persist even without a man. Horses are of no economic value but serve merely as weapons for the getting of booty and influence. For this reason they are called *al-murnijât*, the enriching. It is said that the mares' bellies contain treasures and their backs help to win power, *al-ḫejl buṭûnahen kanz wa-ẓhûrahen 'azz*; for they give their owner colts which can be turned into money at any time, and it is much easier to make or repel an attack on horseback than when mounted on camels. The more horses a tribe has, the more feared it is by its neighbors and the greater its power. But successes gained on horseback are not lasting. The defeated neighbors unite for revenge, and soon both the riders and horses are annihilated. Hence the saying: "The horse reins are snakes, and death dwells on their backs; *al-ḫejl ersânahen ḥajûja wa-ẓhûrahen manâja*."

HORSES OF DIFFERENT KINDS

The Rwala classify horses[10] as common ones, *kdîš* (pl., *kudš*), and thoroughbreds, *aṣîl* (pl., *aṣâjel*). The common horses are not kept in the desert. Of the thoroughbreds they raise for the

[10] The different parts of the horse (Fig. 49) are called:

1. *'arnûna*
2. *minḫar*
3. *borṣom*
4. *'alema*
5. *mâakkam*
6. *ḫomak*
7. *warîde*
8. *ǧubba*; in the middle, *aṣ'ed*
9. *ḫuṣṣa*
10. *maddmaṣ' al-'aja*
11. *'aja*
12. *ḫeǧrat al-'aja*
13. *iǧen*
14. *garyûr al-iǧen*
15. *fd'âs*
16. *ma'âref*
17. *rukuba*
18. *ḥâreš*
19. *abâher*
20. *ǧahr*
21. *mṣammaṣ*
22. *ǧaja'*
23. *'okrat aṣ-ǧil*
24. *sebîb*
25. *faḫaḏ*
26. *ṭafne*
27. *'arkûb*
28. *krâ'*
29. *dejd*, udder; *ḫâr*, teats
30. *surra*, *sirr*
31. *baṭn*
32. *ǧamb*
33. *ḥâdele*
34. *krâ'*
35. *maḫṣan*

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777 787 614 are avoided by the warriors when on a raid; their hospitality is accepted only when some of the warriors are ill or wounded. The Ṣlejb tend the sick carefully and carry them home when they have recovered or bury them when they die. When the raiders are tormented by hunger or pursued by the enemy they do not hesitate to seek help from the Ṣlejb, who are despised by them at any other time.

[492]

777 787 825 FIG. 55

FIG. 56

FIG. 55—A horse bridle, *ʿanân*.
FIG. 56—Horse fetters, *ḥadîd*.
(See p. 378.)

Animals also have their bad and good signs. The fox, *al-ḥoṭejni*, especially is an object of the most careful observation by the Bedouin. If it halts on catching sight of the raiders and looks at the troop from both the right and left side, they know that they need expect no mishap but will return with rich booty, *fowd w-salâme*. A similar omen they see in a pure white mare when she breaks loose and, holding her head high, prances in front of the raiders as if leading them. When a hyena jumps out suddenly from its den and starts to hop at the head of the troop as if showing them the way, *ḥaṭam ʿala-l-ṛazw*, they begin to urge on their camels joyfully, believing the beast's appearance to be a sure sign of booty. Two ravens flying above raiders from one side to the other cause the whole troop to shout joyfully: "Two ravens and a good omen! *ṛurâbên w-fâlen* [pronounced *fânen*] *zên*." A rich booty is to be theirs without doubt. Other good signs are a sorrel with a white spot on its right foreleg; a white camel; a white ass with a dark bluish stripe on its shoulders, *ḥmâr ḥaṣar* or *ršejdi*; and a greyhound bitch, *sleḳa*. A long poisonous snake, called *dâbb*, when found during some serious undertaking is killed and thrown into the air. If it falls on its back in such a way that its white belly can be seen, the omen is favorable. All animals which are considered good omens are called *aṯ-ṯlejḳijjât*.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

777 *ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-halba' w-ar-raǧol al-melûs*, as both are the
787 cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person
that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-da"âja w-an-*
826 *na"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both
828 he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her op-
789 ponent in the following sentences:

"Sab' hal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear this face!"

"Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwú (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-riḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Ṛâjbt as-sa'ad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mout an-nár. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jil'an zên hal-hdûm alli mâ hi 'al-ádmi mâr 'ala 'ûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

777 In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful.
675 If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"'ala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

777 If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its
●825 rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other
492 riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšaželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrĉṭa w-al-marat aš-ša"âṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aḳer-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

bân, must not be taken on a raid or war expedition, for her rider would come back without booty. 777

Should the raiders on their march against the enemy meet a flock of goats or sheep, they halt until the animals pass. If they rode through the flock, they would cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they had scattered the goats or sheep. Whoever sights a solitary white gazelle, *ẓebi*, must not mount his mare for some time, for she would stumble under him, *taḳanṭar* or *taḳanṭa'*, and he might hurt himself and thus meet with failure. A black dog, *mballam*, should be killed at sight, as the fiend is hidden in him and thus brings the Rwejli bad luck. The flesh of the wild swine which roam especially in the Sirḥân depression or, according to the Rwala, in al-Wâdi, is enjoyed by the Bedouins, who know nothing of permitted or forbidden food; pork fat they use in healing both wounded men and animals, but they hate to meet a wild swine when starting on a raid or on any other undertaking, because it brings bad luck. When a solitary raven or a *rḫama* vulture is seen flying above the raiders, they shoot at it, crying: "May Allâh destroy thee! *Sab'ek* (or *Sab'eč*)." They fear that if they did not kill the birds they would feast on the bodies of the fallen. If a raider's rein breaks, he should return at once. The commander of an expedition must also turn back if he seats himself on a saddle wet by rain. A broken rein means that the mare will run about freely after her rider has been thrown from the saddle, while a wet saddle reminds one of the commander's blood flowing down it. When a camel or a mare returns home stained with the blood of her slaughtered rider, she is generally sold to another clan or to the settlers, as the kin of the fallen man abhor riding an animal over which the blood of their kinsman has been spilled.

825 ●

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[262]

[757]

[761]

DREAMS AS OMENS

Much importance is attached by the Rwala to dreams. During sleep a man's soul moves among spiritual beings from whom it can learn all things hidden from men, whether of the past, of the present, or of the future. In most cases Allâh is appealed to by the Bedouins to send them dreams concerning their return from an important undertaking, *ḥelm m'âwdi*. Such dreams Allâh grants especially to the commanders of

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

nâmha killaha w-min nâm kill al-lejl haḏâk habîl." Sleep during the hot midday, *ḳajjalna*, or at sunrise, *ṣaffarna*, is preferred to the night sleep. This is also the time when the animals are allowed to rest. 513

Women and girls are in constant danger from the male spirits. If a girl, especially a pretty one, falls asleep in a locality inhabited by the spirits, she is approached by a male spirit, who has sexual intercourse with her yet without violating her virginity. Should he succeed in that only once, the girl cannot resist him ever afterwards. He compels her to leave her tent at night and to come to a place selected by him. Such a woman or girl must not marry; should she do so voluntarily the spirit would torment her still more, and if she is compelled to marry the spirit would attack her husband. 776 833

Me'zel eben 'Ekla' of the Mwâhîb married a pretty widow, a relative of his, who was dominated by a *ǧânn* and was therefore unwilling. When on the wedding night he approached her, the *ǧânn* seized him by the throat, throttled him, and then threw him out of the tent, threatening him with death should he dare to approach her again. Such a husband expelled by a spirit is called *menḥi*. But a spirit can never beget children by a woman, as spirits never have any children at all.

The wells of the watering place of Lîne are very deep, hewn in the rock spirally, and have smooth walls. According to a Bedouin tale, a chief's pretty daughter was often molested at night by a *ǧânn*. When she complained to her father he lay in wait for the spirit and finally caught him on the night of *as-sarra*, or of the dark of the moon. The chief tied the *ǧânn* both hands and feet, seated him on the rocky plain of Lîne, and commanded him to keep on circling around until his posteriors should dig a well with spring water in the rock. The *ǧânn* began to do as he was bidden, his back grinding out the rock and his head pressing up the sand, which was changed by his sweat into a thin dough. Yet no sooner had he deepened one well that the chief made him dig a second, a third, and so on, urging him on with the words: "Soften the rock, soften the rock, and change it into dough! *lîni lineh w-erdih 'aǧine.*"

Not long ago some travelers, *rab' aṭ-ṭrûš*, rode by the impassable crags of al-'Afâjef in the deep depression of al-Ka'ara. Below a hillside there a hedgehog, *ḳunfud*, of extraordinary size was warming himself in the rays of the sun. 776 825

776 825 Dismounting, one of the travelers caught the animal and put it into his empty saddle bag, intending to kill and roast it at their next halting place, as the hedgehog's flesh is regarded as having a very savory taste. But before long they heard a female voice crying: "O Manṣûr, O Manṣûr, where art thou?" Turning around they saw an elderly woman running after them, repeating the call. Finally the hedgehog's voice was heard out of the bag: "Manṣûr lies curled up in a small bag, *al-manṣûr bwasṭ al-ḫurǧ maṣrûr*." This frightened the riders so much that the man with the bag threw the hedgehog on the ground, and the animal, instantly changing into a man, ran towards the woman.

One Ĝirân walad Dḫejjel found near al-'Afâjef a solitary sheep. Thinking that it had gone astray from some flock in the neighborhood, he tried to catch and bring it to its owner. A lost animal of this kind is called *ḫuwâr*, and its finder receives a reward for returning it. But our sheep was not a *ḫuwâr* at all but a sheep from a *ǧânn* flock, for it ran into a steep crag where there was not the smallest opening and disappeared in a second.

Old ruins also are favorite hiding places of the *ǧinn*. There they either live in the shape of long snakes or else they enter snakes' bodies, *maskûn*, and dwell there permanently. Therefore whoever kills a snake among old ruins makes the spirits his enemies. But should he roast and eat such a snake, he would bring the spirit into his own body and become possessed. On the other hand, in the wide, level desert where the spirits never live, any long snake can be killed and eaten with impunity.

In the great church in the ruins of ar-Reṣâfa there lives — according to the Rwala — a long, black snake, *dâbb*, with the head of a goat and a white spot on its forehead. The oldest Bedouins say that it is very old and relate that the same serpent had been known to their forefathers. It fears nobody, probably knowing with what fear it is regarded by the Bedouin population of the whole neighborhood.

Near the well of Wâḳṣa, south of the oasis of Tejma, a treasure is said to be guarded by a *ǧânn* in the shape of a *dâbb* snake.

In the castle of al-Ḫafâĝi, formerly owned by the Âl Aḥejẓer or Eben Aḥejẓer kin, the Rwala claim once to have seen a long snake or dragon with a human head, bird's feet, and lion's back, which did not stir even when they came close to

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

it. This calmness so terrified the curious Bedouins that they instantly took to their heels.

In the *šeʿîb* of al-Čaʿči which opens into the valley of al-Člâbât stands a large boulder facing eastwards and entirely covered with curious marks. This boulder is a place of pilgrimage for the *ǧinn*, who gather there in the end of May to kill their sacrificial animals. They were seen performing these rites by the Ṣḳûr clan subject to the chief Eben Haḍḍâi.

At aš-Šubejče there are a few large black boulders said to be inhabited by *ǧinn*. Close to them yawns the opening of an ancient well from which they water their herds.

In the neighborhood of Ǧâwa and Ǧennâwa lie many boulders shaped like cows. A long time ago the *ǧinn* kept a herd of cows there, which pastured on grass grown on firm soil as well as on the *rimṭ* and *ṛaṛa'* thriving only in sand. Allâh, however, forbade them to raise cows and transformed the cows into boulders. *Ǧâwa w-ǧennâwa behen ḥaǧarât loun al-baḳarât bên ad-dimṭ w-ar-rimṭ w-al-ṛaṛa'.*

Near the ridge of Lâha the *ǧinn* have an underground village; also near Bâjer and al-Mwejsen.

In the wide level desert delightful music may often be heard and pretty girls seen coaxing the traveler to join them. But woe to him who succumbs! The girls will tickle him to death, suck out his blood, and devour his flesh. As my companion, Blejhân, related: "Once I went with three of my comrades on a marauding trip, our goal being the pastures of the Sirḥân tribe at the southern foot of the Ḥawrân. When already near our destination we were surprised in a deep gully by a strong troop of our enemies of the Ṣḥûr tribe and were scattered in several directions. I luckily got out of the volcanic rocks into the level Ḥamâd desert, where I rested at night, squatting by my camel and filling my short pipe, *sebîl*. Some days before, it had broken in the middle and I had repaired it by replacing the stem with a piece of bone and tying it to the bowl with a strip of leather. A pipe thus mended is called *bûz* or *barbûzt as-sebîl*. Having filled it with tobacco, I wrapped my head and the pipe in my cloak, so that the sparks flying from it and the smoke could not be seen from a distance; *tarâmaṭṭ bel-'aba' 'an barbûzt as-sebîl lâ tenšâf*. Suddenly I heard a sound as if somebody were running in front of me. Raising the cloak a little, I looked round but saw nothing and thought it might have been a wild beast, a wolf perhaps. Some

2: Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

701 and cannot be claimed by the commander. If a horse owner
727 who has formed a partnership with a camel owner captures
425 only one she-camel, he keeps her, giving his partner six *medjidijjât* ($5.40) in compensation. If he captures a horse, he gives his comrade a she-camel from his own herd; otherwise the first captured she-camel is always his, while the second, *'ajde*, belongs to the partner. But when everybody takes booty on his own account he must mark the captured she-camel in such a way that she may not be taken by someone else. Usually he makes her kneel and fetters both her forelegs to prevent her from running away. A she-camel about which two raiders are in dispute is called *rubâda*.

If the commanders of a raid agree to share the booty obtained by all, *jetaḳâsarûn*, they begin by counting the participants. If one of the leaders has many and another only a few men with him, the latter is given more, so as to equalize the strength of all the troops. The booty is divided equally into as many parts as there are leaders; these take their share and apportion the rest among their men. Demanding a head rope from each man, the leader lays these ropes over his left arm and, walking among the captured animals, hangs one rope after another around their necks. Every one then takes the she-camel with his head rope. The remaining animals are divided in the same manner. Should there be more participants than captured camels, the *'âḳid* divides them arbitrarily. As a rule he takes into consideration how much booty has been taken by the men individually or the fact that some of the men may have lost camels of their own. The manner of getting booty and of its division should always be agreed on before the raid, to prevent trouble afterwards.

721 When all the men taking part in a raid assemble, the leader informs them whither they are bound. After midnight two or three men on horseback are ordered to ride ahead in order to examine the country through which the expedition has to pass as far as their next night's rest. They are called *'âjis* (pl., *'ujûs*). As far as possible they should have white horses, because white means success. Their duty is to find the tracks of Bedouins, to look from hilltops for camps, grazing camels, and troops of riders, and to examine the neighborhood of the next night's stopping place with regard to water and pasture, etc. If they sight a troop of riders or if they find neither water nor sufficient pasture near the spot

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Filled with joy, Ḫalaf rode to his tent, branded the camels with his mark, and let them be driven to pasture. But soon afterwards Fâjez, ignorant of Ḫalaf's stratagem, sent a slave to demand the animals. Ḫalaf, of course, sent back the answer:

"The *zwâmel* are mine. Eben Ǧandal gave them to me."

The slave asked: "Which Eben Ǧandal?"

"Ǧed'ân eben Ǧandal."

On hearing the message, Fâjez inquired of his wife and, learning what had happened in his absence, let Ḫalaf have the camels with the words: "A gift of Eben Ǧandal knows no *menn*."

A camel presented by a man to his divorced wife belongs, with all her calves, to the divorcee exclusively. Neither the husband's nor her own kin can lay any claim to her. She can give or sell the camel to whomsoever she wishes and spend the money received for it without being responsible to anybody, for she is the sole owner of that property. *mâ leha šerîc ill-allâh.*

When a Rwejli dies, leaving a widow with a baby daughter, his kin takes his tent as well as his camels. The widow goes back with her daughter to her own kin. From the price that had been paid for her she gets a she-camel, *ba'îr*, which also belongs to her only. The little daughter remains with her till she grows up, returning then to her father's kin.

If a Rwejli leaves two widows with little boys, his property is divided temporarily between both widows to enable them to bring up the boys. At the sons' maturity the estate is divided among them according to law, i. e. the first-born is given one camel more than his brothers. This male or female camel is called *nefel*. The tent and the saber belong, as is the Arab custom, *farâjeẓ al-'arab*, to the youngest. The gift, *neḫille*, which the boy receives on his circumcision is his own property, which he shares with nobody.

A short time ago a Rwejli died leaving two widows, each of whom was suckling a baby boy. Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, who became their guardian, *wâṣi*, gave one widow both the tent and all the camels, letting the other go empty-handed with her boy to her kin. When the latter complained of this high-handed action to Prince an-Nûri, he ordered the estate to be divided between them equally, as required by the Bedouin law, *farâjeẓ al-'arab*.

If after the father's death his sons also die, the widow's

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VI

DRESS AND WEAPONS

THE BEARD AND HAIR; TATTOOING; BODY BELTS

The Rwala devote much attention to the body,[1] especially to the hair and beard. Almost everyone can shave and cut hair, and they render this service to one another, as they have no mirrors to shave by. Calling on his comrade with the words: "Shave me, *ḥassenni* (or *zajjenni*, or *eḥlekni*)," a Rwejli sits down on his heels and patiently waits till his friend has prepared his soap, razor, and scissors. If he merely wishes the beard growing under his chin on the throat, *ǧarǧûr*, shaved, he says: "*Ǧarǧerni.*" If he wishes the back part of his head up to the ears, *ṣôra*, shaved, he asks: "*Ṣawwerni.*" Otherwise the barber will shave both the half of the back of his head and the beard under the chin, trim his thin chin beard, *aḥje* (or *daḳne*), and his goatee, *'adesa*, shave off his side whiskers, *'awâreẓ*, trim his moustache, *šwâreb*, clipping off its ends, *subaḳ*, and comb the hair over the forehead, cutting it short, *ḳuṣṣa*, at the same time. Individuals especially careful of their appearance have their front hair made into two, four, six, or even as many as eight plaits, *ḳrûn*. A man wearing his hair

[1] The big toe (thumb) is called *bkâm*; the second and third toes, *ḥonṣor*; the fourth toe, *ḥonṣjor*; the little toe, *ḥonṣjor*; a finger (or toe) nail, *ẓufer*; the toes, *aṣâbi' ar-riǧlên*; the sole of the foot, *ḫrîf*; the arch of the foot, *ḥabd ar-riǧel*; the heel, *'aḳib*; the instep, *'ard*; the ankle, *'aṣeṣm ab-ar-ruḫam* or *ḥa'ab*; the ankle joint, *miṣakk*; Achilles tendon, *'arṣab*; the shank, *aḳ*; the calf, *ǧarbû'a*; the extensor of the leg, *'aṣa ar-rukba*; the knee-cap, *seddle*; the hollow of the knee, *mâbar*; the thigh, *faḫd*; the mons Veneris, *ḥadda*; the penis, *'ajr* or *rabb*; the testicles, *ḥaǧâda*; the glans, *fa'a*; the groins, *ḥdera*; the hip, *wirê*; the buttock, *ḥoṭijje* or *fî*; the navel, *sirra*; the loins, *ḥamb*; the ribs, *ǧê'*; the breast, *ṣadr*; the breast nipples, *did*; the ensiform cartilage, *ṣaṣrîf al-ḥalb*; the stomach, *ḥabd*; the intestines, *ḥoṣâda*; the kidney, *ḥelwa*; the spleen, *ṭḥâl*; the liver, *atâr*; the gall, *mgadra*; the heart, *ḥalb* or *ṣanâḍ al-ḥalb*; the lungs, *rije*; the back, *ẓahr*; the lower part of the spine, *dṣajfaḍ*; the vertebrae, *ḥarwa aṣ-ẓahr*; the shoulder-blade muscles, *daffa*; the shoulder blade, *ḥatf*; the small of the back, *rummâna al-ḥatf*; the neck, *ruṣuba*; the two fleshy parts of the back of the neck, *'alba*; the hollow between them, *uṣejra*; the atlas, *fâ'da*; the collar bone, *turṣa*; the pit of the throat, *ǧuṣjra*; the external jugular vein, *warîd*; the throat, *ḥarrâṣa*; the Adam's apple, *arwâa*; the chin, *'adasa*; the jaws, *ḥadâk*; the lips, *ḥardîṣam*, or *ḥaldâṣam*; the corners of the mouth, *ldâṣ*; the cheeks, *uṣjnât*; the nose, *ṣânim*; the nostrils, *mandîṣer*; the ridge of the nose, *'arnâsa*; the bridge of the nose, *muṣjras*; the cheek bone, *rummâna*; the eyes, *'uṣûn*; the pupil of the eye, *ṣbaṣ*; the eyelids, *ṣfûn*; the eyelashes, *rimâl*; the eyebrow, *ḥdâṣ*; the forehead, *ṣabba*; the temples, *ṣanâbar*; the ear, *ṣdan*; the lobe of the ear, *ṣhame*; the teeth, *asnân*; the incisors, *ṣanâṣe*; the four eye teeth, *nâbân*; the molars, *rabâ*; the glottis, *ḥlaṣt al-mount*; the gullet, *bal'ûm*; the top of the head, *ṣâṣe*; the cranium, *ḥâwt ar-rês*; the brain, *dmâṣ*; the elbow joint, *'aṣd*; the elbow, *ḥâ'*; the forearm, *ṣrâ'*; the arm hollow, *ḥarṣer*; the back of the hand, *wâṣ*; the palm of the hand, *ḥaff*; the thumb, *bâkam*; the index finger, *ṣaswâl*; the little finger, *ḥonṣjor*; the hand, *ṣad* (or *îd*; dual. *îdâ*; pl. *îdên*); three hands, *ṣalâṣ îdâṣ*; five feet, *ḥamse riǧlên*.

826

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

292 cloth is known in the trade as *ǧôḫ mâkûd*, common cloth as *ǧôḫ ḫafîf*. *Mezâwi* is a silk caftan worn by wealthy women over the dress, *ṯowb*. It has narrow sleeves and covers the arms down to the wrists.

301 Almost every Rwala woman goes barefoot, but all possess some jewelry. Around the neck they wear a *maḫnaḳa*, or necklace of red coral; on the breast a *želâde*, or pendant of glass pearls; on the elbows small black glass rings, *ma'âẓed*; on the wrists similar trinkets, *sbat*; above the ankles small glass or copper rings, *ḫǧûl*; in the ears copper rings, *turžijje*; on the fingers rings, *ftâḫ*; and sometimes in the right nostril a copper ring, *zmâm*. The women dearly love this cheap jewelry; they save up camel's hair for a long time and often steal grain in order to buy it.

292 The wealthier women wrap, *jetalaffa'en*, their heads in a covering called *šumbar*. This is a red shawl 42 centimeters wide by 3.2 meters long. They dye it black, leaving only about six centimeters as red stripes at both ends. Next they cut the shawl lengthways down the middle and sew both parts together in such a way that a covering is formed 84 centimeters wide and 1.6 meters long. If they want to wrap their heads in this shawl, *jetalaffa'en beh*, they lay one lappet on their left shoulder, stretch the shawl over the head, throw the other lappet from the right under the chin, and cover with it the lappet on the left shoulder. Then they fasten the shawl with a folded kerchief to the forehead and skull, pull both lappets up the back, and tuck up the shawl in the front till it covers the chin. Young girls like to wear both the *maḳrûna*, or large kerchief, and the *šumbar*. Both lappets of the *maḳrûna* hang loosely down the breast, while the *šumbar* is crossed under the chin. If a girl who is fond of dress, *bint ṛawjâna*, owns a *maḳrûna* only, she will not tie it to her head with the *mindîl*, dark cotton kerchief, but prefers it to fall down a little, as then her tresses can be seen to advantage.

302 Every woman likes to dye her palms and nails, and if she be old also her hair, with yellow henna, either of the Egyptian variety, *maṣrijje*, or of a variety brought from Mecca, *makkâwijje*; the latter is the better.

302 826 Both the youths and girls are fond of dyeing their eyelids black with *koḥl*, collyrium or antimony powder, using a small sharp knife, *mirwad*, in this operation. Moistening the *mir-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

wad slightly, they touch the *kohl*, which is kept in a tiny tin box, *mikhale*, and then rub the color along the borders of the eyelids, believing that the use of *kohl* strengthens the eyesight. Many therefore even rub *kohl* on the edges of a telescope, being firmly convinced that the instrument then gives a much better view.

The woman's dress costs:

barim, body belt	½ *mejidijje*	($ 0.22½)	
towb, shirt	2 *mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)	
iwâḥi, belt	½ *mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)	
makrâna, kerchief	2 *mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)	
ʿiṭfa, head band	½ *mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)	
jibbe, jacket	2 *mejidijjât*	(" 1.80)	
mersi, cloak	3 *mejidijjât*	(" 2.70)	
mahnaka, coral necklace	4 piasters	(" 0.18)	
ʿelâde, pendant	4 "	(" 0.18)	
maʿâded, elbow ornaments	4 "	(" 0.18)	
fatha, finger ring	4 "	(" 0.18)	
zmâm, nostril ring	½ *mejidijje*	(" 0.22½)	
Total...10	*mejidijjât*, 16 piasters	($ 9.72).	

PEDDLERS; CARE FOR PERSONAL APPEARANCE; INFANTS; STAFFS AND CANES

Whatever the Rwala need for their finery and ornaments they either buy from the merchants who visit them when they are camping in the settled territory in the months of July and August, or from the peddlers, who accompany them the whole year through, even going to the inner desert with them. A peddler or wandering merchant is called either Rhejbâwi or Kubejsi: Rhejbâwi after the ancient town of ar-Rahba, Kubejsi after his native place, the little town of al-Kubejsa. The terms Rhejbâwi and Kubejsi have come to mean any wandering seller of textiles or general merchandise and are now applied even to merchants known to hail from other places. Thus a peddler from Bagdad is called a Rhejbâwi Baġdâdi or Kubejsi Baġdâdi. When a youth overfond of dress, *dâhi*, visits a wandering merchant to be measured for a suit of clothes, he gives his order in the words of the ancient verse: "Measure me, O merchant! for a shirt with long sleeves, measure me, O merchant! O Rhejbâwi! *Kaṣṣel li jâ bâʾiʿ ṣâfi erdâni kaṣṣel li jâ tâʾir jâ rhejbâwi.*"

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

831 ×
539 ×

w-elja tlâḳaw ma' al-'adwân
ḥallaw 'alejhom teḥârîži.

Welcome, welcome, O Farḥân's Arabs!
Hail to her, who dries up the spittle!
For the kinsmen of my beauty take not to flight;
They are the protectors of those who drive the booty,
And, when encountering the enemy,
Discharge weapons spitting fire.

The lover welcomes and praises the relatives of his sweetheart. *Hala* for *ahla, ahlan, jâ-hla, jâ hala.* *Ḏâbel ar-rîž* is a charming beauty, with whom one immediately falls in love so passionately that the saliva of the mouth dries up as if one were in a fever. The *mesâwîž* are warriors driving the captured herds. As they have to prevent the animals from escaping, they are unable to defend themselves properly and could easily be killed by the pursuing enemy. [826]

1. *Jâ râčeb alli ber-redef teḳel marži*
   azwâl rebden muǧaffalen ma' az-zerâži
2. *w-lâ ḥamâm mrawweḥen leh al-berǧi*
   'oḳb al-mežîl mrawweḥen binze'âži
3. *jâ resel jâ-lli lal-ma'âzîb terži*
   lâzem tšûf an-nâr miṯl as-serâǧi
4. *jad'ik bejt beh meǧâles w-herǧi*
   râ'ih mâ ḥâšat jammeh ḫarâǧi
5. *semi marṣûf al-ḥadam jâ-bu marǧi*
   salab 'adîli min ẓamîri w-mâ ǧi
6. *salab 'adîli salab kâbûn serǧi*
   w-'ajni tekubb ṛurûb mojjen ḥamâǧi
7. *'alejh min ṛâli-l-meṭâmîn derǧi*
   ẓâfen 'ala sâḳen teḳel 'aẓm 'âǧi
8. *alli banat bel-ḳalb ḳaṣran w-berǧi*
   banat bešam'en lown ḳaṣr al-ḫafâǧi
9. *'aḏrûb aḫûha surbeteh teḳel 'arǧi*
   jaṭni-lja ṭârat 'ajûn al-harâǧi
10. *jâ lâjmen maḳṭû' mâ 'âd jarǧi*
    jowm al-ḥara' mâ 'âd 'endeh jidâǧi.

1. O thou who ridest a she-camel whose back has almost
   to be climbed by a ladder,
   [Whose speed is] like clouds of dust in the blue air
   raised by startled ostriches,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

A Bedouin who has led in his mare to the stud horse, mounts her afterwards and rides around the camp until he meets a girl, to whom he says: "O daughter, just now I have led in my mare." If the girl answers: "Be comforted with

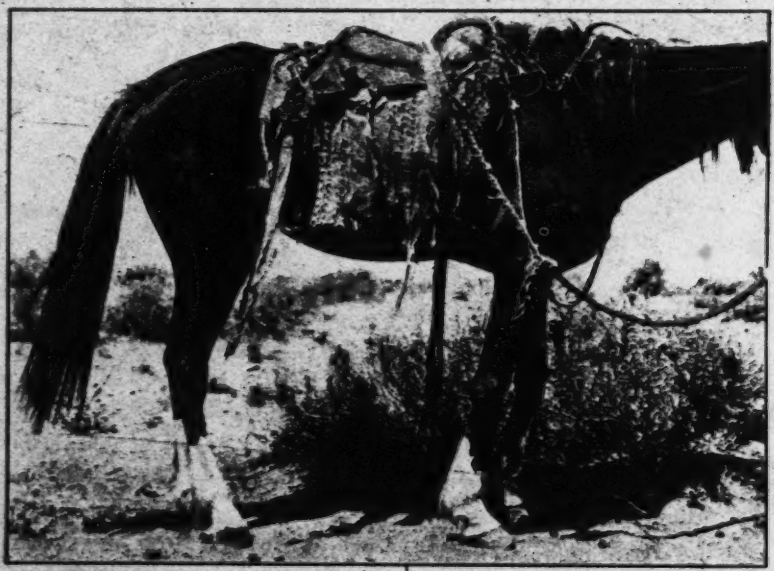

FIG. 57—A harnessed mare.

the glad tidings that she will bring thee a filly, *ebšer bemohra*, both the owner of the mare and his whole kin rejoice, for this is a favorable sign, and they all expect confidently that the girl's prophecy will come true.

It is a common belief among the Rwala that a one-eyed person is the bearer of misfortune. If a man meets one so afflicted, in order to destroy his unhappy influence he turns over a large stone, thus burying the bad omen. Hence the proverb: "If thou meetest a one-eyed person, turn over a large stone; *elja šuft al-ʿawar oklob ḥağar*." Nobody embarking on a journey of importance will have for his guide a man with his right and left upper eyeteeth missing, *afraḳ as-sinnên*, or one with blue eyes, *azraʳ* (sic) *al-ʿajnên*, for then nothing would succeed. Woe to those having intercourse with a woman whose breast is covered with down, or with a man without any beard or without down on any part of his body, *aǧnas al-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-halba' w-ar-raǧol al-melûs, as both are the cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-da"âja w-anna"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her opponent in the following sentences:

"Sab' hal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear this face!"

"Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwû (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-rîḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Ṛâjbt as-sa'ad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mowt an-nâr. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jil'an zên hal-hdûm alli mâ hi 'al-âdmi mâr 'ala 'ûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful. If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"'ala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšaželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-ša"âṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aker-*

754 that has thus harmed him. A person having the evil eye is called *madri*, and the person he bewitches *ma'jûn*. A man who
[826] lacks both upper eyeteeth or one who has blue eyes is undoubtedly able to bewitch and is therefore carefully avoided by all his acquaintances. If a traveler is seen approaching his tent, he hears from all the neighboring tents: "Avoid the bewitcher's tent! Go to the right, to the right! *Lâ temarr 'ala bejt al-madri jemînak jemînak.*"

754 A bewitched person feels at once great weakness, his eyes
755 become dim, and he is subject to fainting fits. Above the heart of a bewitched child a blue spot soon appears, as if caused by a hard blow. A bewitched animal gets a tumor on the heart the size of a fist, and clotted blood is found under it when killed. Fumigation is the usual cure in such cases. If the bewitcher is known, two or three threads are torn from the hem of his garment and laid on red-hot coals, and the stricken person is fumigated with the smoke from them. The head of a bewitched animal is held over a dish of red-hot coals and smoldering *šîḥ* plants in such a way that the smoke must enter its nostrils. Frequently the bewitched has much difficulty in urinating. To help him, the Bedouins shoot a porcupine, from which they extract the gall bladder and, pressing out its contents into a little water, *jemûṣûn mrejreh bel-moje*, they drip it into the nostrils of the sick person. Bewitched people and even animals are the most easily bitten by poisonous snakes.

754 Whoever is possessed of the evil eye also has the power to restore the bewitched to his former health. In the Rassâlîn clan there lived at the time when these studies were made a fellow named Na"ûs eben 'Ajde to whose evil eye much misfortune was attributed. Once he bewitched, *ẓarab*, a young girl pretty both in face and figure, *ḥsejjene min židdâmah w-min warâha*. It happened while she was fetching water; when she returned to her tent, she began to stagger and finally fainted. On recovering she was unable to stand on her feet. When asked by her frightened mother the cause of her condition, the girl only said: "Na"ûs looked at me fixedly; he bewitched me," and fainted again, *ertamât min ǧedîd*. With much lamentation the mother then reported to the father what the daughter had just told her, and he, calling his sons and relatives to his aid, ran to Na"ûs' tent, threatening him with death if he did not take back instantly the look which had injured his daughter. Na"ûs swore by all

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. An

nowm sâs al-lowm, sleep is the cause of reproofs, because at night, when the guards are fast asleep, the activities of the Bedouin's enemies, whether men or beasts, are most successful. He that keeps awake can prevent evil. *Šelâfiḥ* implies the lack of a certain thing; thus, "*Waredna hal-mokr sakweh šelâfiḥ*" means "We wanted to water in this rock cistern, but there is little water there." 4. *Ar-rizk betûl al-ḫaṭa'*; he whose pace is longer will win more, can go farther. *Fiḥ* (sing., *feiḥa*) are good-tempered, enduring she-camels. The rider of such will reach distant places where he can get booty more easily. 5. *Jidûk* signifies the continual motion of the rider's two heels, which tear the animal's hide by constantly rubbing against it. '*Ajrât an-neza*' are she-camels used for raids to distant places. A raiding troop cannot spend the night in a large plain surrounded by mountains, *ad-daww*, for it is impossible to build a fire there; it would be seen far around. The she-camels must, therefore, exert their whole strength to cross such a plain as quickly as possible in order to reach a region with deep, hidden gullies before sunset. 6. Behind the camel saddle the Bedouins fasten one or two pairs of many-colored ribbons, *sefâjef*, which, fluttering with every step the she-camel makes, are seen now far behind the animal, now high above or below it. The waving of the ends of these ribbons reminds the onlooker of the motions the falconer makes with a piece of cloth when he wants to coax a falcon to return to him. These cloth pieces, *malâwiḥ*, also float out, to vanish the next moment, according to the motions made by the falconer. 8. The guard watching the camels is called *ğanab*. For this duty the bravest youths, as a rule, are selected, objects of warm desire on the part of many a married woman dissatisfied with her easy-going, often cowardly husband. A woman of this sort is known as *ṭamûḥ*. She would not bear sons resembling their father. 9. *Akwaḥ al-'ajn*, means "[a good marksman] half closed his eye." Such eyes send out sure death, for they are *ḏuwâbiḥ*, killers.

Seize Opportunity When It Offers

Elja' habbat rijâḥak hebb ma'ha
w-lâ budd illa-r-rijâḥ min as-sukûn
w-en darrat nijâḳak w-ehtelebha
w-lam jidra-l-ḥwâr limin jekûn.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

Jâ-bu ṯemânen ḏubbalen wa-rhâf
ʿeḏâb liṭarrâd al-hawa
jâ žiḏleten riš an-naʿâm erdâf
jelʿab beha ṣafž al-hawa.

O thou with eight teeth fine and small,
Which so torment him who is given to flirting!
O braids above the forehead, as thick as the ostrich's feathers,
With which nothing but a strong breeze can play.

Ṯemân are the four lower and the four upper incisors. The finer and smaller, the prettier they are. When they are shown by a smiling beauty, the passion of amorous men is inflamed to a high degree. *Ṭarrâd* is a warrior who, circling on his mare, attacks the enemy with the one aim of defeating them. No sooner has he vanquished one, than he throws himself on another. *Ṭrâd* is a hand-to-hand fight, also a mock battle in which the struggles of a real battle are imitated. It is often performed in honor of an esteemed guest. *Ṭrâd al-ḫejl* has the same meaning as *leʿeb al-ḫejl*, mock battle, cavalry play. *ʿArâẓa* has nothing in common with *ṭrâd*. In *ʿarâẓa* the warriors defile, one by one, before the standing chief, assure him of their fidelity, and by uttering their war cry raise one another's war spirit. He that devotes much of his time to love affairs also resembles a *ṭarrâd*, because, having gained the victory over one beauty, he leaves her in order to win the favor of another. The feathers on the hips of an ostrich are the thickest. A beauty's *žiḏle* should, likewise, be so thick and heavy that nothing except a strong breeze could move it. *Safž* or *ṣalf* is a strong, sudden gust of wind.

[826 832] [541] [703]

Jâ šowḳ jâ dakkâk al-ḥejl
jâ merteči fowḳ al-ḥani
eḳhar ḳaʿûdak ʿenda rkûẓ al-ḫejl
abi-ẓmanak w-atrok hali.

O sweetheart mine who givest forth a fragrance as if pounding cardamom!
O thou who supportest thyself by the bent litter pole!
Stop thy camel at the cavalry assault,
For I will desert my kin to guarantee thy safety.

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BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-ʿAmm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called ʿAneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern ʿAneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Saʿûd, and various clans of the Ḳaḥaṭân and Muntifeż. The northern ʿAneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sbaʿa, Fedʿân, and ʿAmârât. The former include the Weld ʿAli and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ǧlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the ʿAneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-ʿamm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-ʿamm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddîm ǧeddeh mâ hu eben al-ʿamm čêf jeṣîr lena-bn al-ʿamm*." or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the ʿAmârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr arlaʿ lena min al-ʿamârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôla aḳrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr aǧânib mâ lena w-lahom ǧidden wâḥed*."

Ẓbêʿân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Mahaʾ married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbêʿân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *ʿamâm*, and not the [628] maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the sons of Ẓbêʿân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni. 602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *ʿamâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs; *ʿamâmeh ʿaṣabe w-ḫwâleh arḥâm.* 602 827

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-ʿamm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *mâ ʿalejh arbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnûʿ ʿalejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ.* The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment. 602

The blood relationship, *beni al-ʿamm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥakk al-beniʿam* (or *ḥakk al-benʿame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-benʿame ṣwât al-beniʿam.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ǧejî*, or fellow traveler, *ḫawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣliḥ al-ḥači min ǧejr manfaʿa.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni ʿammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-ʿamm*. 608 628

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *ʿaširt*) *ar-rwala*, *ʿašire* having the same meaning as *bedîde* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the 101 601

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Instead of wheat the poorer of the Rwala obtain white sorghum, *ḏera' bêẓa'*, which costs half as much and can be used in exactly the same way as wheat. From it they bake bread called *ṭurmuḏ*, boil *'ejš* known as *raẓiẓa*, roast the grains to *ḥamisa*, and eat the plain flour as *lehme*.

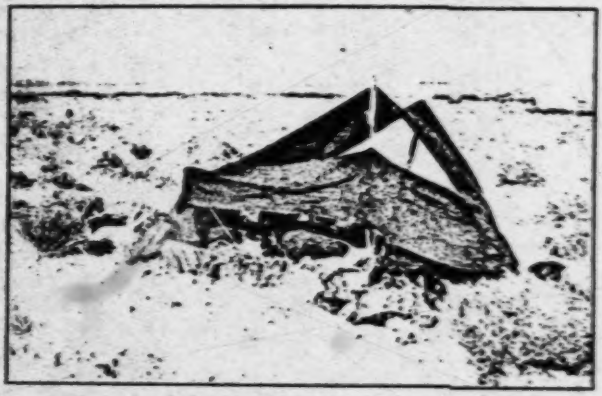

Fig. 24—A small tent, *fuzz* (see p. 72).

Semḥne or *sebîb* is the seed of the different varieties of *semḥ* plant. It takes the place of both wheat and *ḏera'*, and from it food can be prepared in exactly the same way as from these. Those who have no other food and neither taste the seed of the *ad-da'â'* variety of *semḥ* nor eat the *al-ḥawwa'* herb, even though they may be tormented by hunger, are generally regarded as being hardy; *hwa walad mâ ḏâḳ ad-da'â' w-lâ akal al-ḥawwa' jôm ǧâ'*.

LOCUSTS, DATES, SALT, WATER, EDIBLE PLANTS

For the poorer Rwala locusts, *ǧerâd*, are an important article of diet. The large green varieties often cover shrubs by the myriad and do not move till the dew has evaporated. The Rwala women come and throw handfuls of locusts into large bags, tie them up, dig a narrow, deep trench, *bûra*, and make a fire in it. When the bottom of the trench is covered with glowing ashes they shake the locusts into it, shouting: "Father of roasting, roast them! *jâ-ba-l-ḥmes eḥemseh*." The dead locusts are dried in the sun and either ground immediately

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tried to telegraph for everything the riders asked for, but he could not get them anywhere. 28. *Ḥafâje* is the name given to she-camels with bruised soles which bleed at every step; such camels cannot, therefore, be used on long marches. *Erte'âdi* means shaking of the loins, a sure sign of fever and sickness. 29. Having been deceived by his friend Fejḥân, 'Abdallâh sought help from other chiefs in Neǧd and was in such haste about it as to rouse everybody's wonder. 30. He addresses Fejḥân. "*Já šên*. O shameful!" O rascal! is used in both a friendly and hostile sense. 31. Fejḥân would reproach him with fearing to win the beauty for him. 33. *Radij al-ǧeldâdi* is a bald-headed man. 34. *Ḥaziz* is what remains of water in a folded leather water bag. 35. He woos for Fejḥân a girl of his own kin, as a kin usually forms a *ferîž*, smaller camp, of their own. 37. He can see her cooking behind the narrow partition which protects the fireplace from the wind, *dera'*. 38. *Al-ḥeǧa'* denotes the corner in the women's compartment where women in childbirth or with abnormal menstruation rest. 39. Fejḥân viewed his beloved's beauty with his own eyes, but other people judged it differently. In Neǧd almost every settlement has its own valley without an outlet. These valleys are mostly large basins where the rain water accumulates, there soaking into the sandy ground and keeping fresh for a considerable time. None of these basins are connected, so that the water cannot flow on the surface from one to another. 41. He who is careless will perish, be he the most powerful. A person on foot carrying a pouch with cool water will overcome a rider dying of thirst. 43. A Bedouin may not marry a *šâne'*'s daughter.

'Obejd Eben Rašid Lies in Wait in a Ravine to Fight the Âl 'Ali

1. *Hejh já-lli lak ma' an-nâs widdâd*
   má tarḥamûn al-ḥâl já 'azwati lejh
2. *má tarḥamûn alli ṛada dam'eh abdâd*
   ṭowl az-zemân w-ḥarrak ad-dam' ḥaddejh
3. *min šowfeti lel-ṛarw mazbûr al-anhâd*
   mutmaššeḥen jâṭa' 'ala-ždâm riǧlejh
4. *aš-šouk mâ leh 'an mwâṭih raddâd*
   ejzan w-lâ sibten žiwijjen jewaǧǧejh

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539 *Śowl* has much the same meaning as *bel*, camels collectively, and forms no plural. Two slaves (negroes) and the master attend
233 only to the watering, while the herdsman watches the camels.

Ḳum ṣubb (sic) *w-eszi-l-ḥâjel*
nâḳt esṭâm al-'âjel.

Rise, pour in, and water the sterile one,
The she-camel of him who tames the violator.

Ṣubbû-'ala-l-'ašâjer Pour in water for the sweethearts,
-muğawwezât al-bâjer Wedded to a sluggard,
al-bâjer eben al-bâjer. To a sluggard son of a sluggard.

[461 *Bâjer* is the name for a squeamish fellow afraid alike of
581] the sun's heat, the night's chills, or of much exertion, and therefore one who loves to loiter in the tent most of the time. No girl would marry such a man voluntarily, but, as by the law of kinship he can claim his nearest cousin, her parents must give her to him. Small wonder that, once married, his wife prefers other men; nor can he even rebuke her for this, as she would run away and he could never get another wife.
●[827] Because of the Rwala belief that the son inherits his father's qualities. the father in this verse is no better than the son, and the wife, who has no wish to bear him a son, looks around for others; such a wife is a called *ṭamûḥ*.

Jâ rabb jâ mawlâna O Lord! O thou Ruler of ours!
bedder lena bhwâna Help us quickly to what we desire,
eszi-l-'edâd awḍâna. Fill with water our vessels which have tired us out.

233 When forty to fifty camels of one herd must be watered
461 from a well over thirty meters deep, or from a shallow well that has caved in and into which the water flows very slowly, even the hardiest men become tired partly from the labor of drawing the water and partly from watching the crowding camels, who, if very thirsty, press around the well, into which they would fall if not driven away constantly by the herdsmen. One man can hardly keep three thirsty animals from breaking away from him and running to the water trough, there to squeeze in among those already drinking. Often they knock over the watering vessel, tread on each other's feet, bite, and knock about the men who are raising the water,

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

When yawning the Rwejli must also be very cautious, as the throat opens wide during this process and the demon then may let a drop of its urine, *jebûleh*, fall into the man's throat; the urine enters the stomach and causes various diseases.

The Bedouins should also watch the stars most carefully, because they have more properties unfavorable to man than favorable. Wounds will not heal when pierced by the rays of either the stars or the sun. Therefore the wounded person is laid, wrapped in all sorts of covers, in some corner of the tent so as to keep the rays away from him. Whenever people came to me with one of their wounded relatives, they first pitched a small tent behind the one occupied by me, closed it tightly, and then — not before — proceeded to uncover the wound. If a Rwejli loses his way at night, the stars are to blame, for he took his course from a certain star which changed its position imperceptibly, making the man take a wrong direction. Therefore he will not say "*Tiht*, I lost my way," but "*Enǧemt*, I was led astray by the stars." When the stars begin to play with a Rwejli in this manner, even the North Star cannot be depended upon. The best thing to do in that case is to lie down and wait for sunrise. Then the Rwejli can take his bearings himself according to the landmarks and continue his journey.

CHAPTER XIX

PERSONAL QUALITIES

A chief who is commonly spoken of as a *ṣâḥeb al-mar-* 577
ûs stands in high esteem among the Rwala. Such a one 622
has a brave, strong heart, *ḳalbeh ḳawi*; knows how to wrestle with the greatest danger, *ma'eh fetel*; has a broad outlook, *ma'eh 'erf*; thinks of the future, *šôfteh ba'îde*; and never acts hastily, *leh ṣabr*. He who is merely a daring fighter, *ṣâḥeb al-farse*, is not fit to be either a chief or a leader in time of war. He, too, has a strong heart but lacks calm consideration, *mâ leh ṣabr*, therefore he throws himself into danger recklessly, unmindful of victory or death; *'ermi ḥâleh jâ jiktel žebîleh jâ jinḳatel*.

But the most popular among the chiefs is the *ṣâḥeb al-muruwwa*. He is kind, *kerim*; truthful, *ḥabib allâh*; disregards trifles, *saḫi*; and knows no distinction between great and small. Of such the proverb says: "A wolf does not suffer hunger with him, neither do his sheep perish; *lâ jiğû' aḏ-ḏîb w-lâ tifna-l-ġanam*." As examples of such a *ṣâḥeb al-muruwwa* Ḳuftân eben Ḥâmed of the Beni Ṣaḫr and Haġer eben Meġwel of the Rwala were named to me.

A generous man is universally esteemed, as he is often 577
visited by guests who then carry his fame far and wide. They say that it is easy for a wealthy man to be generous, because the word generosity is derived from what a man possesses, *al-ǧûd min al-mawǧûd*. According to others generosity must be inborn. He that does not inherit generosity from his parents will always be a miser, even if he has more wealth than he knows what to do with, *al-ǧûd min al-ǧdûd*. [827]

Aš-šime is among the most prominent qualities of a famous man. It is but rarely found, and the man possessing it excels all others in the same way as the head projects above the body. He who has *aš-šime* will not always insist on his rights, gladly yielding to one weaker than himself and sometimes giving up his claim to a thing which clearly belongs to him. *Jetaḫajjam 'an aš-ši* means "he gave up a thing," or "he did not take a thing although evidently his." Without *aš-šime* no *rê' al-muruwwa* is perfect.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539K 4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

[833] Verse 1. *Maižaʿ* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebîle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating unpleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

● 327 269

Jâ mâ kaṭaʿna dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâzi ʿejâlaha
waʾ hâj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

727 Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *ḳaw flân.*" Answer:

"O greeting to thee! *jâ hala.*"

"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:

"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"

"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalaḳ hal-fowd.*" Answer:

"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalaḳ we-tfid.*"

[431] Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-hazijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *beši behal-ʿaṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

727 574 Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

539a

malbûsaha riš an-na'am
w-mdellelen ḳa'ûdaha
raššâsaha damm al-ḥamar
w-al-bizr ṭal' enhûdaha.

A beauty is leaning towards us,
And how prettily she stands up in her litter
In ostrich feathers dressed;
She rides on a camel with gay trappings.
Stained by red blood is she,
And her breasts appear like lead bullets.

A young girl, with her breasts bared, sits in a fancy litter and during the fiercest fighting encourages her countrymen to persevere. *'Ûd* is the essential part of the litter.

Aškar ḏwâjeb 'aḏḏabak
w-aṛwâk naḳḳâz al-ǧa'ad
walad ar-radi lâ tâḥeḏeh
jiǧîk miṯl abûh walad.

The one with his braids dyed blond is a hindrance to thee,
And he yearns for thee, he who often dishevels plaited hair.
The son of a degenerate thou hadst better not marry,
Else thy son will be like thy husband's father.

[831] The *eben al-'amm*, or nearest kinsman whom it is permissible for her to marry, has a right to the girl since he has reserved her for himself, *ḥaǧǧarha*. He is a hindrance to the girl, because he lusts, *ṛawa*, after her; *ṛawa* is more sensual than *hawa*. *Hawjân* means an enamored one, while *ṛawjân* is a man lusting for sexual intercourse. *Ǧa'ad* is the plaited and combed hair, consisting in the case of a girl of *ḳuṣṣa*, or hair trimmed above the forehead; of *ḳiǧle*, small braids made of the trimmed hair above the forehead; and of *ḏwâjeb*, long plaits on the upper part of the head and above the ears. *Naḳḳâz al-ǧa'ad* is a man passionate in sexual intercourse, thus dishevelling the woman's hair. The Rwala call such a man *radi*, a degenerate, and dislike their daughters to marry him. Just as he has inherited his bad qualities from his grandfather, her son would be like his father. The Rwala firmly believe that both good and bad qualities pass from the grandfather to the grandsons.

●[827]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

called *ẓaḥijje*. If Heǧlân's avengers do not take heart soo they will all be slain by the enemy. 8. *Râḥaw lehûmi* has th same meaning as *endabaḥaw*, were killed.

Lament of Young Woman for Her Husband Killed in Battle

1. *Wannejt jâ daḥḥâm tis'în wenne*
   ma' miṭlehen jowm al-ḥa'âjež heǧû'i
2. *ma' miṭlehen jowm al-ḥalâjež mirenne*
   min aẓ-ẓejm ješčen al-haẓâjem ẓe'lû'i
3. *wennet 'aǧûz teshar al-lejl killeh*
   radi' lha ḳarm al-'ejâl betû'i
4. *ramla w-lâ laha ma' hal al-bejt lenne*
   elja' ǧâ twâli-l-lejl ḳâmat tefû'i
5. *ḥalli waladha bel-ma'âra-kalenneh*
   saḥm aẓ-ẓwâri w-aṣbaḥen 'oḳob ǧû'i.

1. I mourn, O Daḥḥâm, with ninety laments
   And as many again, while all creatures rest without care
2. And as many again, while all creatures listen,
   For even my oppressed ribs complain of their evil lot.
3. I mourn, waking all night with an old woman,
   Because she has lost a flower among sons, a resolute hero
4. I mourn with a widow who has no relative left in her tent
   Who at the close of the night pitifully moans.
5. My husband, her son, on the battle field was devoured
   By black and skinny beasts, their hunger stilling.

The poetess was a young woman of the Ḥarb tribe, th reciters, Mḥammad al-Ḳaẓîb and Mindîl al-Ḳat'i. The youn woman had lost in the battle her beloved husband, the onl son of an old widowed mother, and both are mourning him

[827] Verse 2. In the opinion of the Bedouins any sorrow attack the breast and contracts the ribs so that the person stricke cannot breathe freely. 3. *Betû'i* is a brave rider who does no shrink from the fight. 4. *Lenne* or *lelle*: surely not; thes words emphasize the negative. *Hal* (or *ahl*) *al-bejt* here mean [768] the kin of the fallen man. The old widow had lived until the with her son; after his death she must move to her own kin *Tefû'i* is said of the moaning and cries of an epileptic or demented person.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

16. Thou wilt comfort me whose love is ivory white
And who am still in torment, as those who appoint my road oppress me.

This poem was composed by Čen'ân âl Ṭajjâr and was recited to me by Prince an-Nûri.

Verse 1. *'Afaṣ*, the gallnut, and *zâğ*, green vitriol (or copperas), powdered, are used to make ink. *Sğile* is a sheet of paper. *Ziž* means dyed, blackened, covered with writing. 2. *Ḳâf* is a verse or a poem. *Swâhiğ* are the torments of the soul, excitement, a passionate outburst. 3. The poet used to speed to his beloved, who dwelt far from his camp; therefore he had to sleep in the desert, often beside his she-camel which knelt, *mabrak*, over a snake hole, *ṭâğ*. *Ṯenâje* are the four lower and four upper incisors. *Ṛamâliğ* means "perpetually moving or dreaming with the eyes half closed." Fair women are fickle in love and changeable, which causes the lover much anxiety. 4. *Mḳejẓ* or *meḳiẓ* are midsummer camping grounds. Ğaw Ferteǰ lies southwest of Ḥâǰel. *Ṣarâhiğ* (for *ṣahâriğ*) are deep rifts in a rock, with narrow openings where the rain water keeps fresh for a long time. 5. *Ḥunṭa* is another name for wheat, *ḳamḥ*. The beloved maiden is evidently the daughter of a well-to-do Bedouin, as she can eat wheat-flour bread baked in the shape of thin cakes on a *sâğ*, iron sheet about forty centimeters in diameter. The milk of young white she-camels is said to taste the best. 6. *Flâğ*, or *felğ*, for *ṭelğ*, means snow or ice. *Šuḏḏab* are small pieces of dry *ṛaẓa* wood, from which the bark has been peeled off; they are of a glistening whiteness; *šâḏeb* (pl., *šuḏḏab*) is equivalent to *bejaẓ* (pl., *biẓ*), meaning "white." 7. *Ṭe'es* is a conical sand drift. Its sides have gentle slopes, are very soft, and when sprinkled by light rain, *wudâğ*, shine with a peculiar pink glitter. The *šižân*, calves, are round and plump, like the *darâriğ* or rollers used for letting down the rope with the dip bucket. This roller rotates in holes in two posts which are set in the ground and with the roller form a triangle. 8. *Tenseǰ*, she lets down, is said of a woman who undoes her combed or plaited hair, allowing it to fall down her back. *Dâğ* means, properly, the separate tresses of the combed hair; *demâliğ* those already braided. 9. The small rings worn above the ankles are usually of glass, but the wealthier women have them made of copper or even of silver, ornamented with fine chains from which hang tiny bells. These

831* Since many fair ones have received pledges from me.
O maiden! I fear my own folks,
539* Though, whoever it be that wants thee, is beneath me.

Jâ šowḳ hedd al-židle
w-esma' hali nâdûni
ḳaṭṭâ'aten lal-lowze
w-allâh mâ jeḥjûni.

O darling mine! loose my forehead hair,
Hear, my kin is calling me.
They would cut my throat and,
By Allâh himself! would not spare my life.

Masfûh ḳalbi hâk al-masfûh
masfûhena al-jowm mâ dâği
aḳbal 'alejna-hleh raddûh
aḳfa' čema-l-roṣen men'âği
ḥebbet 'aširi sukkaren daḳḳûh
min bên ašâfih darrâği.

The little fool whom I love, the little stupid,
My little fool has not come to our tryst tonight.
He started towards us, but his kinsfolk made him turn
And he went back like a swaying twig. [back,
The kiss of my darling is like sugar, powdered,
Bubbling out from between his lips.

[828] *Masfûh* means one who has lost his heart, *zâje' ḳalbeh*, either from love or fear, one who has no self-control, knows not what he is doing, and acts as though feeble minded. *Dâği* is a young man going on a dark night to meet his lover. *Roṣen men'âği* is a twig that sways continually, owing either to the wind or, if it grows in a stream, to the flow of the water.

Jâ ḫalaf jâ ḫalaf
ğowz az-zêne ḏalaf
er'aha 'end ahalha
manâmha ṭaraf.

O Ḫalaf! O Ḫalaf!
The beauty's husband has gone on a journey;
But see, she stays with her kinsfolk
And sleeps at the very border.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

ǧenûs al-ḥurmat al-halba' w-ar-raǧol al-melûs, as both are the cause of various mishaps! A Bedouin who marries a person that is quarrelsome and censorious, *al-ḥurmat ad-da"âja w-an-na"âja*, is never prosperous but will always be unhappy, both he and his children. A scolding woman wishes ill to her opponent in the following sentences:

"Sab' hal-waǧh. May [a wild beast, demon] tear thy face!"

"Sa'an jasba' haš-šâreb. May [the demon] utterly tear up this mustache!" *Šâreb*, mustache, means man in general.

"Kow beh. Tekwû (or *tekû*) *bak.* Burn him! May they burn thee! [Mayest thou become so ill that] red-hot iron must be applied to thee!"

"Ḥamdet ar-rîḥ. May the breeze of thy good fortune cease to blow towards thee!"

"Ṛájbt as-sa'ad. May success be far from thee!"

"Ḥejb as-sedd. Mayest thou be disappointed in thy most secret wishes!"

"Mowt an-nâr. Mayest thou go to hell after thy death!"

"Allâh jil'an zên hal-hdûm alli mâ hi 'al-âdmi mâr 'ala 'ûd aš-šǧara. May Allâh curse this fine dress so that it will not garb a man but the stalk of a perennial!" This means that the person dressed in that suit is, for lack of success, to dry up as the stalk of a perennial dries up when there has been no rain for several years.

In making agreements the Rwejli must be very careful. If he agrees with his comrade that they will help each other faithfully in both good and bad days, *'ala-z-zên w-aš-šên*, he must not change the order of the words and say *"'ala-š-šên w-az-zên,"* if he would not bring bad luck upon himself.

If a sorrel horse escapes from a raider and, dragging its rein, runs about in terror in front of the troop, the other riders try to drive it aside with their spears, shouting: "May Allâh forgive thee! *Semḥeč* (or *Sebḥeč*)." They know that it brings bad luck to them, yet they will not kill it as it deserves and therefore cry *"Semḥeč,"* instead of *"Seb'eč*, May He destroy thee!" A sorrel with a white spot on both the right and left hind leg is called *mšaželbe* because it throws its rider frequently. A mare who scratches with her forehoofs continually will ruin her rider as surely as a wife who cannot keep order, *al-faras al-ḥarrâṭa w-al-marat aš-ša"âṭa* (or *šarrâṭa*). A camel with a curly spot on the root of her tail, *'aker-*

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XV

SPIRITS AND VOWS

The Rwala believe that besides this visible world there is also an invisible, or spiritual, world. The spiritual world is again divided into a celestial and an earthly world. The inhabitants of the celestial world are called *malak* (pl., *malâjika*), those of the spiritual earthly world *ǧânn* (pl., *ǧinn*). Both the celestial and earthly spirits were created by Allâh. They possess bodies similar to human bodies but invisible; they can pass through any wall and can cover in a short while a distance which even a good rider would travel in barely a month. The spirits hear, speak, eat, drink, and ride like any Bedouin but feel no pain, are never sick, and cannot die.

The celestial spirits do not leave heaven except when sent by Allâh to men. A *malak* announcing Allâh's will to the Bedouin is called *munâbi*, spokesman. He does so only during a dream, whether natural or artificial, the latter occurring when a waking person falls into ecstasy, *islâm*, under the influence of music or dancing.

THE ǦINN

To the earthly spirits, *ǧinn*, *harâfil*, or *ǧenûn*, heaven is not accessible. They are of both sexes and have big eyes extending to the corners of their mouths. The food they prefer is raw meat, *nej*, and fresh blood is their favorite drink. The raw meat they get from fallen animals, the blood is left for them by the Bedouins every time an animal is killed. The *ǧinn* are divided into tribes, clans, and families like the Bedouins, but in reality are settlers, *ḥaẓar*. They live in high mountains, inaccessible ravines, and old ruins. They never have tents. Their dens are situated underground in rock crevices, caverns, and vaults of deserted buildings. The farther such a ravine or ruin is from the water, the better it is liked by the spirits, who know that they will not be disturbed there. They occupy themselves in raising goats and sheep, which their herdsmen pasture in regions so rocky and stony that the goats and sheep

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

776 belonging to human beings would die of hunger there. Camels and horses are not raised by them.

776 Woe to the Bedouin who falls asleep in a region inhabited by the spirits! For if a *ǧânnijje* observes him, she crawls into ●828 his body either through his nostrils, forefinger, or big toe, and, as soon as she gets hold of him, she makes him jump 755 up and run into the desert, whence he can be brought back to his tent only by force. A man so possessed is known as *maḫšûš* or *muharfal*. To cure him, a seer, *râʿ as-sirr*, is called in, who, after working himself into an ecstasy, commands the female spirit to come out: "Crawl out, crawl out! *eṭlaʿî eṭlaʿi*," her answer being: "I will not, I will not crawl out, *mâ-ṭlaʿ*." Then the sorcerer orders his disciples to play louder and faster, he himself circling and dancing round the possessed with increasing vigor, finally lies down upon him and again shouts: "Crawl out and away with thee to the place whence thou camest! *eṭlaʿî maʿ makâneč min alli ǧîti minneh*." It takes some time for a female spirit to be driven out, because a woman is headstrong and will not obey.

A Ḳmâṣi spent a night in some ruins west of the al-ʿAzîb valley and perceived a *ǧânnijje* there, who instantly entered his body. He then ran into the neighboring hills and would not return home when found by his relatives, but threw himself on the ground, struck out at them, and frothed at the mouth. This showed him to be possessed, *maḫšûš*. A sorcerer was sent for. He played over him, *laʿab*, for several days, but the *ǧânnijje* tormented him still more. Then they began to beat him so that blood began to trickle from almost every limb of his body. The beating of a man possessed is permitted, for the blows are not meant for him but for the female spirit, and it is she who feels the pain, not the man. It is observed that the *ǧânnijje* shakes her victim less violently after the beating, and they then beat him only at intervals. On the twenty-fourth day the *ǧânnijje* finally left the bruised body for good, the prolonged beating having proved too much for her. The man, of course, recovered immediately afterwards.

513 The Bedouin does not like to sleep long, as many dangers lurk about him during sleep, not only from men but also from the earthly spirits, and, moreover, sleep reminds him of death. A Bedouin saying is: "He that sleeps one third of the night has done as well as he that sleeps all night, and he that sleeps the whole night will wake up an idiot; *min nâm ṯilṯ al-lejl*

577 Seemly behavior is esteemed by the Rwala. The proverb: *"Ar-raǧol ja'ref metabbeh*, a true man knows how to behave," is frequently heard. The meaning of the word *raǧol* is very similar to that of the word *âdemi*, which either signifies all men as the sons of Adam or well mannered men of pleasant behavior. The word *raǧǧâl* is used in connection with a man who excels by prudence and bravery, thus: *"Met'eb raǧǧâl*, Met'eb, that is a man!" A *raǧǧâl jeswa 'orbân* is a man as good as many Arab clans put together: *"W-allâh hw raǧǧâlen mlîḥ*, by Allâh, he is a hero!" It is also said: *"Ar-reǧâl mâ hi killeha raǧǧâl biha raǧol w-raǧǧâl wa-rǧêǧil w-reǧǧareǧǧa*; not all men are heroes; there are among them true men, heroes, helpers of women, and chatterers." Here *rǧêǧil*, or *reǧêǧil*, implies that, although having a moustache, *šwâreb*, he occupies himself rather with things that belong to women. *Reǧǧareǧǧa* or *reǧreǧǧa* is a coward who babbles like a woman. *Reǧâl* often signifies brave men. A woman attacked by robbers shouts: *"Îdekom îdekom warâji reǧâl*; your hands, your hands [they must not take anything from me], there are brave men behind me!" The men of some families have the reputation: *"W-allâh hom reǧâlen zênîn mazbûṭîn*, by Allâh, they are true men!" *Raǧâǧîl* means men regardless of their qualities. Up to ten the plural *reǧâl* or *raǧâǧîl* is used; for a larger number *zelm*. *"Jammakom jâ zelm*, stand still, ye men!" *Zlema* is an unknown man. *Azlâm* is another expression for a number of men not exceeding ten, but usually the words *zelm* or *zilm* are used as the plural.

577 828 Noble qualities are inherited; therefore every Rwejli aims at winning a wife from an old and honorable family. It is often said of a noble but otherwise unknown man: *"Hw min âlen 'atiž mâ hw min hajallah nâs*; he comes of an old family, then surely not of riffraff."

'Arreb wulejdak 'arrebeh
w-an-nâr min mižbâseha
w-al-'ezz be'urûḳ an-nisa'
alli 'arîben asâseha.

By every means try to beget a thoroughbred son,
For as the fire depends on its foundation
So nobility is in the veins of women
Who are of pure blood descended.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles a fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *rqza'*, or *rṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *Aṣâs* or *nasab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Eben Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DEPICTING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâh ṭalabtak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraǧ bel-mefâtiḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbeh w-ṭâbeh*
   jâ ḫâležen rizḳ al-'arab w-al-falâliḥ
3. *an-nowm eâs al-lowm bân ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowlât nowmeh ẖelâfiḥ
4. *alli jirid al-medeḥ jiṭ'ab rečâbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ beṭûl al-ḫaṭa' jâ-hla-l-fiḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-neza' be'aḳâbeh*
   w-ad-daww jiḳṭa'enneh 'aṣêren beterwiḥ
6. *mâ fowḳha illa' žirbeten ma' zahâbeh*
   w-sefâjefen tabrâh lown al-maiâwiḥ

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

and plants on cool days. 8. *Jankûš* is said of one who delights in quarrels and in setting people against each other by carrying gossip and distorting their words. *Zibdet al-mḏâb*, melted butter, signifies invented, false stories, or calumnies. Melted butter is liked by everybody but cannot be the exclusive food, as it would cause death from dysentery; thus it is also with false stories. Pleasant to listen to, should the hearers make them a foundation for their acts, they would not meet with success. 9. He that cannot work, but lives and thrives on the sweat and toil of others, must perish as soon as they cease to support him.

Prudence

1. *Al-ḥâjet bâlak tebni*
   illa-s-sâs ḥeǧâreh kbâr
2. *w-al-bâjeh ḥaḏrak teẓnih*
   damhât al-bawwâh kṭâr
3. *w-al-mar'i ḥaḏrak ter'ih*
   elja' ra'ejt er'a-n-nwâr.

1. Beware of building a wall,
   Except when the foundation is of big stones.
2. Beware of taking an ingrate for thy companion,
   For much trouble he will cause thee.
3. Of land that has been grazed upon beware;
   If thou desirest to pasture, on blossoms pasture.

The poet was a settler from the oasis of al-Ǧowf; the reciter, Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd.

Verse 1. As the houses in al-Ǧowf (as in all the settlements of inner Arabia) are built comparatively high, their walls must have solid foundations. During the fights in which the settlers frequently engage among themselves a weak foundation could be easily broken through by the enemy, and the wall would collapse. For this reason only big boulders are used in foundations. 2. *Al-bâjeh* is a man without a heart, *mâ beh ḳalb*, devoid of sympathy, gratitude, and even of morals. Whoever takes such a man for his companion, *ḫawi*, on a long trip will suffer more troubles than could be found even in hell. 3. *Al-mar'i* is either a woman divorced by her husband or a widow. Do not marry such a one; rather take a blossom, a virgin.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Genuine Bliss Dwells with All True Believers 539x 577x

1. *Aṭ-ṭîb mâ hw bass ma' aẓ-ẓa'ânina*
   mužassem 'ala rûs al-'ejâl al-mefâliḥ
2. *bejt aš-ša'ar w-alli ḳa'ad leh bṭîna*
   al-ḥaẓar w-al-bedwân min habb leh rîḥ.

1. Not with those only is bliss found who load tents and their fixtures on camels,
   But it is distributed also on the heads of those poor sons
2. Who live in tents of goat's hair or in the mud-brick huts,
   On settlers, on Bedouins, and on all on whom the wind blows.

The poet was an unknown orthodox Moslem; the reciter, Ğwâd al-'Âni. It is a firm belief of the Rwala that honesty and, hence, both physical and spiritual welfare are to be found with them only. All the settlers from the ruler down to the slave are, in their opinion, nothing but hypocrites and full of low cunning, who misuse for their own benefit the religion as well as the power with which they are entrusted and who are a torment alike to the stranger and to themselves. For the Bedouins cannot understand why the settlers should be so eager to acquire both property and honors. A Bedouin's heart never longs for such vanities, for he knows that he may lose his life, the most treasured possession he has. Why, then, should he depend on riches and worldly dignities? The passionate hunt for wealth is, in the opinion of a Bedouin, the root of all the troubles and want of integrity among the settlers. Moreover, because the settlers are true Moslems while among the Bedouins Islam does not carry conviction, the latter consider Islam weak, as it cannot free the settlers from their miseries. In the two verses cited above the correctness of such Bedouin views is denied by an orthodox Moslem, who maintains that genuine bliss dwells with all true believers, *mefâliḥ* — that is, with people who live and act in accordance with their inner religious convictions. 2. *Habb leh rîḥ* would mean with a Bedouin: "success or luck is blowing towards him"; to the settled Moslem it means anyone on whom a wind blows or who breathes, hence all men without distinction.

[828● 186] [181] [771]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Verse 1. *Bejt* means the whole verse, *ḳâf* its second half and then, specifically, the rhyme of this second half. 3. *Šenâḥ* is a man of morose disposition, who will neither talk nor smile. 4. *'Elem* signifies a report circulating in regard to a man. If such a report is consistent it is considered unshakable. A good report must be that, otherwise a man would fall in the public esteem. 5. *Melwâḥ* is the decoy swung by a falconer when trying to lure a falcon towards him, *lawwaḥ 'ala-ṭ-ṭejr*. When a man breaks off a twig of the luxuriant *rûṭe* and shows it to a riding camel, he coaxes her to come near, *lawwaḥ 'ala-ḏ-ḏelûl*. There are people whose actions lure evil into the tribe, regardless of the fact that their fellow tribesmen are already suffering. 7. *Menhaǧ* is a path or trail. 12. The women will reveal your secret plan, and you will then be unable to realize it. *Sadd* means, in particular, the planning of a great raid against a certain enemy. The men taking part in it do not themselves know accurately either the time of their departure or the enemy they are to attack. Should the commander's wife learn of it she would undoubtedly tell it to some of her friends, and the enemy would receive warning even before the raiders started. 18. When you have a good friend, share your last drop of water with him. Do not confound words with deeds. *Al-'ajn* means both a spring and an eye. *'Edd* is the name of a well with spring water which never dries up. 22. Violence, force, often leads to peace sooner than mildness. 23. *Ḥazz* signifies a passionate desire for something. Out of a youth filled with such a strenuous desire an exemplary being can be formed by a man of good sense. 25. *Nijje* is a plan, intention, desire, which robs a man of sleep, drives him to undertake night marches, and lights him on his way. 26. *Enṛaṭar* is said of a man who likes to eat well and to amuse himself with women. 28. The appeased man has not laid aside his saber; he has only dropped its point and could, if angered again, strike at him who had just appeased him.

1. *'Endi fetâwi lil-faḥîm al-ǧâhem*
   jarmi bḳalb al-ṛâfelin aḥča'
2. *al-'afen low ta'ṭîḥ mâl ḥešet killeh*
   mâ jaškor faẓlak w-lâ jarodd ẖana'
3. *ḥelw elja' ǧâk ma'tâz ḥâǧa*
   w-'afen elja' laḳḳa-l-'amîl ḳafa'

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577x 539x The poet was Mâne' eben Durmi, one of the Rwala chiefs; the reciter, 'Awde al-Kwêčbi.

Verse 2. *Dwânik* means the same as *beni al-'amm*, fellow tribesmen. 3. *Ṭabb* are weapons generally.

828 Men are divided according to their qualities and their temperament into four categories, *taḳṣim ar-reǧâl arba' ḫoṣaṣ*, as follows:

Ḥaṭṭ ar-riǧel 'ala-l-ḳalb	He who puts his foot on his heart;
w-al-jad 'ala-l-lisân	His hand on his tongue;
w-al-'ajn 'ala-l-iḏen	His eye on his ear;
w-az-zebb 'ala-l-baṭen.	Or, his sexual organ on the belly.

Many are those who hasten to obtain what their heart desires; here the foot obeys the heart. Another will not brook an insult; as soon as he hears someone slander him, he seizes his arms to punish him. Yet another is unusually cautious; at the least rustle he looks sharply at everything around him and cannot be deceived or surprised. There are also those who care for nothing but to satisfy their carnal desires.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

serves for special journeys. 3. *Rbâ'* is a tent for men only. Nothing but coffee is made there. Other dishes are prepared by the women in another tent, where they also live. Among the 'Amârât and Dahâmše tribes every chief has two tents put up, one for men, the other for women. *Bimdâḫel* is pronounced *bimdâhel*. The Dahâmše often replace the *ḫ* with *h*. 4. Ğezzâ' eben Meğlâd, a relative of Hâjes, was the war leader, *šejḫ aššdâd*, of the Dahâmše. 5. *Membâh* is something which we learn through others. 6. *Naḫwa* is the war cry of a kin; a warrior *jentaḫi*, when he shouts his war cry before the chief or his comrades to prove that he will not desert them; an oppressed man *jenḫa'*, when he shouts the war cries of some prominent men, calling them to his aid. Whoever hears his own war cry uttered by an oppressed man feels ashamed and has to give help or else lose his reputation. 7. The traveling companions were his relatives, with whom he was riding to buy corn in as-Samâwa on the right bank of the lower Euphrates. 8. The poet associates with strangers, the Rwala. Even if they were fellow tribesmen, *beni al-'amm*, yet they would not protect him as would his *ahl*, his kin. 9. Fahad's father was Hâjes eben Meğlâd, universally recognized as the best judge, *'âreṣa*. 10. Mḥammad eben Turki, the chief of a powerful kin. 11. Ẓâri eben Ẓbej'ân, an influential chief of the Dahâmše. *Zebûn*, instead of *zeben*, shelter or protector. *Aṭ-ṭîb* means a struggle, a contest or duel, with the stoutest hero of the enemy. 13. Maš'ân eben Bakr calls the camel herds belonging to his kin Ğaḥla, hence his war cry: *"Ana-ḫu ğaḥla eben bakr*, I am the brother of Ğaḥla, I am Eben Bakr!" *Radîjje* is a common mare, *kdîš*. 14. *Flân meḏhabeh* (pl., *meḏâheb*) *ẓajjeż*, or *ṣidreh ẓajjeż*, is a narrow-breasted person, or one easily offended, who remains so for a long time; one who cannot exhale the anger from his breast. 16. Second cousins separated by two generations from their common ancestor, their great-grandfather, are included in the *ahl* proper or the kin bound to afford one another mutual protection.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The wife of the fallen Rākān entreats Allāh to destroy Fahad or Ṭalāl of the Eben Haḍḍāl kin, who had killed her husband.

Tadallaḥ w-er'ī hawâč ja ḥājilen ma' fuṭṭari
w-alli jeruddeč 'an hawâč ḥaḍâk 'elmeh mâ jenṭeri.

Leisurely move and graze at will,
O sterile one with she-camels old!
And should anyone check thee
Pay no heed to reports concerning him.

Tadallaḥ means a quiet, unrestricted movement; she can go where she pleases, fast or slow. Such a leisurely gait is enjoyed especially by the young sterile she-camels, *ḥājel*, who like to prance and run from one place to another in search of the best pasture. They are often joined by she-camels more than twenty years old, which, if they bear no longer, are not restricted in their freedom. In regions entirely safe such animals can scatter far and wide, but in the proximity of the enemy they are kept together. The brave warrior tells the she-camels to disregard the danger, as he will protect them—and if any one should still try to herd them, not to obey him. *'Elmeh mâ jenṭeri* is said of a man who talks too much. The news, *'elm*, he brings is interesting, but nobody believes it, *mâ jenṭeri*. With such a babbler an honest Rwejli should have nothing to do, *mâ jaṭri leh*.

Aṭ'an la'ajni fâṭeri
w-aṭ'an elja' ḥâb aḍ-ḍalîl
en mâ ḥamejteh bel-ḍena
jâ lejt mâ 'omri ṭawîl.

To rescue my old she-camel I will stab,
Yea, stab all the more when he becomes afraid who does not esteem honor.
And should I be unable to save her with my spear
Then, Oh, may I not live long!

Fâṭer is a twenty-year-old she-camel. *Dalîl* is a man who values his health and life above his honor. Seeing that during a hostile attack he would have to face superior numbers, he fears for his life, *ḥâb*, and takes to flight, while a man of honor stays and tries to replace such a coward by greater bravery. Rather than allow his old she-camel to be captured, he will die.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

SETTLERS AND NOMADS

621 The Rwala divide human beings into *ḥaḍar*, or those who
619 dwell in permanent houses, and *'arab*, or those who dwell in
101 movable tents. Arab, therefore, is the name given throughout
the desert to the inhabitant of a black tent only. The phrase
829 is used: "*'Arabna raḥalow, 'arabna nazalow*; our Arabs have removed, our Arabs have encamped," in reference to members of the same kin (see below, pp. 48f.). The *'arab al-ʒebila* are members of the same tribe. *'Arab ad-dira* is the common name of the nomads who are found in the tilled areas and on their borders, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong. The word *'orbân* expresses membership of various clans or tribes. *'Orbân 'ala ḍmejr* denotes that in the environs of Ḍmejr are encamped members of various clans and tribes. If the herdsmen or hunters meet an unknown nomad in their territory, they inquire: "*Ent min ên jâ walad*, where art thou from, man?" If he says: "*Min hal-'arab*, from these Arabs," they ask: "*Fâhmîn ennak min al-'arab mâr min ajj al-'orbân*, we know that thou art from the Arabs; but from which of the various Arabs?"

621 The dwellers in houses, *ḥaḍar*, are divided into *ḥarâwne*
221 (the individual is known as *ḥarwéni*), or those who never leave
342 their permanent dwelling, and *ra'w* (or *ra'ijje*), or those who change from their permanent dwellings during the rainy season to movable tents. After the sowing of crops in the autumn, the *ra'w* or *ra'ijje* leave their villages and with their flocks of goats and sheep make their way into the steppe, where they dwell both in black goat's-hair tents and in gray tents of cotton fabric. At the end of April and in May, when the harvest is near, they return from the steppe to their houses.

101 The Arabs consist of Bedouins and *šwâja* (or *šujân*). The
233 *šwâja* have two things black, *lehom swâdên*, black tents of goat's hair and flocks of black goats and sheep. These flocks

do not permit them to go into the interior of the desert, *má jeḥarreżûn*. They are limited to the territory where there is abundance of water and where annuals grow every year. They encamp on the edge of the desert and are therefore known as *ruḥûm ał-dîre*, relatives of the (people of the) settled country; they do not undertake extensive raids, *ġazw*, and they acknowledge the supremacy of various Bedouins, to whom they pay a tax for protection, *ḫâwa*. The Bedouins are Arabs who breed camels exclusively, or at least in the main, and for ten months dwell in the interior of the desert, *jeḥarreżûn*. At the end of June they go to the edge of the desert, *jeġarrebûn*, dwell among the settlers until the middle of August or the beginning of September, provide themselves with grain, clothing, and weapons, and then return to the desert again.

On the edge of the desert a constant increase or decrease of the population can be observed. If the government guarantees complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of the towns and villages, the herdsmen of goats and sheep are transformed into active farmers; on all sides they build cottages, hamlets come into existence, and the *ra'ʿ* and *ḥwâja* become peaceful settlers. They entrust their goats and sheep to the care of various clans of Bedouins, who do not go back to the open desert but remain on the border between villages and settlements and are themselves transformed into *ḥwâja*. If there is no strong government in the populated regions, security of life and property disappears and there follows a decrease of population. The permanent house is exchanged for the moveable tent; the farmers become *ḥwâja*. The former settlers, however, never become real Bedouins, because the actual Bedouins will never acknowledge them as equals. The term Bedouin is, hence, much narrower than the term Arab. In the view of the Rwala not all inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula are actually Arabs. Only those are Arabs who dwell in movable tents. Not all the Arabs, however, are Bedouins, but only those who spend the greater part of the year in the interior of the desert and who breed mostly camels. The Rwala are recognized by all tribes as being true and pure Bedouins. They are *ba'îdîn aṣ-ṣa'ûa wâsi'în aṣ-ṣa'ana*, they have very extensive territories and drive their enemies far away from their camps. They are *ahl as-sadn w-al-ʿadu*, warriors on horseback, for they are able both to wield the spear and to manage horses.

1 [The Ḫwâja -- Analyst]

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

262 Milk is the chief nutriment of the Rwala. Many families
272 live exclusively on it for months at a time; they suffer hunger when there is no abundant pasture and the camels accordingly have little to eat. As they cannot then provide themselves with other food in the interior of the desert, they seek it in the settled territory. The Rwala say: "We feed our children on the sour milk of our camels, *mesaḳḳemin 'ejâlna min leben ḥelâlna.*"

Fig. 22.—A water trough, *ḥaur*, on a camel (see p. 71).

609 WHEAT AND OTHER GRAINS
829
261

The Bedouins are convinced that the *felláḥîn* are obliged to supply them with food. Everywhere the remark may be heard: "The *felláḥ* must provide food for the Bedouins, *al-bedu 'ejâthom 'ala-l-felláḥ.*" If the *felláḥ* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare: "Take from the *felláḥ* whatever ye find (or like), *ḫoḏ min al-felláḥ má láḥ.*"

251 Before the Rwala depart into the interior of the desert,
574 *jeḥarrelûn*, they provide themselves with wheat necessary for
261 sustenance. The allowance is one load per person, the load being the amount carried by a camel, about 150 kilograms. In addition to this the ordinary Bedouin carries an additional load for his guests. The head chief usually has fifty to sixty loads of flour and wheat, because he has to feed not only numerous guests but also many of his fellow tribesmen whose supplies enemies have stolen. These are known as *ġa'âf* or *ḥalâl*. The men go from tent to tent and feed as guests; the women beseech the mistress of the tent: "Give me supper, little sister! give me supper! *'ašâši jâ ḫajje 'ašâši.*" When they receive the wheat they carry it to the children and the sick.

252 From the wheat is prepared every day a food called *'ejš*,
824 bread being rarely baked. The tribesmen grind the wheat grains themselves, only the chiefs taking milled flour into the interior of the desert. The Rwala do not believe that milled flour is genuine wheat, for they say: "Wheat is genuine only as long as it is in grain, al-Ramh alli ba'ad habben sahih."

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Verse 1. *Bejt* means the whole verse, *ḳâf* its second half and then, specifically, the rhyme of this second half. 3. *Šenâḥ* is a man of morose disposition, who will neither talk nor smile. 4. *'Elem* signifies a report circulating in regard to a man. If such a report is consistent it is considered unshakable. A good report must be that, otherwise a man would fall in the public esteem. 5. *Melwâḥ* is the decoy swung by a falconer when trying to lure a falcon towards him, *lawwaḥ 'ala-ṭ-ṭejr*. When a man breaks off a twig of the luxuriant *rûṭe* and shows it to a riding camel, he coaxes her to come near, *lawwaḥ 'ala-d-ḍelûl*. There are people whose actions lure evil into the tribe, regardless of the fact that their fellow tribesmen are already suffering. 7. *Menhağ* is a path or trail. 12. The women will reveal your secret plan, and you will then be unable to realize it. *Sadd* means, in particular, the planning of a great raid against a certain enemy. The men taking part in it do not themselves know accurately either the time of their departure or the enemy they are to attack. Should the commander's wife learn of it she would undoubtedly tell it to some of her friends, and the enemy would receive warning even before the raiders started. 18. When you have a good friend, share your last drop of water with him. Do not confound words with deeds. *Al-'ajn* means both a spring and an eye. *'Edd* is the name of a well with spring water which never dries up. 22. Violence, force, often leads to peace sooner than mildness. 23. *Ḥazz* signifies a passionate desire for something. Out of a youth filled with such a strenuous desire an exemplary being can be formed by a man of good sense. 25. *Nijje* is a plan, intention, desire, which robs a man of sleep, drives him to undertake night marches, and lights him on his way. 26. *Enṭaṭar* is said of a man who likes to eat well and to amuse himself with women. 28. The appeased man has not laid aside his saber; he has only dropped its point and could, if angered again, strike at him who had just appeased him.

1. *'Endi ſetâwi lil-ſahîm al-ſâhem*
   jarmi bḳalb al-ṣâfelin aḥča'
2. *al-'afen low ta'ṭih mâl ḥešet killeh*
   mâ jaškor faḍlak w-lâ jarodd ḫana'
3. *ḥelw elja' ǧâk ma'tâz ḥâǧa*
   w-'afen elja' laḳḳa-l-'amil ḳafa'

[539x] [577x] [203] [828] [203] [721] [829] [828]

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[For poems, songs and ditties about romantic love, see category 116, pp. 140-228.]

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cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Ḥammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṭara), subject to Ebe Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

[1] [Errata: See p. 712, col. 116 for correction of line 8 from bottom]

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539x 233 *Dalfât* is a region where neither moon nor stars shine and to which men who have sinned against their tribe are sent by Allâh.

Râ'i-l-bwejt ad-dûni — On the little bed of the owner
bifrejješeh ḥoṭṭûni. — Of the next tent lay me.

Jâ lâbs aš-šanâber — O thou wearing a variegated shawl!
jâ riḥtak 'anâber — Oh, thy scent is like amber,
jâ ḥabber min ḥw ḥâber. — Let who will say what lies on his mind.

Šanâber, a pretty shawl in which the fair ones wrap themselves.

Rummântên be'ûdah — Two pomegranates on the stalk,
bêż al-ḥamâm nehûdah. — Or eggs of a pigeon, are her breasts.

Al-bel w-ummi — Thou who wouldst beat the camels and my mother
jâ żarebha lâ tâmenni — Hadst better look out for me.

Aṭ-ṭawil abu 'aba' — The tall one in a black mantle
w-aṭ'arḳašah w-arḳah — I shall seize and climb up to her,
abṛi ḥabbe ṭenâjah. — For her teeth I want to kiss.

Ta'arḳaš is said of a man pulling himself up with his hands and planting his feet firmly against the ground with great exertion in order to climb a steep rock.

Ḳalbi jwedd aḍ-ḍî'a — My heart loves a lewd woman
'ala-l-wa'ad scrî'a — Who is wont to hasten to the meeting
jâ mtakkat al-'aba — Dressed in nothing but her cloak —
râs al-ḳajje lâ telḥah. — Her body she must not shave.

[831] *Ḍî'a* is a woman commonly known as granting her favors to any man. This applies to the divorced women who cannot marry again. *Mtakk al-'aba'* signifies a man whose shirt has been washed and hung up to dry, while he, clad in his cloak, sits or walks about waiting for it.

Ḥalamt w-ena nâjem — In my slumber I dreamt
bim'aźraḳ al-weššâjem — Of those adorned with blue tattooing;
jâ lejt ḥelmi dâjem. — Oh, may my dream last forever!

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nowm sâz al-lowm, sleep is the cause of reproofs, because at night, when the guards are fast asleep, the activities of the Bedouin's enemies, whether men or beasts, are most successful. He that keeps awake can prevent evil. *Ŝelâfiḥ* implies the lack of a certain thing; thus, "*Waredna hal-mokr sakweh ŝelâfiḥ*" means "We wanted to water in this rock cistern, but there is little water there." 4. *Arrizk beṭûl al-ḥaṭa'*; he whose pace is longer will win more, can go farther. *Fiḥ* (sing., *fejha*) are good-tempered, enduring she-camels. The rider of such will reach distant places where he can get booty more easily. 5. *Jidûk* signifies the continual motion of the rider's two heels, which tear the animal's hide by constantly rubbing against it. '*Ajrât an-neṣa*' are she-camels used for raids to distant places. A raiding troop cannot spend the night in a large plain surrounded by mountains, *ad-dawwo*, for it is impossible to build a fire there; it would be seen far around. The she-camels must, therefore, exert their whole strength to cross such a plain as quickly as possible in order to reach a region with deep, hidden gullies before sunset. 6. Behind the camel saddle the Bedouins fasten one or two pairs of many-colored ribbons, *sefâjef*, which, fluttering with every step the she-camel makes, are seen now far behind the animal, now high above or below it. The waving of the ends of these ribbons reminds the onlooker of the motions the falconer makes with a piece of cloth when he wants to coax a falcon to return to him. These cloth pieces, *malâwiḥ*, also float out, to vanish the next moment, according to the motions made by the falconer. 8. The guard watching the camels is called *ǧanab*. For this duty the bravest youths, as a rule, are selected, objects of warm desire on the part of many a married woman dissatisfied with her easy-going, often cowardly husband. A woman of this sort is known as *ṭamûḥ*. She would not bear sons resembling their father. 9. *Akwaḥ al-'ajn*, means "[a good marksman] half closed his eye." Such eyes send out sure death, for they are *ḏawâbiḥ*, killers.

Seize Opportunity When It Offers

Elja' habbat rijâḥak hebb ma'ha
w-lâ budd illa-r-rijâḥ min as-sukûn
w-en darrat rijâḥak w-eḥtelebha
w-lam jidra-l-ḥadr limin jekûn.

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malbûsaha rîš an-na'am
w-mdellelen ḳa'ûdaha
rašûšaha damm al-ḥamar
w-al-bizr ṭal' enhûdaha.

A beauty is leaning towards us,
And how prettily she stands up in her litter
In ostrich feathers dressed;
She rides on a camel with gay trappings.
Stained by red blood is she,
And her breasts appear like lead bullets.

A young girl, with her breasts bared, sits in a fancy litter and during the fiercest fighting encourages her countrymen to persevere. *'Ûd* is the essential part of the litter.

Aškar ḏwâjeb 'aḏḏaḥak
w-arwâk naḳḳâz al-ǧa'ad
walad ar-radi lâ tâḥeḏeh
jiǧik miṯl abûh walad.

The one with his braids dyed blond is a hindrance to thee,
And he yearns for thee, he who often dishevels plaited hair.
The son of a degenerate thou hadst better not marry,
Else thy son will be like thy husband's father.

[831] The *eben al-'amm*, or nearest kinsman whom it is permissible for her to marry, has a right to the girl since he has reserved her for himself, *ḥaǧǧarha*. He is a hindrance to the girl, because he lusts, *rawa*, after her; *rawa* is more sensual than *hawa*. *Hawjân* means an enamored one, while *rawjân* is a man lusting for sexual intercourse. *Ǧa'ad* is the plaited and combed hair, consisting in the case of a girl of *ḳuṣṣa*, or hair trimmed above the forehead; of *ẖidle*, small braids made of the trimmed hair above the forehead; and of *ḏwâjeb*, long plaits on the upper part of the head and above the ears. *Naḳḳâz al-ǧa'ad* is a man passionate in sexual intercourse, thus dishevelling the woman's hair. The Rwala call such a man *radi*, a degenerate, and dislike their daughters [827] to marry him. Just as he has inherited his bad qualities from his grandfather, her son would be like his father. The Rwala firmly believe that both good and bad qualities pass from the grandfather to the grandsons.

757 On falling sick a Rwejli instantly ties into his hair or to his head rope some red or green thread as a preventive, *heğâb*, against pain. If he gets worse and the home remedies will no longer suffice, his relatives send for a seer, *ṣâḥeb as-sirr*, entreating him to come and help the patient. A she-camel is promised to Allâh as a sacrifice for restoring health to their sick relative in these words: "O thou face of Allâh, if thou curest this man and liberatest him from the captivity of his disease, I will give thee this she-camel in sacrifice; *jâ waǧh allâh in ṭajjebt hal-walad w-fakkejteh min hal-maraṣ ilak hal-ǧezûr.*"

752 Fractures are healed by a Bedouin versed in the art. He sets the broken bone, lays the limb between narrow boards, and then packs it round with dough made of barley flour, salt, and eggs, or lacking these of tragacanth, *helbe*. This composition hardens like rock. After the expiration of twenty-five days the bandage is loosened but it is not removed until after forty days. During that time the patient must not eat anything sweet and is fed on meat only, or, if that cannot be had, on milk.

752 757 A small wound is called *ṣwâb*, a large one *ǧurḥ*. The wounded man, *ṣawîb*, is assigned a separate corner in the tent always on the windward side, so that no bad odor can reach him. Any scent, *riḥa*, opens the wound anew, increasing the pain and swelling, *tirfer* or *tizerr*. Harmless are the odors of tar, *ḳuṭrân*, and the drugs of *ḥantita*, *ǧawelijje*, *ebhel*, *se'ed*, *ḥawaǧaswa*, *'ûd al-ḥawa*, *ḏamm al-eḫwên*, the smoke from the camel manure, *ǧelle*, tobacco smoke, and sulphur. The wounded person stops his nose with the *ḳejṭarân* or *ḥantita* drug as a protection against injurious odors. Also he must deny himself sweet dishes, which according to the local belief would cause the wound to fester, *jiddi*, still more. At first soap is applied to the wound, later the *subl* drug. The urine of little children, *bowl al-wurdân*, is used in cleaning wounds.
[521] As the wound could not heal if reached by the light of stars, the couch of the wounded person is curtained on all sides by clothing and carpets, and he must not leave it even to satisfy his natural wants. If it is intended to camp in the same place for some length of time, a separate small tent is put up for the patient, closed on all sides, *ḥeǧra*, and at some distance
752 from the camp. Visitors sit round the tent and converse with
758 him, but no one will go inside except his nearest relative. For
831 there might be a visitor who, having just had sexual inter-

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course, has not yet washed himself, and such an unclean one, 758
neǧes, would make the wound still worse, *mustarfer*: The visitor 831
salutes with the words: "May thy evil disappear! *jizûl šarrak*." Or: "May it disappear and not come over thee any more! *jizûl w-lâ jiǧîk*." To avoid informing the patient that he looks ill, [576]
and thus frightening him, the visitor says: "It seems to me thou hast a healthy color, perhaps nothing ails thee," the patient's reply usually being: "By Allâh himself, nothing is the matter with me, merely so and so."

If the patient gets worse, nobody must mourn. "We have 761
a soul, and he has a soul obeying Allâh. *ma'ana nesem w-ma'eh nesem taḥat allâh*." The patient gets worse every Wednes- 777
day and Friday, for these are the heavy days, *jowm aṯ-ṯakîl*, for him. Likewise every sixth, sixteenth, and twenty-first day of the lunar month aggravates the condition of the patient and spreads the news of his illness, *mubajjeḥ al-ḫabar*.

A demoniac is called *mḥarfal*. As such they consider the 732
imbecile, the demented, and the insane. If he does not get well soon, he is fettered and allowed to perish of thirst.

If a mad dog, *čalb mṛalâṭ*, bites, *ji'azz*, a man, sulphur 752
is applied to the wound, which is then burned with a red-hot 758
nail. After forty days the injured person generally is stricken with rabies. Then they fetter him and throw hot ashes on his head until he dies.

In the case of a snake bite the soothsayer, *ḳarrâj*, is sent 752
for and cures the bitten man with his spittle. The *ḳarrâj* 755
learns this art from a member of the Rifâ'ijje Order at an-Nuḳra in the neighborhood of Damascus, paying one quarter of a *meǧidijje* (22.5 cents) for tuition. No snake can harm a *ḳarrâj*.

Bites of scorpions and poisonous spiders are cured by wrapping the wounded limb in a raw skin or by laying the patient in an oblong pithole, the bottom of which is covered with camel manure thrown over camel urine, *'abas al-bel*. Then, covering the patient up to his head with clay or sand, they build a small fire at his side to make him sweat thoroughly. But to prevent him from falling asleep they shout at him: "O thou who has been bitten by an *'ankabût* spider, wilt thou live or wilt thou die?" He must answer: "I shall live, I shall live, not die."

A person seriously ill appoints a guardian for his young 763
children with the words: "O So-and-So, I do not know what 429

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it, *tebawwalat*. The camel's urine destroys the lice embryos, refreshes the scalp, prevents itching, and gives the hair a peculiar gloss. Then the girl takes a wooden comb with rough teeth on both sides, combs her hair, *temaššaṭat*, and braids it, *telemm râsah*. The hair above the forehead as a rule she does not plait, but merely trims, so that it hangs down freely, *ḳuṣṣa*, but she plaits the rest of the hair on the top of the head and above the ears into braids, *ḏwâjeb*, and makes two small pigtails, *'akṣa'*, of the back hair. Each braid ends in a small knot tied with a small ribbon. The braids are neither wound around the head, nor rolled. Long unplaited hair is called *ša'ar*, plaited hair being known as *žeḍâjel* (or *ḳrûn*). Trimmed hair above the forehead is *ḳuṣṣa*, *nâṣije*, or *ǧabhe*. Tresses: *židle*, *'erf*, or *ḳrûn*. Short hair: *ḥawâf*, *berčem*, *ka'ḳûle*, *râs*, or *šûše*.

Long hair and long tresses are the chief ornament of a woman, and every youth longs to marry a girl or woman thus adorned. The older men do not care for the long hair and advise the youth: "Amuse thyself with a short haired one, if thou canst not get a girl whose tresses are ornamented with coins; *telahha' bumm šûše ilja mâ tǧîk al-manḳûše*."

Nearly all women are tattooed on the lips, cheeks, nose, forehead, breast, around the breasts, and on the belly. This is always done by a gipsy woman, *ġûrijje*. First the gipsy pricks certain patterns into the skin, then dips the needle in indigo and transmits this dye into the holes. After this operation she binds the tattoed part of the body, and not until the seventh day is past are the bandages removed, when the spots are washed. The pictures thus produced, *dakk al-wšûm*, generally circles and triangles, are supposed to enhance the maiden's beauty, *min šân zerâ'a*.

Both men and women wear on their bare bodies a belt plaited from five thin strips of gabelle leather, the men's being called *ḥaḳw* (or *sebte*), and the women's *barîm* (or *rwesejni*). Persons not wearing this belt are named *mo'w* or *aslat*. The Rwala buy the *ḥaḳw* from the Ṣlejb, usually for a quarter of a *mejîdijje* (22½ cents).

MEN'S CLOTHES

The main dress of the men consists of a white shirt (*ṯowb*) reaching to the heels, with broad sleeves ending at the wrist

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291 554 Some say: "The clothes are the wings of the descendants of Adam, *al-hdûm ğenâḥ beni âdam*," as people always consider a well-dressed man something better than he really is. Others again claim that the clothes do not add to a man's good qualities. "A good man will be good even if on rising from bed (he has nothing on but his shirt), while a scamp will be a scamp even if he scrubs himself with soap; *az-zên zên low ḳa'ad min manâmeh aš-šên šên low taṛassal bes-ṣâbûn*."

291 832 A maiden suing for a youth's favor is careful of her appearance and dresses to the best of her ability, but as soon as she knows herself to be loved she cares no more for dressing finely and thinks only of her lover's qualities. A popular ditty says:

W-allâh jâ ğerd larmîk w-albes ğedîd
ajj al-ğedîd w-ajj al-ğerdi
ilja šuft az-zên 'aḳli jerdi
eḳrûn aš-šowḳ rumḥ as-serdi.

By Allâh, I shall cast thee aside, old dress, and put on a new one.
But which is the new and which the old?
If I see a noble youth, my judgment is gone,
For has not my beloved plaits as long as a spear carried by the Serdijje?

291 At home in his tent the man can leave off his cloak, *'aba'*, or his sheepskin coat, *farwa*, or he can go, as the saying is, in a dress below his belt, *bekdûm al-maḥram*; outside, however, he must not appear in that condition, for that would be an offence against common decency. If a traveler arrives without his mantle or sheepskin coat, he makes it known either that he has been robbed or has lost those articles. In dangerous districts a Rwejli will only loosen his belt in the evening and will go to bed fully dressed. Elsewhere he sleeps either in his shirt or even naked, merely wrapped in his mantle. If suddenly awakened by noise at night, he jumps out of his bed, snatches up his arms, and pressing the cloak to the body with his left hand, rushes out to see what has happened.

854 The hips of a baby are plastered with dry camel's manure, *dimne*; the baby is then wrapped in a long shawl tied with a thin string and fastened by two ropes of camel's hair to the two main tent stakes, and the cradle, *mâdd*, is ready.

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Daḥal stands for the Nefûd, the numerous funnel-shaped hollows of which resemble *daḥal*, or dolines, and are favorite resorts of the gazelles. The maiden has dyed her finger nails and palms yellow with henna. 831x 539x

Jâ ġazâlen jeǧurr aṭ-ṭowb
w-aḍ-ḍwâjeb ṛaššenneh
rîżeh jâ 'asal jaḍowb
w-hani min riwi minneh.

Oh, that gazelle! she trails her dress after her,
While her tresses strike against her.
Her spittle is like melted honey itself;
Blessed is he who may drink of it.

Jâ ḥowk 'aṭni ḥebbetak malkûš
ṛaṛnen twašša' leh ḥarîr
jâ-bu ṭamânen miṭl darr al-bûš
w-al-ḥadd beh rih aḍ-ḍarîr.

Darling, give me a kiss, one as light
As when silk clings to the twig that catches it.
Thou hast eight teeth as white as the camel's fresh milk,
And thy cheeks give forth a fragrance like *ḍarîr*.

Malkûš signifies a thing which, although but slightly connected with another, cannot be easily parted from it.

Az-zejn low ḥu waru-l-bâbi
lâzem en 'ajûni jerâ'enneh
'aslûǧten ḥaḥw aṭ-ṭijâbi
w-ġn-nhûd laṭ-ṭowb ḥâlenneh
jâ mâ ḥala naz' aṭ-ṭijâbi
w-erkâj senri 'ala senneh.

On a beauty, even if she stands behind the door,
My eyes must dwell.
Slender she is and yet fills her dress,
And her breasts lift up her garment.
Oh how sweet she is while undressing
And while my teeth are pressed against hers!

'Aslûǧe is a woman neither thin nor too fleshy, but of slender waist, tall and yet with broad hips which stand out under her dress, *ḥaḥw aṭ-ṭijâbi*. [832]

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3. Memories of your distant sweethearts will come to your mind; for them you will long.
Her neck is like a gazelle's alarmed by a shot.
4. Her teeth glisten like Egyptian sugar,
Sugar, the food of rulers, of sweet taste.
5. She is not of those who emit a disgusting odor,
But an odor appreciated only by men of sense.
6. The fragrance of *ḫzêra* her tresses emit,
Oh, may the eye be blinded that is incensed at this beauty!
7. When, O people, she comes nearer, her eyes enchant,
And when she ascends from the valley, O people, she slays with her charms.

The poet was a member of the as-Sba'a tribe; the reciter, Blejhân eben Meṣreb. The poet went out on a plundering expedition, *muḫanšel*. On his return he was told that his kin were camping east of Salamja. On arriving there he saw from the tracks that the camp had been removed farther west. He therefore ascended a high hill and looked over the western horizon, hoping to see a few tents he knew, among them the tent of his sweetheart.

Verse 1. *Al-ferîž mužîm* signifies a few tents, which remain for a considerable length of time in the same place. 4. The cane sugar, which contains more of the glittering crystals than the best European sugar, is made in Egypt. 5. The Bedouins hate all strong odors, believing that some odors give rise to many diseases, or at least irritate old wounds; for this reason they stop the nostrils of sick persons. It is considered a matter of individual taste which odor is harmful and which helpful. 6. He who cannot tell an injurious odor from one that is beneficial looks with disfavor on the person or the object by which an odor is disseminated. 7. *Šeṭanjaha* or *šṭûnaha* are the several charms of a beauty, in this case the girl's full hips.

1. *Jâ meḥsen al-wejlâd 'axkom ṭudû bi*
hal-ḫzûz alli wasi'en ṭenâjâh
2. *kazzejt mirsâl w-lâ radd nowbi*
w-lâ ǧâb li 'elmen šefijjen w-lâ ǧâ
3. *jâ rabb lâ tarzoḳ ḫaṭât al-čedûbi*
alli jeḫumm el-'elem min dûn melflâh
4. *m-âkel w-low ḫaṭṭû 'ala-š-šetel er-ṭowbi*
barbûr ṣejfen sâḫenâten šwâjâ

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Chattering and evildoing,
I would fain, when a slanderer comes to the Arabs,
Take his measure and make my dearest ready,
So that we might saddle our stron[illegible] she-camels, mount
And ride directly for al-Ḥôr and Ṣfajje. [them,

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539*

The lover wants to settle with the slanderer and then depart with his beloved, Nîra, for the inner desert. The price Nîra's kin ask for her is very high; in order to pay it, the lover wishes for a hundred yellow she-camels.

Ačleh means "take his measure, settle with him"; *učajjel*, prepare, make ready, load, weigh. Al-Ḥôr is a depression in the center of al-Ḥamâd; the Ḥabra Ṣfajje is located there.

Já zejd lâ taṛreb al-maḥbûb
kw ṣâḥebi w-ent ḳowmâni
ḥowse low žarîarat aṭ-ṭowb
lâ já ba'ad kill ḥajjâni.

O Zejd, do not beat my dear one!
She is my friend, thou mine enemy.
When Ḥowse lifts her garment,
Oh, that I may live longer than the whole kin!

Ṣâḥeb means a friendly tribe, ḳowmâni a hostile one. *Žarîarat aṭ-ṭowb*: she raises the dress covering her breasts in such a way that they show through the enlarged slit. If a girl or a woman wants to encourage her kinsmen to the greatest bravery in a dangerous fight, she does so not by words alone but also by significant deeds. So, for instance, she opens her dress on the breast as a sign of how she means to reward the bravest. Her lover then forgets everything else, only wishing not to perish in the fight, in order that he may enjoy the promised reward. *Lâ já ba'ad* means "Oh, that I may not be absent, that I may not die." *Ḥajjân* are the kinsfolk, who keep together even in a fight.

[726
832]

[602]

Já wannâti wunnejtaha
w-en-nâs mâ darjaw baha
lâ wâḥani min ḥâṣa'aha
bên al-berîm w-ṣawbaha.

This is the lament which I utter,
And none knows of it;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x

Já-bu ṭemânen ḏubbalen wa-rhâf
'eḏâb liṭarrâd al-hawa
já ḫidleten riš an-na'âm erdâf
jel'ab beha ṣafi al-hawa.

O thou with eight teeth fine and small,
Which so torment him who is given to flirting!
O braids above the forehead, as thick as the ostrich's feathers,
With which nothing but a strong breeze can play.

Ṭemân are the four lower and the four upper incisors. The finer and smaller, the prettier they are. When they are shown by a smiling beauty, the passion of amorous men is inflamed to a high degree. *Ṭarrâd* is a warrior who, circling on his mare, attacks the enemy with the one aim of defeating them. No sooner has he vanquished one, than he throws himself on another. *Ṭrâd* is a hand-to-hand fight, also a mock battle in which the struggles of a real battle are imitated. It is often performed in honor of an esteemed guest. *Ṭrâd al-ḫejl* has the same meaning as *le'eb al-ḫejl*, mock battle, cavalry play. *'Arâḍa* has nothing in common with *ṭrâd*. In *'arâḍa* the warriors defile, one by one, before the standing chief, assure him of their fidelity, and by uttering their war cry raise one another's war spirit. He that devotes much of his time to love affairs also resembles a *ṭarrâd*, because, having gained the victory over one beauty, he leaves her in order to win the favor of another. The feathers on the hips of an ostrich are the thickest. A beauty's *ḫidle* should, likewise, be so thick and heavy that nothing except a strong breeze could move it. *Safi* or *ṣalf* is a strong, sudden gust of wind.

[826 832]

[541]

[703]

Já ḫowk já daḳḳâḳ al-hejl
já merteši fowk al-ḫanî
akhar ḫa'âdak 'enda rikâz al-ḫejl
abi-ṣmanak w-atrok ḫali.

O sweetheart mine who givest forth a fragrance as if pounding cardamom!
O thou who supportest thyself by the bent litter pole!
Stop thy camel at the cavalry assault,
For I will desert my kin to guarantee thy safety.

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539x When a migrating tribe is attacked by the enemy, the maiden should put both herself and her camels under the protection of her lover. *Hejl*, cardamom, is pounded and added to black coffee. He that pounds *hejl* in a mortar smells of it. The women like to sprinkle their hair and dress with it. If the girl or woman sitting in the litter wants to observe better, she has to kneel and support herself with her elbows on the bent horizontal pole. The lover will neglect the property of his own kin in order to rescue his sweetheart from being robbed by the enemy.

Já bint wa' ḳalbi širebč
širb al-ḳarâh bel-ḳâjile
já bint w-allâh mâ-'refč
mâr enn ǧa'âdeč mâjile.

O girl! Oh! my heart drinks thee
With the same lust as we drink fresh water during the greatest heat.
O daughter! by Allâh himself, I know thee not,
But thy waving plaits caught my eye!

The warrior saw the long, loosened braids of an unknown beauty and began to desire her with his whole heart.

Er' aš-šalâfi dâre'ât
miṯl aš-šenâber bel-ḥaira'
'ajnêč já tirf al-benât
já lâbesen ṯoub al-ṛawa'.

Behold the blades of the decorated spears,
Shining in the air like a red garment!
Before thine eyes, O tender maiden
Who appearest in a seductive dress!

[832] The blood-stained spear blades remind one of the long red kerchiefs worn by dressy women. *Ṯoub al-ṛawa'* is a woman's dress unbuttoned below the throat. It hangs loosely over the shoulders disclosing both the throat and the breasts. Thus the girl, who in a perilous fight encourages the men to persevere, arranges her dress.

Já ḥejk já rê'i-l-ḳa'âd
wa-mḳolladen riš en-na'âm

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

3. She never drew the knife with blacking around the edge of her eyelids,
And never raised her hand to threaten the neighbors.
4. I swear to Allâh, oath upon oath I swear,
As well as by the life of him who spurred her,
5. That as soon as she saw me wrathful she tried to appease me
As a kind mother tries to soothe her boy.
6. She came to me as a gift, not in exchange for animals of value,
She was the boast of the kin, for all who came praised her.
7. O 'Aḳâb! that bliss of mine! thou hast buried her in Nimrin
By the impassable crags, O 'Aḳâb! opposite the water.
8. Five of my sons died, O 'Aḳâb! five, and my two brothers,
And none can say that my eyes had a sleepless night.
9. No one with grief filled me, O 'Aḳâb! except the one who dwells—who knows where?
And whose body was scented with the fragrance of *ḫzêra*.
10. Never did my heart prove faithless to my love, nor my eyes,
And whenever she whispered, my eye was as if with ophthalmia struck.
11. No matter if in two long rows come the Bedouins' daughters, O 'Aḳâb,
Thou little brother of mine! I would take none but Wazha alone.

The poet was Nimr eben 'Adwân from al-Belḳa'; the reciter, Mincîl al-Ḳaṭ'i.

Verse 1. *Jâ sîn* (or *jâ ḥejf*). Ah me! 3. A *rutrâf* is a mil, or small knife for rubbing on the eye black. 4. A married woman is often likened to a saddled mare and her husband during sexual intercourse to a rider. 6. Among the 'Adwân a fixed number of she-camels, sheep, or mares must be given in compensation to the father of the girl whom a man wishes to marry. This custom is known as *sijâḥ*. 7. Nimrin is the name of a small creek in al-Belḳa, where lies the burying ground of the 'Adwân. 9. *Ḫzêra* is a plant which emits a strong smell.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom
595 two, and very rarely three. A young Rwejli almost always
593 marries a girl whom he loves, and remains faithful to his
837 young wife till the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy. Then his love cools and in many cases he begins to look for another girl or divorced woman whom he also marries, unless he is setting out on a raid. If the latter is of several weeks' duration and he comes back exhausted, he desires no new marriage and waits for his wife's confinement. If she bears a boy, the young father is so happy that he clings to her again and banishes the thought of all others from his mind. If the wife behaves with sense, keeps the tent in order, can cook cleanly, is not strongheaded and quarrelsome, the husband often remains faithful to her all his life.

PLURALITY OF WIVES

595 In case a husband is not fully satisfied with his first wife, he generally takes a second one. The first wife in the beginning is much displeased with her new companion or neighbor—*ǧârti*, as she calls her—and abuses her to the best of her ability. "Why didst thou come to me? Couldst thou find no one but my man? O thou daughter of So and So! O thou cursed in both thy parents! *Lêh ǧîtini mâ lažejti ŗejr ǧowzi enti jâ bint flân jâ mal'ûnet wâlidejn.*" However, the resistance put up by the first wife is, as a rule, not of long duration. In a comparatively short time peace is concluded by the women and they live together like sisters.

When a man has two wives, each cooks for him a day in turn, and on that day he usually eats and sleeps with her. Such is the woman's right, *ḥakkaha*, which nobody is allowed to violate. If he sees that his wife is dissatisfied, the man asks: "What art thou angry about? I have not infringed thy right. *Lêh tar'alîn mâ-ḫtejt 'alejč beḥakkeč.*" Even when he
595 does not love his wife, the man should devote himself to her
833 on the nights belonging to her. He need not have sexual intercourse with her, but neither must he with the woman he loves. In such cases he usually sleeps in the men's compartment, or lying down at his wife's head he says: "To night I wish for nothing, *mâ-ni bâŗi hal-lejle*," and the woman dares not say a word. Sometimes the women haggle among themselves: "Let me have the man tonight!" "What wilt thou give me for it?" If they come to an agreement, the woman who

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk erŝed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-l-ḥejż*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt el-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *tehaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehuŝŝ lal-faras*, etc.

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The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *raṣa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

About four years before my stay with the Rwala, a young Rwala chief fell in love with a beautiful young girl. The chief was already married and father of two boys, whom his healthy young wife had borne to him. Driven by jealousy, she went to a witch, *saḥḥâra*, complained of her husband, and begged the witch to prevent his taking a second wife but not to harm him. The witch asked her to bring a piece of the wool of a sheep killed on the day of her husband's new wedding and dip it into the blood of the sheep. At that time the Rwala were camping east of Damascus, where they could buy a sheep for their supper. The young wife promised to do as she was asked. When the sheep was killed before the chief's tent a little after noon, she tore out a bit of wool as if by accident, dipped it into the blood, and gave it to the Ṣlubijje. The witch pressed the wool with both her hands, mumbled strange words, and then returned it to the wife with instructions to take good care of it, to press it thoroughly, *temûṣah*, every Friday night, and to continue doing so until the new wife was divorced by her husband. Cheered by this advice, the young wife gave a suitable reward to the Ṣlubijje, who was camping with some families of her kin on the outskirts of the Rwala encampment, and returned to her tent. At the side of this a small tent was already being put up, shut in from all sides, into which the young chief meant to bring his new bride after the wedding ceremony. This took place in the evening, the young couple entering the tent immediately afterwards. After midnight the chief returned to the big tent. All the next week his mien was dark, and the new wife did not show herself at all. After two weeks he gave her a severe beating and before the month was out divorced her because she scoffed at him in public and said that he was incapable of having intercourse with a woman; and as matter of fact she returned to her parents a virgin. The witch had caused the man to become impotent at the very moment when he approached the second woman, but reinvigorated him on his return to his first wife.

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THE EVIL EYE

The evil eye is universally feared among the Rwala. Every Rwejli knows that there are persons of either sex who can cast a spell over him, yet he is never able to say who it was

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

nâmha killaha w-min nâm kill al-lejl haḏâk habîl." Sleep during the hot midday, *ḳajjalna*, or at sunrise, *ṣaffarna*, is preferred to the night sleep. This is also the time when the animals are allowed to rest. 513

Women and girls are in constant danger from the male spirits. If a girl, especially a pretty one, falls asleep in a locality inhabited by the spirits, she is approached by a male spirit, who has sexual intercourse with her yet without violating her virginity. Should he succeed in that only once, the girl cannot resist him ever afterwards. He compels her to leave her tent at night and to come to a place selected by him. Such a woman or girl must not marry; should she do so voluntarily the spirit would torment her still more, and if she is compelled to marry the spirit would attack her husband. 776 833

Me'zel eben 'Eḳla' of the Mwâhîb married a pretty widow, a relative of his, who was dominated by a *ǧânn* and was therefore unwilling. When on the wedding night he approached her, the *ǧânn* seized him by the throat, throttled him, and then threw him out of the tent, threatening him with death should he dare to approach her again. Such a husband expelled by a spirit is called *menḥi*. But a spirit can never beget children by a woman, as spirits never have any children at all.

The wells of the watering place of Line are very deep, hewn in the rock spirally, and have smooth walls. According to a Bedouin tale, a chief's pretty daughter was often molested at night by a *ǧânn*. When she complained to her father he lay in wait for the spirit and finally caught him on the night of *as-sarra*, or of the dark of the moon. The chief tied the *ǧânn* both hands and feet, seated him on the rocky plain of Line, and commanded him to keep on circling around until his posteriors should dig a well with spring water in the rock. The *ǧânn* began to do as he was bidden, his back grinding out the rock and his head pressing up the sand, which was changed by his sweat into a thin dough. Yet no sooner had he deepened one well that the chief made him dig a second, a third, and so on, urging him on with the words: "Soften the rock, soften the rock, and change it into dough! *lîni lineh w-erdik 'aǧine.*"

Not long ago some travelers, *rab' aṭ-ṭrûš*, rode by the impassable crags of al-'Afâjef in the deep depression of al-Ka'ara. Below a hillside there a hedgehog, *ḳunfuḏ*, of extraordinary size was warming himself in the rays of the sun. 776 825

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

4. If I risk my vigor and that of my old she-camel,
Then, faith, I have not much in the world that I should
Hey! glory! mourn.

Verse 1. *Maẓẓa'* means, properly, the spot where sexual intercourse takes place. 2. The *ḥamûle* is larger than the *ahl*, and is almost like the *žebûle* (see above, p. 47). 3. *Debâjel*: ulcers or abscesses. Such growths in the stomach make eating unpleasant and interfere with digestion. The fear of thieves and assailants robs a man of his appetite and the pleasant sensation of digestion.

Já má ḳaṭa'na dûnehen min zerâže
tarmi beha ferž al-ǧwâ..i 'ejâlaha
wa' háj . . .

Oh, how many plains vast and scorched we had to cross
before we captured them,
Where even a stray gazelle which suffers not from
Hey! glory! thirst will miscarry.

Zerâže are vast, waterless plains. *Ǧwâzi* are gazelles which never taste water. *Ferž* means an animal which has become separated from the herd, has gone astray. Such a one will loose the fruit of its womb from exhaustion.

The Raiders' Home-coming

Once in the camp every man makes straight for his tent, driving or leading his booty. From behind the tents the women and girls watch them greeting their friends as they pass:

"Strength to thee! *ḳaw flân.*" Answer:

"O greeting to thee! *já hala.*"

"O Allâh, grant him life!" Answer:

"May Allâh grant life to thy dear ones!"

"This booty be thy consolation, *ṭalaḳ hal-fowd.*" Answer:

"For thy consolation, and mayst thou capture still more! *ṭalaḳ wa-tfid.*"

Sometimes the raider is asked for a gift with these words: "Prove that thou esteemest me! *al-ḥazijje.*" If he answers: "Rejoice over this gift, *beš behal-'aṭijje,*" the suppliant may be sure of receiving something.

Their relatives invite the raiders to stop for a meal with them. "Have it good for once, have it good, ye booty getters!

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

In accordance with the immemorial custom of the 574

The Lone Shepherdess 609

desert, she[1] set before us a bowl of fresh ewe's milk and, 834
turning to me first, said: "Swear to thy sister that no harm will come to her." She gazed at me with large trustful eyes. Her white teeth flashed, and small dimples danced in her cheeks. Taking a dried twig from the brushwood pile by the fire, she held it out to me and said: "Take this in thy hand and swear by the life of the Lord, the giver of all life."

I quickly did her bidding and solemnly pledged the sanctity of her hospitality in the oath no child of the desert would break—an ancient Ishmaelite formula:

"In the name of God: as He took the life from this piece of dead wood, thus may the Lord take life from me if I do not honour and protect thy soul and thy body, O my sister!"

After Faris, too, had taken this oath, she was encouraged to offer us the freedom of her "house" and spread 574 609
before us all her store of food—bread, fresh milk, a little butter, and dried dates. While Faris and I were supping, she dragged up to the tent a lamb, bleating pitifully and struggling to get free. When I leaned down to hold the animal fast, the girl drew my dagger from my belt and cried: "Kill me this victim, so that I may cook it for thee."

I took the curved blade from her hand and set the frightened lamb free to skip back to the flock. But the maiden looked at me reproachfully.

"All that is needful for sustaining life," I said to her, "thou hast already given to the strangers. Allah is witness, we could not consume a whole lamb. Nor, indeed, can I see any vessel in which its meat could be cooked."

[1] [A Bedouin Shepherdess 21 - Analyst]

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

584 of the girl's glossy, black braids and twined into them
731 fourteen magnificent white ostrich plumes, each a foot long. When he had done this, he drew the long tresses forward over her shoulders and gathered them into one hand, so that the shivering plumes formed a bouquet, and kissed her eyelashes. "Here, my sister," he said, "is the bouquet I promised thee, of everlasting flowers."

She opened her eyes and gazed with wonder on her lover's gift. Then she buried her face in the plumes and twined her arm about him.

584 Faris leaned his head on her shoulder, and placing his
834 hand over her heart, said: "It jumps like a wild rabbit."

"It will become quite tame in thy hand," she murmured.

"Hast thou never before permitted a young man to put his hand on thy heart?" he asked.

Tuēma flushed. "No, never; only thee."

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

851 584 with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge [695] took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meǧidijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *maru berḳubat raǧǧel*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḫejje*. If his wife's lover

721 Monday [or Thursday] which is always favorable to us, *biwāḡbet aṯ-ṯnên.*"

They answer: "O Allâh, may success be our lot! May he grant us luck! *Já-llâh maksûm ḫejr allâh ja'ṭi as-sa'ad.*"

705 492 Then they begin to hunt for good camel bags, flour, water bags, and barley for the horses. He who means to go on his mare only seeks someone to carry his food supplies, *zammâl.* If he finds a camel rider who will do him that service, *jezmaleh*, he loads his supplies on the camel and himself rides in the saddle, while the owner sits behind. The mare runs beside the camel to which she is tied. But every owner of a mare generally has a camel of his own and is accompanied either by his slave or a younger relative. Those who ride on camels are always in the majority, and for long raids in the hot season none but she-camels are used. Horses are ridden mainly on short raids, undertaken in the time of *rabi'*. Nor can all the horses in camp be taken out—at least half must be left at home in order to repel a possible hostile attack. All the horses are shod before making a raid, and a few extra horseshoes taken to meet emergencies, *jetanaṣṣel ḫdaha.* They also sew up, generally with horsehair, the vaginas, *jeṣubberûn al-faras*, of mares big with young, especially the older ones, in order to prevent miscarriage.

721 701 Old men and small boys must not go on a raid. They are left at home to guard the camp. However, a boy of twelve is old enough to join the raiders and may properly do so, especially in the *rabi'* season when neither thirst nor hunger threatens. In the hot months mainly men between 16 and 40 take part. They do not like to be accompanied by a young husband, *'arrîs* (sic), in the first year of his married life. This time, called *ḫrân al-'ars*, is not very favorable to important ventures, therefore it is better that the young husband should stay at home. No custom forbids men to have intercourse with their wives immediately before starting out, nor is it necessary that they should put on freshly washed clothes. Everybody usually leaves in the clothes he wears at the moment.

[585 777] [834] [714]

721 The preparations for a raid take a considerable time. However, nobody ever knows definitely against which tribe he is going, for the simple reason that the Rwala always have several enemies at once. Only the most intimate friends of the commander-in-chief know his objective, while the rest of the camp is kept guessing. This secret it is necessary to

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

flock," she cried warningly; "do not shoot. It is only some small wolves; my dogs will chase them away. . . . Sushan! Kaabi!" she shouted, as she urged on the dogs.

Faris lowered his pistol. Tuēma took it out of his hand and replaced it in his belt; but she did not release him. Timidly she pressed herself against him, her arms about his hips. Her garments fluttered faintly, stirred by the warm dry breeze. The steppe exhaled its perfume. The air was saturated with a scent like that of lavender. Dawn had come, revealing the woolly backs of the huddled sheep, now quiet again. From far away, growing fainter and fainter, came the barking of the dogs, still chasing the wolves. Close by, our tethered horses snorted.

Faris gently disengaged himself from Tuēma's arms and, taking her by the hand, led her to the tent, where they sat down side by side. As he leant towards her and kissed her on the top of the head, Tuēma drew the curved poniard from his belt and put it in her lap.

"Let this dagger rest in my lap," said she. It was thus she reminded him of her virginity. Among Bedouins of pure race, a girl's chastity has been, and still is, the most sacred rubric in the tribal code of honour. For its violation a father may kill his daughter, a brother his sister, and have her flesh cut in pieces.

The sun broke through the veils of the morning, shooting flaming fingers across the heavens, and the dark earth glowed rosily. "Sabah!" whispered Faris to his beloved. *Sabah* means the morning, but it is also a poetic word for "virgin bride." Tuēma leaned her cheek to his.

So they sat, motionless, without a word. Then Tuēma

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. 836 As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help 847 her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should 762 the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often [693 commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that 684] his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *ahl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. 848 Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it 851 would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its 783 illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs 836 of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḥef min allâh.*"

684 Only when the girl has been raped, *maṣṣûba*, will her 847 relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot [848] be left alive, as it would have no kin, *ahl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death, *sikthe wa-starajtha ḥra*. However, her kinsfolk investigate the reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *nagir* or *ḥaddâm*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *wuš ent jâ zelema ḥabl al-wahama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The honor of the virgin demands it, *maḥja-l-'arz*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber, and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him, while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger,

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A daffa is a heavy winter cloak. Mrs

831 fond of dress buy mantles embellished between the shoulder
539 blades with a broad ornament of glittering silver, or at least
copper, threads. The hem made from these threads reaches
[298] as far down as the abdomen. Such an ornament glistens when
the night is bright. *Bâdi* (for *sâjer*) is one paying an evening
[574] call; *bâdi 'alejna* (or *musajjer 'alejna*), he is coming to spend
the evening with us.

Já-bu ḫalâḫel w-zmejjem
w-al-ḫadd barrâken jelûḥ
já má ḥala' ḳaẓb al-brajjem
w-al-'omr ṣajjûreh jerûḥ.

Oh, she with rings above her ankles and a little ring
in her nostril,
Whose cheeks glisten like lightning.
Oh, how sweet to take hold of a little body belt of
For, as for life, its end is sure. [leather

[291] *Brajjem* (dimin. of *barîm*) is a thin belt of leather strips
worn by the women on their bare bodies.

Râ'i-l-ḳa'ûd al-meš̲aḏḏar
ma' wâdi-s-sidr jinḥa'
ḳum ḥebbini lâ te'aḏḏar
w-al-'aḏr má-ni bṭerijjah.

The rider on an unruly camel
Has turned into a valley overgrown with *sidr*.
Rise, kiss me, and excuse not thyself,
For an excuse I will not brook.

[837] A lover during the march asks a kiss from his beloved,
whose husband has just ridden out of sight, for his camel
nibbles at every patch of good grass or woody plant. He
turns into a valley overgrown with *sidr* trees and full of
thorns. If he had to watch his unruly camel before, he must
now among the *sidr* be even more careful and is thus prevented
from watching his wife riding in the rear.

1. *Já bark jâ-lli tâli al-lejl lawwâ'*
šuftak w-ana bheǧ'at an-nâs wâ'i
2. *min rûs 'âlen šummaḥen čeḏḏ bihen fâ'*
biljâl ṛurren biẓ̲'aḏelen šeʿâ'i

The Rwala usually have only one woman in a tent, seldom
595 two, and very rarely three. A young Rwejlī almost always
593 marries a girl whom he loves, and remains faithful to his
837 young wife till the sixth or seventh month of her pregnancy. Then his love cools and in many cases he begins to look for another girl or divorced woman whom he also marries, unless he is setting out on a raid. If the latter is of several weeks' duration and he comes back exhausted, he desires no new marriage and waits for his wife's confinement. If she bears a boy, the young father is so happy that he clings to her again and banishes the thought of all others from his mind. If the wife behaves with sense, keeps the tent in order, can cook cleanly, is not strongheaded and quarrelsome, the husband often remains faithful to her all his life.

PLURALITY OF WIVES

595 In case a husband is not fully satisfied with his first wife, he generally takes a second one. The first wife in the beginning is much displeased with her new companion or neighbor — *ǧârti*, as she calls her — and abuses her to the best of her ability. "Why didst thou come to me? Couldst thou find no one but my man? O thou daughter of So and So! O thou cursed in both thy parents! *Lêh ǧîtini mâ lażejti ṛejr ǧowzi enti jâ bint flân jâ mal'ûnet wâlidejn.*" However, the resistance put up by the first wife is, as a rule, not of long duration. In a comparatively short time peace is concluded by the women and they live together like sisters.

When a man has two wives, each cooks for him a day in turn, and on that day he usually eats and sleeps with her. Such is the woman's right, *ḥakkuha*, which nobody is allowed to violate. If he sees that his wife is dissatisfied, the man asks: "What art thou angry about? I have not infringed thy
595 right. *Lêh taʿalîn mâ-ḥṭejt ʿalejč beḥakkeč.*" Even when he does not love his wife, the man should devote himself to her
833 on the nights belonging to her. He need not have sexual intercourse with her, but neither must he with the woman he loves. In such cases he usually sleeps in the men's compartment, or lying down at his wife's head he says: "To night I wish for nothing, *mâ-ni bâṛi kal-lejle*," and the woman dares not say a word. Sometimes the women haggle among themselves: "Let me have the man tonight!" "What wilt thou give me for it?" If they come to an agreement, the woman who

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851 584 with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge [695] took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḥalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḥalaf's mouth. Ḥalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḥalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *mejidijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḥalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berkubat rajjel*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân hawjânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâdil an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *fejje*. If his wife's lover

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cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself.[1] The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṯara), subject to Ebe. Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

[1] [Errata: See p. 712, col. 116 for correction of

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al-ḫalb min jammak jaḥâb
w-al-'ajn 'ajjat lâ tenâm
min ḥînaka narḫi-l-ǧerîr
narmi-l-'ân laṭ-ṭejr ḥamâm.

O hail! O thou who ridest a camel
Adorned with ostrich feathers!
The heart in thy presence takes fire,
And the eye will not yield to slumber
To please her, we shall loosen the rein
And at once throw supper to the birds of prey.

The maiden accompanies the men into the fight so that they attack the enemy with greater courage. They will loosen the reins to allow the mares to bring them into the midst of the enemy more quickly. Only a coward will hold back his horse. *Ḥamâm* means to reach a thing as quickly as a scent reaches the nose.

Já bint já ḫaḳra-l-ḏwejbe	O maiden! thou with the fair plait,
já 'ajn ẓubejj an-nâzije	O thou keen eye of a gazelle!
al-ḫalb min jammak jaḥâb	In thy presence the heart takes fire
w-al-'ajn má hi 'âzije.	And the eye cannot become calm.
Hejjeh já-bu ṭegîle	Hasten, O thou with little braids on thy forehead!
wa' hejjeh já-bu ṯemân	Hasten, O thou with eight teeth!
eute ta'ṭini-lláh	Thou wilt with Allâh pledge me thy faith,
w-ana-'ṭîk amân.	And I shall pledge to thee peace.

The youth promises the maiden he intends to marry that he will not maltreat her if she remains faithful to him. Conjugal fidelity can be assured only by the fear of Allâh, as no witness will ever come forward in a suit for infidelity. [837]

Já ra'jet al-awḍaḥ	O thou who sittest on a camel pure white!
'an ar-radi ṯûmi	Turn away from a scoundrel
ṯûmi laḫu ẓita	And incline to Ṣita's brother,
já zebn al-maẓfûmi	A protector of the oppressed;
ṯûmi lewaǧh alláh	Bow to the face of Allâh [beset.
ǧalláǧ al-ahmûmi.	Who leads into safety one by troubles

Aḫu ẓita, Ṣita's brother, is the battle cry of the Ša'lân reigning kin and signifies any of its members. *Zebn* means

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'Arîb signifies the same as *aṣîl*, pure-blooded, well-born, noble. Whoever desires a thoroughbred son must beget him by a woman descended of a good family. The man resembles a fire, the woman a foundation. When a fire is lighted by a woman in a tent, the women from other tents send their daughters or servant girls to fetch fire from her. Each of these girl twists a wisp of dry *šîḥ*, *rqza'*, or *rṭa*, grasps the red-hot coal in her hand, puts it into the wisp, and swings this in the air till it ignites. If the foundation, in this case the wisp, *mižbâs*, be not dry, no amount of swinging will make the red coal burst into flame. *'Ezz* means good qualities, bravery in particular. *'Ezz* proceeds from the veins of a woman. *Asâs* or *nasab* expresses the woman's origin. The daughter of a worthless, pusillanimous father will not have *'ezz*, nobility, in her veins; therefore it cannot be expected in her son, even if begotten by the bravest of men.

Criminal intercourse with animals is almost unknown among the Rwala, as is that of one man with another, the penalty in this case being the death of the violator or of both. In the Ḳmuṣa division a negro, who came there from Eben Rašîd's army, violated a small boy far from the tents. On the boy's complaint, his kin ran to catch the slave who made his escape. They would certainly have killed him.

POEMS DESCRIBING QUALITIES AND DEEDS OF MEN

Vigilance and Energy

1. *Jâ-llâh ṭalabṭak jâ serî' al-maṭâbe*
   teftaḥ lena bâb-al-faraǧ bel-mefâtîḥ
2. *ṭalbet 'obejden 'enda rabbeh w-ṭâbeh*
   jâ ḥâleṭen rizḳ al-'arab w-al-faláḥ
3. *an-nowm sâs al-lowm bân ar-reda' beh*
   w-'ajnen tebi-ṭ-ṭowlṭ nowmeh šeláfḥ
4. *alli jirîd al-medeh jiṭ'ab reḳâbeh*
   w-ar-rizḳ beṭûl al-ḥaṭa' jâ-hla-l-fḥ
5. *jidûk 'ajrât an-neṣa' be'aṣâbeh*
   w-ad-dawr jikṭa'enneh 'aṣêren beterwiḥ
6. *mâ fowḳha illa' ṭirbeten ma' ṣahâbeh*
   w-sefâjefen ṭabrâḥ lown al-maidwiḥ

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has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk erǐed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-i-ḥejẓ*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt al-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehuš lal-faras*, etc.

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The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *raẓa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

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CHAPTER VIII

CHILDREN

BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN

A woman who has had sexual intercourse with a man is called a *waḥama* during the thirty days while it is as yet unknown whether she has conceived or not. If she has conceived she is called *nâzel* or *ḥâmel*. For her delivery a Rwala woman never sends for a midwife. Kurdi's wife, for example, bore a child while sitting in a *žetab* litter on the march and never ceased to guide her camel. She cut the navel cord herself, wrapped the child in her dress, dismounted in the new camping ground, and carried the baby boy, *'ajjel*, to her tent.

A woman who has miscarried, *ramat*, and the fruit of whose womb has perished, *rma'*, is an object of fear.

A woman after confinement, *nefesa*, lives just as before the delivery, with no change in her diet.

When a son is born, the father is congratulated by his nearest relatives but expresses no particular joy; neither does he send out invitations to a meat supper. No animal is sacrificed or slaughtered at the birth of a boy or girl.

For seven days after its birth the child is bathed in camel's urine and rubbed with salt. On either the tenth, twentieth, or fortieth day wheat is gathered by the female relatives of the confined woman, shredded, and then a dinner prepared from it in her tent, to which all the women from the camp are invited. This festivity is known as the examination of the child, *ṭlâ'at al-'ajjel*. The mother goes with the child on a visit to all her relatives, a custom called *taṭlî'a*. Everybody presents the baby with something, often either a young camel or a colt, the gifts remaining its property.

Its name the child receives from its mother alone, this being one of her privileges. Sometimes she selects a name without thinking long about it; at other times, again, she may be directed by various influences. Thus, for instance, Prince an-Nûri's wife gave birth to a boy when camping near the castle of Âl Aḥejẓer — or, as it is called by the Rwala, al-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 539 o Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ğebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejh min aḏ-ḏahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṭowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ğemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ğa'al min tabṛozeh tenlâ'
jamût wlêdaha-r-rzâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [842 thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred 554] by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's [586 happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to 754] the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Jâ mohra žîdat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḳawwâdha ḫâled She was led by Ḫâled,
lâ jâ ba'ad 'êni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mohra means in this case the young wife of Ḫâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḥorra
jâ mašjaha zafzâf

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2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married
672 to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be
562 spared.

614 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject
602 to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmîha berḳubt ar-raǧol ḫejrah w-šarrha lahalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿîd ʿan al-ḫejr žerîb ʿan al-meẓarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands com-
683 pensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she
● 843 miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy,
628 while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill
628 her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to
562

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

V

Love in the Desert

000 IT WAS A SEASON of great fertility here in the south by the Wadi Sirhan. Thunder showers and rain all over the land. The face of the earth had become one great pasture. The swelling udders of the she-camels oozed milk. Their calves were legion—comical, clumsy, long-legged creatures. A medley of sounds filled the air—mingled with the creaking and groaning of camel litters on the dromedaries' backs, from under the awnings of which appeared happy-faced mothers, fondling their young babies. This was the springtime of the year, when [844] nature was pulsating with life. Women were being delivered of their children in their tents and some even in the shade, amongst the animals, which were also big with young. In the low bushes and camel-grass could be heard the cheeping and chirping of desert chicks and fledgling bustards. The withered old desert had miraculously renewed herself and had become beautiful again with the bloom of youth.

The gentle caresses of the rain and the sun had coaxed out myriads of blossoms. A diaphanous haze, silver and green, suffused hill and dale. Deeper and richer glowed the green of the flower-strewn meads in the wide depressions. Scent-laden, the soft spring wind blew gently over the gracious land. The eyes of the herdsmen were bright with gratitude; yet, morning after morning, the women would pull the tent-posts from under the

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

fires and their hides[1] are cut up for water-bags, belts, and sandals. 231 [281]

In the grey of one morning I noticed a woman moving amongst the resting animals. Whenever she saw a female camel get up, she would hurry and catch the urine, for which she was waiting, in a bowl she carried for the purpose. The camel's urine smells sweetly of herbs and aromatic plants, it must be remembered. Returning to her tent, one side of which was open, I saw her gather the loose tresses of her little daughter's hair in her hand and dip them into this much-prized hair-wash. She then combed, parted and braided the damp black hair into the usual lovelocks. Again I saw her return to the camels; but suddenly she sat down. A moment later she rose again, threw away her bowl, and hurried back toward her tent, but collapsed before she had gone far. I sprang up and ran to her. 515 302

She said never a word as I tried to help her to her feet; she only withdrew her arms from my hold and cowered on the ground. Then I noticed that she was in labour. As there was no adult within hearing, I called to the woman's little girls to bring bedding and sheepskins. With these I made a couch for her, right among the camels, sent the children back to the tent, and planted myself as a screen before the woman with a sheepskin held over her. Thus she gave birth to her first son. 844

Presently her husband arrived and two slaves of Faris's. The father picked up the newly born babe, and the three men ran to a camel, kicked it in the hip to make it rise, and with their right hands continued to massage the beast's right flank until it let down urine. With this

1 - [Of [illegible]els -- Analyst]

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

144 they bathed the squealing, downy infant all over, baptizing him with this herb-scented water of the beast of the desert into the sacred fellowship of the wilderness.

I was still thinking how unexpectedly this incident had come to pass, when I was startled by heavy pattering on the tent-roof and on the sand outside. Everywhere, on tents and on the backs of the camels, it was raining big, fat, reddish locusts!

The new baby boy's mother was just then squatting in her smoke-filled tent, engaged, with the assistance of her women friends, in swathing his little body in a plaster of dried camel dung and old rags—a measure considered indispensable among the Bedouins for the protection of newly born children. But, all-important
136 as this ceremony was, all the women except the mother
222 rushed away pell-mell, to help their menfolk and children to harvest the locusts.

These kept coming up in swarms—nay, in cloud piled on cloud. While myriads whirred past and on with a loud noise, a host of them broke flight and settled. Wherever one looked, the ground was thick with them, covered, as it were, with a crawling red carpet. Grass, herbage, bushes melted away under the devouring mass of insects. And the whole camp was out gathering them.
252 Soon locusts were roasting at every fire, round which
262 men, women, and children squatted in a circle. They picked up the insects by their gauzy wings, plucked off the legs, dipped the roasted "husks" in salt, and ate them, skin and all.

Boiled, I did not like locusts; they had the taste of particularly insipid cabbage or some such vegetable.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VIII

CHILDREN

BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN

A woman who has had sexual intercourse with a man is called a *waḥama* during the thirty days while it is as yet unknown whether she has conceived or not. If she has conceived she is called *nâzel* or *ḥâmel*. For her delivery a Rwala woman never sends for a midwife. Kurdi's wife, for example, bore a child while sitting in a *žetab* litter on the march and never ceased to guide her camel. She cut the navel cord herself, wrapped the child in her dress, dismounted in the new camping ground, and carried the baby boy, *'ajjel*, to her tent.

A woman who has miscarried, *ramat*, and the fruit of whose womb has perished, *rma'*, is an object of fear.

A woman after confinement, *nefesa*, lives just as before the delivery, with no change in her diet.

When a son is born, the father is congratulated by his nearest relatives but expresses no particular joy; neither does he send out invitations to a meat supper. No animal is sacrificed or slaughtered at the birth of a boy or girl.

For seven days after its birth the child is bathed in camel's urine and rubbed with salt. On either the tenth, twentieth, or fortieth day wheat is gathered by the female relatives of the confined woman, shredded, and then a dinner prepared from it in her tent, to which all the women from the camp are invited. This festivity is known as the examination of the child, *ṭlâ'at al-'ajjel*. The mother goes with the child on a visit to all her relatives, a custom called *taṭlî'a*. Everybody presents the baby with something, often either a young camel or a colt, the gifts remaining its property.

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has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk erḥed 'enda maratk hunâk*." But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-i-ḥejz*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt el-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ*, *tebni*, *tarmi*, *teŝil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi*, *tešajjeḥ w-tehuŝŝ lal-faras*, etc.

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The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *raṣa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

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time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

Many a Rwala girl becomes pregnant before the wedding. As soon as this is noticed by her relatives, they try to help her by various means, even if injurious to her health. Should the girl die from an abortion nobody will ever hear of it, as the women keep silent and the men as a rule pay no attention to matters concerning women. If the girl cannot rid herself of the foetus, she presses her lover to marry her at once, but in case he refuses or is absent at the time she often commits suicide. For should her father or brother find that his daughter or sister is with child, he would coax her on some pretext outside of the camp, kill her, cut her body in ten pieces, and then bury them. Nobody will take the girl's part, nobody asks the reason, they simply talk of her as if she had died a natural death. Her kin, *aḥl*, would not allow a single girl who had become a mother to stay among them. Her child would not be a member of the kin, and, because it would not be acknowledged by the father on account of its illegitimacy, it would be without a kin and would stand in the clan like a stranger, without protection, without help. But a position of this nature is so contrary to the views and customs of the Bedouins that it is never allowed to arise. A pregnant girl may escape from her tribe and seek refuge in the settled territory or in a large town and try to make a living there. If she disappears without making herself conspicuous, no one will pursue her; she is soon forgotten, yet must never return. Her kinsfolk consider her dead and would kill her should she come back to them. The girls, of course, know the punishment meted out to them, and therefore place a saber between themselves and their lovers at their night meetings, with the warning: "I am a maiden! Fear Allâh. *Ana bint ḥef min allâh.*"

Only when the girl has been raped, *maṣṣûba*, will her relatives spare her, but in this case they kill both the violator and the child without mercy, and then demand from the murdered man's kin the blood price for the child. This cannot be left alive, as it would have no kin, *aḥl*, and compensation for it is asked because it has weakened the girl, a member of their kin.

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586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she h... stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
● 851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *leha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

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introducing himself as his son. Without giving the matter much consideration or making long inquiries, as he was at feud with Ḫalaf, Fahad acknowledged Ṭrâd as his son and asked his brother an-Nûri to give the young man his daughter to wife. But when an-Ṇûri acquainted the girl with this proposal she swore that she would never consent. On learning of this Fahad commanded an-Nûri, whom he wished to ruin: "Either thou bringest thy daughter to the *ḥeğra* tent thyself, or it will be done by me without thy consent." An-Nûri therefore bade his female slaves to get the *ḥeğra* in readiness and to bring his daughter there after sunset. The girl, however, in the meantime had persuaded her brother Nawwâf to wait for her at night by the place reserved for the riding camels and to save her from Ṭrâd. When this youth entered the *ḥeğra* she began to converse with him, pretending to be sorry that she knew him so little and saying that she should be much happier if he would marry her for love and not from compulsion; and when Ṭrâd tried to assure her that she had already been the object of his desire for a long time, she asked him for proofs. Ṭrâd now began to cite at some length all the instances where and when he had seen and inquired about her, by whom he had sent word to her, etc. The time flew and the moon set. Suddenly she rose asking Ṭrâd's permission to step out in order to satisfy a natural necessity. Ṭrâd nodding his consent, she left to return no more. To the man guarding the female riding camels she gave the same reason that she had given Ṭrâd and then walked some distance farther into a small gully where Nawwâf was waiting for her with a saddled she-camel. He then leaped into the saddle, she took her seat behind him, and on they rode to Eben Ğandal.

Ṭrâd was patiently waiting for his bride in the tent all this time. Realizing at last that the girl had outwitted him, he was ashamed to alarm the camp and said in the morning that she had left with his consent. That very day Fahad received a visit from the chief Ḫalaf âl Iḏen with his wife, Ṭrâd's mother. Both swore that Ḫalaf was the real father of Ṭrâd, because, after having wedded Ḫalaf, the youth's mother had still had her monthly period three times in succession. Yet Ṭrâd appealed to Fahad to protect his son and not to believe a false oath. Fahad finally declared that Ḫalaf must appear in court at al-'Ela. The latter duly went to this settlement

851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meǧîdijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧal*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *mârat flân hawjânaten 'ala flân.*" If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *ḫejje*. If his wife's lover

683 time under the protection of some powerful personage, he must give ten camels to the girl or woman he has insulted.

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Its name the child receives from its mother alone, this being one of her privileges. Sometimes she selects a name without thinking long about it; at other times, again, she may be directed by various influences. Thus, for instance, Prince an-Nûri's wife gave birth to a boy when camping near the castle of Âl Aḥejẓer — or, as it is called by the Rwala, al-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Ḥafâği — and named the boy Ḥafâği. Another woman was delivered during a heavy rain and she called her little son Maṭar, Rain. Kurdi's wife bore two girls although she greatly wished to have a boy. So she prayed to Allâh, and he granted her wish some time afterwards; she gave the baby boy the name of Raġa', meaning "The Granting of Favor." The wife of 'Awde al-Kwêčbi had a very painful delivery, *te'assarat*, and therefore said: "Thou shalt be called 'Asîr, Born in Pain." Another woman, filled with wrath because her husband had just taken a second wife, named her son Muṛîẓ, Enraging. The wife of the slave Ḥmâr abu 'Awwâd received a beating from her husband shortly before a son was born to her, and, still being angry with him, she called the boy in remembrance of his mother's ill-treatment, Za'al, Anger. When delivered of a girl a little later, she said: "Thy father's name is Donkey, Ḥmâr, so thou shalt be called Cow, Baḳara." There is no beast nor plant after which a child cannot be named.

Up to its seventh year the child is spoken of as *waṛad* (pl., *wuṛdân*), *wara'* (pl., *wur'ân*), or *'aǧi* (pl., *'aǧjân*). After his seventh year a boy is called *'ejâl*. The name for a dead baby is *faraṭ* (pl., *afrâṭ*). For these a sacrifice, *temîma*, must be brought at the next memorial festival in honor of the dead, *ẓaḥijje*.

CIRCUMCISION CEREMONIES

The Rwala circumcise their sons between their third and seventh years, usually in the season of *aṣ-ṣejf* (thus in late April or May) on either Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday immediately before the fifteenth day of the lunar month or just after that day. Two days before the circumcision the girls from the whole camp come to the tent of the man whose son is to be circumcised, decorate the main tent pole with ostrich feathers, red kerchiefs, and ribbons, *ṛazzow al-mṣanna'*, and proclaim with joyful cries, *zaṛrût*, that a circumcision, *mṣanna'*, is being prepared for. After sunset the whole youth of both sexes of the camp assemble there, the young men forming a semicircle open towards the tent, where a mighty fire is burning. An adult girl with her face covered so that only her eyes are visible then posts herself between the fire and the youths. The *ḥâši*, as this girl is called, holds in her right hand a sharp saber. The youths begin to stamp, clap

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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their hands, and rock their bodies to right and left and forward and backward. Shouting in deep tones: "Look out! look out! *daḥḥî daḥḥî*," they touch the girl with their hands. She draws back and defends herself with the saber; the youths accelerate their movements, attack the *ḥâši* with more passion, while she swings the saber still more ardently. The saber flashes like lightning, the girl steps aside, gives way, and advances; all her movements are silhouetted against the glare of the fire behind her; the ground groans under the feet of the stamping youths and in their deep voices, hoarse with fatigue and lust, they cry: "*Daḥḥî daḥḥî.*" When tired they drop down on one knee, the girl follows their example, and the fun goes on till the nearly exhausted girl jumps up and runs away. Then a rest is taken. Sometimes a young man recites a poem, the men and women present exclaiming after each verse: "O welcome to thee, welcome to thee! *jâ hala bak jâ hala.*" The poem once ended, another girl is put on the scene by the host, and the amusement, *daḥḥa*, starts anew. As a rule three or four girls, *ḥašjân*, succeed each other, and the *daḥḥa* ends only at sunrise. On the next night the performance is repeated.

On the third day in the morning either the father or the nearest relative of the boy to be circumcised brings a she-camel to the front of the tent, cuts the veins of her forelegs with a saber, and then kills her amid the loud rejoicings of the women, *jezaṛruten*. Such an animal is called the circumcision sacrifice, *ḏbîḥt al-mṣanna'*. Her blood soaks into the ground, and the meat is cooked in large kettles, the boy's relatives preparing bread or soft boiled wheat, *'ejš*, in the meantime. At noon the women carry the bread, the *'ejš*, and the meat to the father's tent, where on this occasion anybody may enter and eat his fill. This dinner is called *'anijjet al-mṣanna'*.

After dinner the father — or, in case he has died, the nearest relative — takes on his lap the boy, dressed in black on that day. He pretends to show him something, and then cuts off his prepuce, *ṛuluſteh*, with a sharp knife. The boy cries with pain, the women rejoice loudly, *jezaṛruten*, the youths leap on their horses, shoot, and arrange a mock battle, *ṛâd al-ḫejl*, in front of the tent. When the boy has quieted down a little, they wash him, dress him in white, and the relatives hand and bring him gifts of all kinds, such as cloth-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 ing, weapons, colts, young camels, etc. These gifts, *nehîle*, belong to the boy exclusively. When the mock battle ends the men amuse themselves with shooting at a target. This is the head of the slaughtered she-camel set up at a considerable distance from the host's tent, from which they shoot. He who hits it may take and cook it for himself.

Ditties Sung at Circumcision Ceremonies

539x 852 [535] In the evening the girls form two lines in the space before the tent, and a couple of them step inside the lane thus made. One without her kerchief and with her hair loosened dances, inclining both head and body to right and left, forwards and backwards, but she must not leave her ground. To prevent this, the second girl holds her hands during the performance. The other girls accompany her contortions with a quiet clapping of hands, meanwhile singing ditties called *hafle*, this also being the name of the dance.

'Aširken jâ-hl ṛanâdîr
mâ beh raǧa' low raǧejnâh
w-alli jetaṛâleh al-maḥâṣîr
dowr al-ḥawâṭer bellejâh.

From your husband, O you well dressed ones!
We can expect nothing despite our hopes,
And to him who thinks the cost too high
Why should our favors be granted for nothing?

A woman fond of dress and of being carried around in a litter needs a husband who does not object to the expense entailed. If one will not grant all her wishes, she seeks another one, more generous.

Jâ râčeb al-malḥa
kezz al-mečâtîbi
w-en dannaḳat tar'a
'oṭṭha-l-mešâ'îbi.

O thou rider on the black camel!
Fold again and preserve the letters;
And if thy camel lowers her head to graze,
Tap her with thy stick.

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The maiden longs for a word from her lover, who has gone with some traders in camels to Egypt, and urges the messenger carrying letters for the chief to hurry.

Zâ'û min al-'ejd w-mežfîni
w-mnaššerîn ad-dallâli
'allemi bihom bel-maḳâṭîni
w-mrakkezîn al-maḳâmi.

After the holiday they departed, but in the opposite [direction,
Their best clothes donning. [to stay
Let me hear of their news, that they have encamped
And have erected a water hoist.

The maiden learns where her lover's kin have encamped. *Al-'ejd* is the holiday of *aẓ-ẓaḥijje*, when a she-camel is sacrificed by the Bedouins to every member of their kin who has died in the past year. *Mežfîn* means that they have not followed the other Arabs in their forward movement but have taken the opposite direction. They encamped by a watering place and for a long period, hence *maḳâṭîni*. The word *meḳṭân* designates a place where the Bedouins make a prolonged stay in summer time; thus *ḳaṭanna 'ala-l-ḳâra* means "we camped a long time in al-Ḳâra." *Maḳâm* is the wooden apparatus for raising water, fastened above the edge of a deep well (see my *Arabia Deserta*, Fig. 35, p. 161). Such an apparatus is arranged only when the Arabs intend to stay at that particular well for some time. On that occasion they take out their best clothes and the women dress in their finest, *munaššerîn ad-dallâl*.

Ed'û râ'i-š-šowše
an-nûri mâ ḥala' howšeh
jâ mušarreden lar-radi bowšeh
jâ howš at-turk jâ howšeh.

Wish long life to him with the short hair,
To an-Nûri — Oh, how graceful is he in the fight,
He who frees the herds captured by a wretch!
Ah, the fight with the Turks, ah, his fight with them!

Ed'û for *jâ ṭawîl al-'omr*. When going to battle every rider bares his head. The kerchief rests on his shoulders; the weight of the head rope hanging round the neck holds it to the body. *Šowše* means short, unbraided hair on the

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

[302] top of the head. As a rule only a tuft of it is left standing,
539x the rest being shaven. *Mušarred* (or *jifekk*) *bowšeh*, liberates
852 his loot. Fighting with the Turks (i. e. with the regular army)
[721] was difficult for the Bedouins and therefore greatly desired by them.

Jâ mnîfe jâ miznet aṣ-ṣejf
jâ brûḳaha jil'aženni
tel'ab 'ala-l-bîẓ bel-kejf
waš 'âd low jiẓ'alenni.

O Mnîfe, O thou rain cloud of the early summer!
How dazzling its lightning is to me!
Thou canst play with the fair ones at thy will,
For I [in thy place] should not care if they grow angry with me.

[132] At the close of April, when summer begins, each rain is accompanied by a violent storm by which the atmosphere is greatly refreshed. Mnîfe, the wife of the head chief, needs not envy her female companions, as she excels them in both beauty and power.

Jâ bejt abu nawwâf
jâ minwet al-bâdi
w-rwijhom bel-ḳêẓ
ḥabra lel-warâdi
wa-ṣḥûnahom bel-lêl
tawḥi lha menâdi
teḥûfehen mnîfe
jâ bint al-aǧwâdi.

O thou tent of the father of Nawwâf!
O thou goal desired of the night pilgrim!
In summer their large water bags are
As a great rain pond from which water is brought.
To their dishes at night
The criers noisily invite;
They are prepared by Mnîfe,
A daughter of noble ancestors.

Abu Nawwâf is Prince an-Nûri; his wife Mnîfe is a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm. *Bâdi*, like *sâjer*, means a traveler by night, or a visitor. By both the men's and the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

By both the men's and the
women's compartments of the tents blazing fires are kept up, attracting the traveler even at a great distance. *Rwijhom* means water bags, each made from half of a camel's hide and holding about 150 liters of water. If there is a scarcity of water in the *ḳêẓ* season (midsummer) everybody gets it at the chief's tent. *Ḥabra* (pl., *ḥabâri*) are the level spaces of various sizes on a vast plain, in which the rain water from the higher ground accumulates. *Ṣḥûnahom* are extraordinarily large pans with two handles, often as much as a meter and a half in diameter, in which supper is brought to the guests whom either the chief or his representative invites to sit down, calling each by his name. In the dead of night these calls can be heard from afar.

Ṣubjân ṭowb al-mâl	O youths, a costly garb
lâ telbesûneh	Put not on!
jista'heleh nawwâf	Of that Nawwâf is deserving
w-ḥejfi zebûneh	Whose caftan is not new,
elja ǧâ nahâr al-kown	When on the day of the fray
w-je'ażżed redûneh.	His long shirt sleeves behind his neck he ties.

Ṭowb is the man's long shirt made of white linen. *Towb al-mâl* is a shirt with decorative stitching around the neck and on the breast. The sleeves of this shirt are often as much as a meter and a half long and end in a sharp angle. During a fight or when the wearer is engaged in some hard task the sleeve ends are tied together and thrown behind the neck. *Zebûn* is a garb made from variegated fabric and worn over the shirt. Nawwâf, as the brâvest of all, should also wear the best clothes.

Tabaszerû jâ hla-l-ḥejl
nawwâf šara-l-ma'naḳijje
sižân mešâ'el darâriǧ
min taḥat 'ûd al-ḥanijje
ḳâl erčabi lâ tḫâfi
mâ zâl râsi 'alijje.

At the glad news rejoice, you riders:
Nawwâf has bought a mare of the *ma'naḳijje* breed;
Mešâ'el's calves like the rollers appear
Under the pole of a curved litter.

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He said: "Enter and nothing fear,
While on my shoulders my head remains."

The women and girls praise Nawwâf and his spouse Mešâ'el, daughter of Saṭṭâm and Turkijje.

Ma'naḳijje is considered one of the best breeds of horses. The good news that a *ma'naḳijje* mare has been bought signifies Ṇawwâf's wedding with the daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm — that is, with the offspring of the best family. When entering a litter the woman must bend and involuntarily show the calves of her legs. *Darârîğ* (sing., *darrâğe*) are spindles wound full with thread. *Al-ḥanijje* signifies a litter of the *žetab* variety, with long curved poles. Mešâ'el may sit tranquilly in her litter. Nawwâf will repulse any hostile attack threatening the women during the march.

[516]

Wa'-šûf žebâl aš-šaṭṭ
bujûten tbanna
nawwâf jâ mesčâj
nabṛi waṭanna.

Ah, before the Euphrates I see
The pitching of tents.
O Nawwâf, thou appeaser of sorrow!
We long for our country.

A few Kwâčbe kins revolted against Prince an-Nûri, left the Rwala, and encamped with the 'Amârât on the Euphrates. Their women and girls sent word to Nawwâf to intercede for them with the prince, his father, in order that they might return home.

Waṭan, territory, is used but seldom; the common expression is *dire*.

Tasamme'û jâ-hla-l-ḥejl
flân jeṭawwel šebâbeh
mâ ṭûl ḥajj 'ala-l-ḥejl
aṭ-ṭarš killen jehâbeh.

Hear ye, O riders!
So and So, may Allâh prolong his youth!
As long as he shall live and ride horses,
Any herd will be afraid of him.

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Jâ nawwâf nâdû zênakom
ṣâlḥa taḥaṭṭa' bênakom
tiswa salâjel ḫejlakom.

O Nawwâf, call for your beauty!
Ṣâlḥa, who paces among you,
Is worth whole herds of your mares.

Ṣâlḥa was a daughter of an-Nûri and sister of Nawwâf.

Jâ ṣâlḥa w-esma'û jâ nâs
w-hejleč nâfelin an-nâs
ahl hadda w-hal nowmâs
w-hal la'eben 'ala-l-frâs.

O Ṣâlḥa, hear, ye people!
Faith, thy little kin is the most generous of all.
They know how to attack, how to win fame,
And how to play when sitting on mares.

Wa'-ṣ-ṣafra bawwal al-ṛâra
jâ nawwâf šâ'at aḏkârah.

Ah, in attack the white mare is first;
O Nawwâf, far and wide she is remembered!

Lâ mâ ḥala' ḏer'âneč ṣîta
bel-wašâm mu'ašraḳâti
mâ ḥala' haddat ahalha
w-as-sujûf muḥannijâti
mâ ḥala' ṯowrat ǧemalha
beš-šerâja mubajjenâti.

Ah, how beautiful thy arms, O Ṣîta,
With blue tattoo marks!
How beautiful the noise of the attack of her kin
And the sabers blood-dyed as if with henna.
How prettily her camel to its feet is rising
Adorned with purchased ornaments.

Ṣîta, a daughter of the late Prince Saṭṭâm, was married to Prince an-Nûri. *Hadda* means the noise, during an attack, of shooting, war cries, neighing of the horses, and groans of the wounded. *Muḥannijât*, dyed with henna, are sabers stained with blood. Ṣîta used to ride a strong gray camel when the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

852 tribe was migrating. Her litter, *žetab*, was ornamented with various red blankets bought in the markets.
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Al-ašḳaḥ mâ ḥala' hoz'ateh
jâ ṣîta terteb wad'ateh.

How beautiful the gait of the gray camel!
It is Ṣîta sewing small shells [of its litter] on a pattern.

The litter carried by the camel and its halter are ornamented with small white seashells, forming little stars, squares, and other patterns. With the rolling gait of the animal the litter also rocks and the white shells flash with a peculiar glitter.

Al-ašḳaḥ w-en denni 'aṭab
jabṛi-l-ḥmêjri w-aḍ-ḍahab.

The gray camel which should kneel hops on three legs;
Perhaps it desires the red blankets and gold trinkets.

As soon as the slaves had forced the gray camel ridden by Ṣîta to kneel and had tied its left leg in order to take off the litter more easily, it arose and began to hop on its three legs, because it did not wish to be deprived of the red covering and fringes interwoven with gold thread.

Al-awẓaḥ jaz'až al-beddi
jâ ṣîta min ẓana ǧeddi.

The white camel tears the cushions supporting the litter;
O Ṣîta, thou hailest from the kin of my ancestor!

Ṣîta also used to ride a pure white camel. *Beddi* is the word for the cushions against which the wooden *žetab* litter rests in the saddle. A spirited camel turns its head back and tears the cushions with its teeth.

Jâ ṣîta bint ǧeddêni
ǧedden jenzel as-sâḳa
w-ǧedden jenṭaḥ al-ḫêli.

O Ṣîta, who hailest on both sides from brave ancestors!
The one used to camp in the places most dangerous,
While the other used to throw down the riders with his lance.

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Ṣîta's mother, Turkijje was the daughter of the head chief of the Fed'ân. Ṣîta's father, Saṭṭâm, usually selected a place for his camping ground where his clans were exposed to the greatest danger. Such a place is called *sêḳa*. His wife's father was a hero of renown whom no troop of riders could resist. 852 539x

Ṛazâlen daššakom mâ hâb
jâ bint muḫazzaʿ al-arḳâb.

A gazelle ran in amongst you
And feared not.
O thou daughter of him who chopped off
Heads!

Ṣîta was not frightened even when the enemy succeeded in entering the camp. She inherited her father's character.

Jâ ṣîta bintena-r-razne
čeṭîr al-mâl jašrîha
želîl al-mâl waʿ ḫazneh.

O Ṣîta, our cold-blooded daughter!
Only a rich man could buy her,
While a poor one would, alas, grieve vainly for her.

Ṣîta was both astute and cool-tempered. At times when an-Nûri trembled for his life Ṣîta watched over him day and night to prevent his being poisoned or assassinated in his own tent. Such a woman can be bought only by a rich man.

Ahal ṣîta jiḥellûn
sukkâra mâ jiḍellûn
ʿala-s-sâḳât juʿajjûn
w-hal ṣaḥnen jiḥoṭṭûn.

Ṣîta's kinsmen fall upon the enemy as if on sheep for
Like drunken men, nothing can frighten them; [sacrifice,
Careless they are of the most dangerous spots,
And their dishes they constantly fill.

The warriors act in the battle just as if they were merely slaughtering sheep, *jiḥellûn*. *Sâḳât* are places exposed to the direct attack of the enemy and therefore highly dangerous. A chief of renown not only ignores this danger but even selects localities of that kind in order to avert the danger from his people and to destroy the enemy himself. Thus praise is given [726 622]

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852 539* to Ṣîta's kinsmen for remaining calm in danger and for their bravery and generosity, because they put food on the pan, *ṣaḥn*, before their guests.

Jâ ṣîta meḥzemeč ğebri O Ṣîta, splendid is thy belt,
'alejh min aḍ-ḍahab šebri. Which is gilded a span wide.

[292] The daughters and wives of the powerful chiefs wear over their dress, *ṭowb*, as a rule, a belt of wool or silk interwoven with gold or silver threads.

Ğemal ṣîta šaba-l-maṭlâ'
ğa'al min tabṛozeh tenlâ'
jamût wlêdaha-r-rzâ'.

Ṣîta's camel climbed a summit,
O Allâh! grant that she who looks angrily at it may lose her color,
And that her baby boy whom she nurses may die.

Šaba' al-maṭlâ' means that a camel carrying a pretty litter climbed a height; thus the litter projected above the horizon and was visible from afar. The Bedouins think that an angry [754] envious look can do man even deadly harm, and, therefore, that a woman who looks at Ṣîta's camel in that manner should be punished by Allâh. *Tenlâ'* means a woman who grows extremely [842 554] thin and loses her healthy color. A *wlêd*, baby boy, is preferred by a mother to a girl, because he adds and will yet add to the esteem she enjoys in the tent. In losing him, her life's [586 754] happiness is often lost. She is then divorced by her husband and may have to wait long before finding another, owing to the fear that an evil spirit is after her.

Já mohra židat Oh, that little mare, which was being led
min bên nazlêni Between the two camps!
ḳawwâdha ḫâled She was led by Ḫâled,
lâ já ba'ad 'êni. Oh, that I may look long at him!

Mohra means in this case the young wife of Ḫâled, the son of the late Prince Saṭṭâm; her relatives were camping not far off on the wedding day.

Jâ bakraten ḥorra
já mašjaha zafzâf

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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rakkâbaha mamdûḥ
jaḳloṭ w-lâ jaḫâf
tesell selîl al-maʾ
taḥṭom ʿala-l-asláf
jarmi w-lâ jeḫṭi
jaḳʿod w-lâ jenšâf.

Oh, that noble young she-camel,
How swift her gait!
She is ridden by Mamdûḥ,
Who strikes down all in front of him and knows no fear.
The she-camel as quickly as running water vanishes,
Running ahead of the first troop,
While he shoots, never missing,
And bends down so that he cannot be seen.

Mamdûḥ was the youngest and most daring son of Prince Saṭṭâm. In a fight no enemy could stand against him. The enemy flees, and Mamdûḥ strikes him a blow from behind, so that he falls on the neck of his animal. *Jaḳloṭ* means either to bend or to knock forward a saddle or rider. *Selîl al-maʾ* is [133] a wild flood which dashes down suddenly and disappears as quickly. Many a valley — or rather channel — is as much as two hundred kilometers long and dry for years. If copious rain of long duration falls, the waters rush with lightning speed through the channel, surprise the Bedouins who happen to be camping at its lower end, and as quickly vanish again. Such a flood is not a *sejl*, brook or stream, but a *selîl*, a temporary torrent. Mamdûḥ's she-camel appears as unexpectedly, but just as speedily is gone owing to her great endurance in running. *Salaf* is a troop of warriors riding at the head of a migrating tribe. Mamdûḥ's she-camel constantly runs ahead of the *salaf*. *Jaḳʿod* signifies that Mamdûḥ, a youngster still, bends down at every shot in order to take better aim; he thus cannot be seen behind the neck of his animal. In 1909 he was only eighteen years of age.

RAISING OF CHILDREN

855

Until their seventh year both boys and girls remain with their mother, going to their father only for an occasional talk. If their mother is not divorced by their father, they live in the women's compartment and help with the lighter

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

were rolling up the tenting and covering the remains of the fire with sand. Milk-white camels were brought up for the women and girls of the *Sheykh's* household and made to kneel, so that they could mount to the travelling-litters on their backs.

In litters and saddlebags were carried the young of all species. From the lofty "riding-tent" of a *sheykh* looked out a smiling woman with a child at her breast. A camel calf, too unsteady as yet to travel on its feet, hung in a hamper suspended from its mother's hump; on her other side the wistful faces of two little girls peeped from the saddlebag. A troop of baby camels a few days old crowded up curiously and their mothers came and nuzzled them and tried to push them away.

Carried on camels in special saddle-frames, or hanging limply in the arms of their riders, were young foals, exhausted and starved, because the mother mares had been dry for days. Only the dogs were fat. They could glut themselves on the droves of fallen animals.

The multitude of the assembled tribe, with its chattels and herds, had swelled to gigantic proportions. Nothing like it had happened for generations. The whole nation was in movement. This was not one of the ordinary migrations that take place in the spring or autumn; rather was it one of the historic tribal exoduses that occur once in a generation—or century.

In their hundreds of thousands, grunting camels swarmed over the face of the wilderness. Their long necks rose and fell rhythmically. They undulated and flowed on as if they were carried forward by some invisible movement of the ground. Like locusts, they

291 554 Some say: "The clothes are the wings of the descendants of Adam, *al-hdûm ǧenâḥ beni âdam*," as people always consider a well-dressed man something better than he really is. Others again claim that the clothes do not add to a man's good qualities. "A good man will be good even if on rising from bed (he has nothing on but his shirt), while a scamp will be a scamp even if he scrubs himself with soap; *az-zên zên low ka'ad min manâmeh aš-šên šên low taṛassal beṣ-ṣâbûn.*"

291 832 A maiden suing for a youth's favor is careful of her appearance and dresses to the best of her ability, but as soon as she knows herself to be loved she cares no more for dressing finely and thinks only of her lover's qualities. A popular ditty says:

W-allâh jâ ǧerd larmîk w-albes ǧedîd
ajj al-ǧedîd w-ajj al-ǧerdi
ilja šuft az-zên 'aḳli jerdi
eḳrûn aš-šowḳ rumḥ as-serdi.

By Allâh, I shall cast thee aside, old dress, and put on a new one.
But which is the new and which the old?
If I see a noble youth, my judgment is gone,
For has not my beloved plaits as long as a spear carried by the Serdijje?

291 At home in his tent the man can leave off his cloak, *'aba'*, or his sheepskin coat, *farwa*, or he can go, as the saying is, in a dress below his belt, *behdûm al-maḥzam*; outside, however, he must not appear in that condition, for that would be an offence against common decency. If a traveler arrives without his mantle or sheepskin coat, he makes it known either that he has been robbed or has lost those articles. In dangerous districts a Rwejli will only loosen his belt in the evening and will go to bed fully dressed. Elsewhere he sleeps either in his shirt or even naked, merely wrapped in his mantle. If suddenly awakened by noise at night, he jumps out of his bed, snatches up his arms, and pressing the cloak to the body with his left hand, rushes out to see what has happened.

854 The hips of a baby are plastered with dry camel's manure, *dimne*; the baby is then wrapped in a long shawl tied with a thin string and fastened by two ropes of camel's hair to the two main tent stakes, and the cradle, *mhâd*, is ready.

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The dry manure absorbs the baby's urine and excrements. In its second year the child gets a dark-blue shirt, *ṭuʿêb*, and its little head is covered with a hood, *ḳaba'*, tied with two cords, *'elṭa*, under the chin. Likewise shoes, *ḳzejme*, are put on its feet. 854

Every Rwejli carries a stick, as staffs are generally needed for directing the riding camels. These sticks are thin and about eighty centimeters long; they are called *meḫǧân* and are as a rule made by the Rwala themselves from strong saplings, preferably those cut from almond trees. One end is perforated and a strong cord tied into a sling pulled through the hole. The hand is then passed through the sling and the *meḫǧân* hangs from the wrist. The other, or thicker, end of the stick is carved into an ibis head to the length of about eight centimeters and a width of, say, three and a half centimeters. The *bâkûr* is a stick also provided with a cord at one end, the other being bent in a semicircle. The *maṭraḳ* is entirely straight. Both the *bâkûr* and *maṭraḳ* are bought from the peddlers; they are rattan, *ḫajzarâni*, sticks. The *ḳana'* is a heavy cane about seventy centimeters long and ending in a knob. The *maslût* is a staff 1.2 meters long, stout but not too heavy. In the first third of its length it is perforated and a thin strap forming a sling is pulled through the hole; the staff hangs from the saddle by the sling. The *maḏrûb* closely resembles a *maslût* but is much stouter, heavier, and from the middle upwards visibly thicker. All three, *ḳana'*, *maslût*, and *maḏrûb*, are properly weapons. 293 411

SMOKING PIPES

Many Rwala — both men and women — are fond of smoking. Every smoker has a pipe. A man's pipe is called *sebîl*, a woman's *ṣaljûn*. The Rwejli either carves a *sebîl* himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsi. The *sebîl* is a one-piece pipe, forming an elbow. Its thinnest part is the horizontal mouthpiece, which is about nine centimeters long and is called the *ḏêl*. The angle of the elbow is named *ṭiz*; the vertical bowl about five centimeters long is the *râs*, and the inside the *baṭn*. The mouth of the bought *sebîl* is enclosed by a brass ring, *ṭowḳ*, from which hangs a chain, *sinsile*, with a brass cap, *ḳab'ijje*, to prevent the smoldering tobacco from falling out. A wire, *mibḫâš*, serves as the pipe 276

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776 time after this, *ʿoḳob mišwâr*, I heard singing and the beating
823 of a drum. This time I looked up with more attention — and there, right before me, shadows of dancing girls were flitting. And yet there was no camp near. The girls went within a stone's throw of me, beckoned to me, smiled, and tried in various ways to draw me towards them. But I pressed my face close to the ground and hugged it as tight as I could with my whole body so as to see and hear nothing. Then I fell asleep."

A Rwejli was riding at night through the al-Ḥadîṭa ruins in the Sirḥân depression. Suddenly he heard the voices of women rejoicing, *zaṛârît*, and calling: "Welcome to thee! welcome to thee! *jâ hala bak jâ hala*." A little while afterwards he was surrounded by pretty girls who asked him to dance with them, but when our Rwejli pronounced, *samma*, the word Allâh, the girls suddenly vanished.

At another time a small troop of migrating Rwala arrived late in the evening at al-Ḥadîṭa. As there was good pasture in the neighborhood they pitched their tents and, being very fatigued by their long march, lay down to sleep, from which they did not awake till the sun was up. But their surprise may be imagined when on rising they found their tents struck, rolled together, and ready to be loaded on the camels. They loaded them with all the speed possible and at once rode from a place evidently inhabited by malevolent *ǧinn*.

824 In every tree and bush of the *sidr* and *ʿawseǧ* variety
776 there lives a spirit, and for this reason the wood of these thorny trees and bushes must not be used for fuel. Where the *sidr* trees grow in a cluster, the *ǧinn* have their gardens, as for instance at al-Obejjeẓ, Sejdarân, and al-ʿÂmeẓ.

776 Some of the earthly spirits are given to harming men and
●854 take on various shapes for that purpose. They have various names. Of these most dreaded by the Bedouins is a female spirit called *sarʿat aš-šîbe*. In appearance she is a tall thin woman wearing a dress made of leather. This spirit wanders about the desert from camp to camp, looking for children. If she hears a child crying, she crawls near, gropes about for it with her hands till she finds it, then catches it, and runs with it to her own kin. There the child is torn partly open, its blood sucked by all the spirits present, and its flesh devoured raw. Therefore mothers try to frighten their crying child with the warning: "Keep quiet or *as-sarʿa* will come for thee!" To protect a child from the spirits the Rwala women

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hang the cradle, *rûǧâḥa*, which is made of a quilted cover and has a rope tied to its four corners, high up to the tent poles. If, then, *as-sarʿa* comes into the tent, she looks for the child on the beds made on the floor and takes no notice of the cradle hanging from above.

Another evil spirit appears in the shape of a big greyhound bitch, *seleḳa*, with an enormous jaw and a breastbone, *zowr*, reaching to the ground. This spirit, known as *saʿaluwwa*, is the only spirit which appears in the wide level desert and lives in dens such as are used by the hyenas. A traveler, *ṭurḳi*, a member of the Mseke kin which belongs to the ʿEbede division, once met what he thought to be a *seleḳa* in the desert. He made it come to him, believing that it might lead him to the camp it had left. But instead of being a *seleḳa*, it proved to be a *saʿaluwwa* who jumped at him, tore flesh from his breast and face, sucked his blood, and did not leave him till he was half dead. When finally found by other travelers, all he could do was to tell what had happened to him before departing this life, *râḥ*.

A *ḳurṭa* or *ḳârûz* is a spirit who destroys newly born boys but does his work unobserved. If a Rwejli is married to a woman who has borne him several boys all of whom have died after a short time, and if the same thing happens also with the second wife, then he knows for certain that it is a *ḳurṭa* who has done him this wrong. To appease the spirit he procures a cock with green feathers on its neck and waits until his wife comes to childbed again. When her time is near, with the live cock he draws in his tent seven circles, one within the other, kills the cock in the seventh in the center, buries it there, and lays his wife over that spot. She will then bear without any pain, and her son will not die, because the *ḳurṭa* has been given what belonged to it. *ḥakk al-ḳârûz*.

REVERENCE FOR GRAVES RARE AMONG BEDOUINS

The Bedouins know of no communion with the saints. In the whole inner desert there is not a single holy grave or shrine erected in honor of a saint. In fact they have no saints whatever. When they make their short sojourns in the settled territory, where by every village the dome of a shrine rises above the real or imaginary grave of some man or woman

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rakkâbaha mamdûḥ
jaḳloṭ w-lâ jaḫâf
tesell selîl al-ma'
taḥṭom 'ala-l-aslâf
jarmi w-lâ jeḫṭi
jaḳ'od w-lâ jenšâf.

Oh, that noble young she-camel,
How swift her gait!
She is ridden by Mamdûḥ,
Who strikes down all in front of him and knows no fear.
The she-camel as quickly as running water vanishes,
Running ahead of the first troop,
While he shoots, never missing,
And bends down so that he cannot be seen.

Mamdûḥ was the youngest and most daring son of Prince Saṭṭâm. In a fight no enemy could stand against him. The enemy flees, and Mamdûḥ strikes him a blow from behind, so that he falls on the neck of his animal. *Jaḳloṭ* means either to bend or to knock forward a saddle or rider. *Selîl al-ma'* is a wild flood which dashes down suddenly and disappears as quickly. Many a valley — or rather channel — is as much as two hundred kilometers long and dry for years. If copious rain of long duration falls, the waters rush with lightning speed through the channel, surprise the Bedouins who happen to be camping at its lower end, and as quickly vanish again. Such a flood is not a *sejl*, brook or stream, but a *selîl*, a temporary torrent. Mamdûḥ's she-camel appears as unexpectedly, but just as speedily is gone owing to her great endurance in running. *Salaf* is a troop of warriors riding at the head of a migrating tribe. Mamdûḥ's she-camel constantly runs ahead of the *salaf*. *Jaḳ'od* signifies that Mamdûḥ, a youngster still, bends down at every shot in order to take better aim; he thus cannot be seen behind the neck of his animal. In 1909 he was only eighteen years of age.

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RAISING OF CHILDREN

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Until their seventh year both boys and girls remain with their mother, going to their father only for an occasional talk. If their mother is not divorced by their father, they live in the women's compartment and help with the lighter

work. If they deserve it they are spanked with a stick, not only by their mother or father, but by the slaves both male and female. The Rwala believe that the rod originated in Paradise, *al-ʿaṣa aẓharat min al-ǧenna*, and that it also leads man back to it. The older boys attend to the mares, guard them on the pasture grounds, take them to water, and ride on them while migrating; they also bring fuel to the men's quarters, serve the guests with water, etc. They squat with the men around the fire listening to the conversation and learn also to recite poems and songs, in this manner acquainting themselves with all public affairs. Boys learn to shoot before they are fourteen and take part in at least one raid before they are sixteen. At this period the father would not think of punishing the disobedience of his son simply with a stick but uses a saber or a dagger instead. By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life. In the opinion of the Bedouins the son who disobeys is guilty of rebellion, for which the proper punishment is the saber, *aš-sejf lemin ʿaṣa'*.

BOYS' GAMES

The boys are never idle. When they are not helping their parents, they play. Some of their games are dangerous; all, however, tend to harden them and sharpen their faculties.

In playing *ramḥa* two lines are formed. The members of each side, holding their companions by the hand, take position and advance against the other side, kicking their opponents till one whole side rolls down, *jetarâmaḥûn*. Many leave the game with their bellies black and blue, but will stand up as long as they can bear the pain.

A very dangerous game is *šâra*. The boys bring their slings, *miẓlaʿ* (pl., *maẓâliʿ*), gather a supply of pebbles, separate into two hostile groups, and, declaring war on each other, throw stones from their slings, *jetašârûn*. Blood always flows. Often a boy loses an eye, gets a broken head or a split bone in his hand or leg, or even falls down dead; and yet the parents never forbid the game. For a dead boy the kin of the player who killed him must pay the blood price; for other serious hurts half of that. If the guilty party cannot be found, the relatives of all the boys participating in the game must pay, compensation of this kind being called *medda' ṛšejje*.

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should the guest fail to tip them well on his departure, they will not deign to notice him when he comes again. They are very eager to share in the raids, loot, of course, being their main object. All the horses captured by the slave must be delivered to his master, who, however, is obliged to give the slave a camel for every horse. One half of the captured camels go to the master, the others are the slave's share.

The little sons of the chiefs are brought up by the slaves; they make friends with the slaves' sons, and everything that they do is on the advice of the slaves and with their assistance. The slave is frequently the confidant of the first love of his master's son, negotiates with the girl's kin, protects his wife and children in a rebellion or hostile invasion, and is often the real guardian of his master's orphans, whom he also assists to regain their power and property. When the master's daughter marries into another tribe, as a rule she is accompanied thither by a reliable slave.

The slaves are the main support of the chief: they protect him against a sudden attack and execute any order he may give. Yet nobody deposes or kills a chief so readily or more frequently than his own slaves. In the disputes which sometimes arise between the members of ruling houses the decision lies with the slaves, so that a weak chief often is nothing but a tool in their hands. In camp every slave has a certain place allotted to him for his tent. They completely surround their chief's tent and in this manner prevent the entrance of unbidden guests. Whoever wishes his affair to succeed with the chief must first gain the head slave's favor. This man never opposes his master, but he generally arranges matters in such a way that in the end the chief cannot avoid endorsing every thing the slaves may desire.

The slaves call their master uncle, *'amm*, claiming to be *beni al-'amm*, relatives or cousins, of his kin. The imperative "*semm*," "Mention!" or "Order!" is used by the slave, by a raider, and even by a Bedouin, when his master or chief calls for him; it is an invitation to the master to make known his wish or command.

Among themselves the slaves have kin, *ahl*, like the Bedouins. They form marital ties without paying any heed to their master, only the consent of their own kin being necessary in this case. The master has no right to choose a wife for his slave or to take her away from him. Killing and

l: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

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small *khanjar* is a curved dagger, and it was with this very one Nuri had killed in single combat a minor chieftain of the Muntefiq.

One afternoon young Fuaz and a group of his little friends were practising with slings, the ancient weapon with which David slew Goliath. They shot flat pebbles with astounding accuracy at the small wooden pegs, which held the tent ropes down about thirty paces distant. Unseen by them, I suddenly stepped out from behind his tent. A stone, which had hit its target close to me, rebounded from the smooth wood and struck me on the forehead between the eyes. For a moment I was nearly stunned, more perhaps from shock than from the actual blow. My first thought was that I had been struck by a bullet.

Gasping and with a frightened face, Fuaz ran up to me. He had noticed the wound in my forehead and a few drops of blood on my fingers, which I had, in my confusion, pressed to my head. When I took the lad in my arms and laughingly lifted him up, to let him know that it was no great matter, a look of anger crossed his face, as if he had been offended. He wriggled free and stood still before me. Then he tore his *aghal* and *kaffiyah* (the veil and head-cloth) from his head, letting the six fine braids of his hair fall over his shoulders. They reached to his hips. With tears welling from defiant eyes, he cried, "*Ana dachilak!* Before the face of God I deliver myself unto you: tell me the price of your blood." It sounded not in the least regretful, nor did it suggest any wish to be forgiven. It was sheer defiance, because he thought I had made fun of his offer.

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work. If they deserve it they are spanked with a stick, not only by their mother or father, but by the slaves both male and female. The Rwala believe that the rod originated in Paradise, *al-ʿaṣa aẓharat min al-ǧenna*, and that it also leads man back to it. The older boys attend to the mares, guard them on the pasture grounds, take them to water, and ride on them while migrating; they also bring fuel to the men's quarters, serve the guests with water, etc. They squat with the men around the fire listening to the conversation and learn also to recite poems and songs, in this manner acquainting themselves with all public affairs. Boys learn to shoot before they are fourteen and take part in at least one raid before they are sixteen. At this period the father would not think of punishing the disobedience of his son simply with a stick, but uses a saber or a dagger instead. By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life. In the opinion of the Bedouins the son who disobeys is guilty of rebellion, for which the proper punishment is the saber, *as-sejf lemin ʿaṣa'*.

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Ma'kâla, another game, is not so dangerous. The boy takes off his kerchief, ties a knot in the middle of it, first putting a round pebble into it, posts himself at the goal, *mîd*, and then throws the knotted kerchief to his comrades who are waiting about fifty paces away. The boy who catches it beats the others with the knot while they run to the goal. Then, returning to his place, he throws the kerchief among the boys, who shout at him: "Give the kerchief to him who gave it to thee, *'aṭha min 'aṭâkîha*," and the game starts over again. Here also many a bump on the head or bloody bruise on the body is carried home from the game.

At night the boys play what is called *muḏmaḥ sara'*. They take a peg sharpened at both ends, *šẓâẓ*, of the kind used to fasten the back wall of the tent to the roof. One of the boys takes his stand at the goal, *mîd*, and throws the peg to his playmates posted about twenty paces from him. The boy who catches it cries: "*Muḏmaḥ sara'*, *muḏmaḥ* goes with me," and runs straight for the goal. The others throw themselves on him, trying to get hold of the peg and shouting: "I am the father of strength, I shall crush thee, *ab-al-'arejč w-'âreč*." The assailed boy defends himself as best he can, stabbing with the peg, kicking, and biting, so that he may reach the goal with the peg in his possession. Most of the scars resulting from this game are, of course, found on the clothes of the players.

When *ḥâğije* is played, a pit is dug on a level plot of ground, and inside it a smaller but deeper pit. On the edge of the larger pit a stone ball, *ḥâğije*, is laid; and a similar ball, *sîc*, only some sizes larger, is thrown from the goal at the first ball so as to knock it down into the large pit where it must roll into the smaller one. When all have had their turn, the boys who have succeeded in putting the ball in its place mount the backs of their less fortunate comrades, who must carry them like horses from the pit to the goal. That the riders seldom forget to kick and cuff their horses to get more speed out of them hardly needs to be added.

In the game of *ḥejl w-ḥejl* riders and horses are chosen by drawing lots. The riders take their places, the horses carrying them to the goal. There the horses cry: "*Al-ḥejl aklâb*," roll over to one side and then sit on the backs of their riders.

For the game of *ṭakka* every boy arms himself with a large tent peg. The boy chosen by lot lays a small sharp peg,

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524 *šẓâẓ*, on the highest stone near by, taps it with his large peg
857 enough to make it fly up a little, and when in the air gives it a good blow so as to make it fly to the other players who wait at a distance of about thirty or forty paces. Every one of them tries to hit the flying sharp peg with his own peg in order to send it back. As long as no one succeeds, the peg is returned to the first boy, who continues to bat it until one of his comrades finally strikes it and takes his place. When striking at the *šẓâẓ* peg the head or shoulders of a player often come in contact with it, with consequences easy to imagine.

Many a kerchief is torn to ribbons in the game called *dehdwa*. One boy rolls a large stone down a slightly inclined plane, while the others try to stop it, *ʿakašha*, with their kerchiefs. The one succeeding in this is entitled to roll it, *jedahdîha*.

ʿAḳê ʿaḳab is a game in which all the boys run for the goal, about a hundred paces away. He who reaches it first shouts: "*ʿaḳê ʿaḳab*," a command for the others to turn and run back to the starting point. The first boy to reach it now calls out the same words, "*ʿaḳê ʿaḳab*," and flies with the others to the goal again. This is repeated until all are exhausted. Finally the one to reach the goal first exclaims: "A pile of wood, *korkob ḫašab*," and sinks to the ground; the others follow his example, lie still for a while, but then begin to kick and strike out all around regardless of whom they hit.

DITTIES SUNG BY GIRLS

539x 857 533 The girls have no such games. Occasionally at night they form two choirs and alternately sing, *jesemran*, various ditties called *summejr*:

Tafawwelû bel-faẓa	For a good sign take a great plain,
jâ-lli ṭalab fâli	O all ye who ask me for a good sign!
fâli rŝêden w-ar-rašeḍ	Fortunate is my sign, for luck
ṭajjeb al-fâli.	Is the best of all signs ye may want.

539x 857 777 726 When the women and girls are about to start their *summejr*, the men and youths gather not far off. Before a raid or any act of importance every man observes the first word uttered by the woman or girl dear to him. That word they

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take to be their sign or omen, *fâl*, and try to guess from it whether their enterprise will meet with success or not. Knowing this the girls begin with the ditty quoted above. A *faẓa'*, or vast plain where the Bedouin cannot be ambushed, is to him a good sign. Better than any sign, however, is the luck itself or the successful result.

Enḥowderû les-summejr
w-az-zemel bel-misrâḥ
min hw jehedd aṭ-ṭejr
ma'lûḳ ḳlejbeh râḥ
jelfi 'ala marteh
jâ niğmet al-miṣbâḥ
erḥi ṭrejf as-sejr
žîfi 'ala-l-mebṭâḥ.

Gather for the *summejr*,
For the pack camels are out in the pasture.
Who is that training the hunting falcon?
The falcon to whom his heart clung disappeared and
Will soon reach its wife.
O morning star!
Loosen the end of thy leather belt
And stand leaning against the long litter pole.

The girls and women invite everybody to their entertainment, *summejr*, as it is unnecessary to get up so early next morning, since the chief's pack camels are not yet back from the pasture. They hear some one training his hunting falcon and later pity him, because the falcon has flown away and returned to its wife. When about to move they call out to the prettiest woman of the camp to stand up in her litter and shed light all around her like the morning star.

The word *enḥowderû*, gather down, come down together, is used because the *summejr* is always held in a low piece of ground protected against the wind. *Erḥi ṭrejf as-sejr* means "loosen the end of thy leather belt." Every woman wears a belt of small leather strips on her bare body. On entering a litter she loosens this belt in order not to be incommoded by it on the journey. *Žîfi*, stand leaning, for *žîfi*.

Jâ rabbi jâ ḥâlež al-lejl
hât al-maṭar min saḥâbeh

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mâ zâl nawwâf 'ala-l-ḥejl
w-al-mâl killen jahâbeh
jista'hel al-wared w-al-hejl
w-an-naḏel jaḳmaḥ šebâbeh.

O my Lord! O creator of the night!
Let us have rain from thy clouds,
Nawwâf goes out on raids constantly
And all the property of the enemy fears him.
Of both rose and cardamom he is worthy,
And the overcautious only hold back his youthful courage.

Al-wared means the fragrance of roses as well as the rose itself and the love of women. *Hejl*, cardamom, is added to coffee, which thus prepared is to be served to none but heroes. *Naḏel*, cowards, vile ones, signifies here the older, more cautious chiefs, who with Prince an-Nûri at their head would not allow Nawwâf and his youths incessantly to raid even hostile tribes. They feared revenge.

Jâ rabbi jâ m'awwel
t'awwel 'ala-helna
nabni bujût al-'ezz
nanzel manâzelna
narḥal 'an had-dîre
w-'an wasṭha ǧilha
jislam abu nawwâf
jarḥal w-jenazzelna.

O my Lord! O thou who returnest!
Lead us back to our kin,
Where we may pitch our tents as is seemly
And encamp on our own grounds.
We shall move away from this region
Forever to disappear from its midst.
Hail to the father of Nawwâf!
Would that he may move and allot to us new camps.

221/361 If the pastures in the territories owned by them do not suffice for their needs, while the territories in dispute abound in plenty, *rabî'*, the Rwala march as a rule to some of their tributary settlements in the inner desert, unload their supplies, litters, and large tents, usually leave the women, children and aged persons there, and move with their herds to the disputed

2;Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

territory for at least one month of grazing. There they live in small tents, many even in the open; they cook their own meals or let one woman or a female slave do the cooking for several tents, and they always camp in the midst of their herds, ready for defense by day or night. The women and girls who have accompanied them soon tire of this mode of life, as is expressed in our song.

Bujût al-'ezz are the complete tents required by the social standing of the kin. owning them. *Ġâlow* means "they disappeared from this territory"; *enǧâl al-ṛejm*, "the fog vanished, dissolved."

Jâ rabbi jâ mâli
'aṭni faẓa bâli
fowḳ awẓaḥen 'âli
ma' waseṭ ḥijjâni
w-ǧowzen 'ala bâli
wa-zmejjem ḥamrâni.

O Lord! O my all!
Give me a clear mind,
(Grant) that I may ride a tall white camel
In the midst of my kin.
A husband give me to my taste
And a nose ring of gold.

Faẓa bâli is a clear mind, a good conscience, a free spirit oppressed by nothing. It is the wish of every girl or woman to ride on the march in a fancy litter on a pure white camel. Animals of this hue are the pride of both the tribe and the family, the red ornaments hung about them being especially conspicuous. In the midst of her kinsfolk the girl is absolutely safe. The nose ring is now worn by only a few Rwala women.

Jâ râčeben humejla'
râ'ih mâ jûmi 'aẓâh
jâ min ḏakar ṣwejḥebi
jâ dâjereh jâ min laḳâh
ar'eh ma' ḏwejden 'azib
wa-mzerfelen jamm al-fela'
wa' lâ laḳejt illa-l-ḥala
w-aḍ-ḍib ǧellâni 'awâh.

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Oh, she who often rides a docile camel,
She gives me no sign with her stick!
Who is here that still remembers my sweet friend?
Who has looked for, who has found her?
See, she stays far beyond the camp with a small herd;
To that pasture I hastened at a trot.
Ah, but I found only a desert,
And the howling of wolves made me flee.

Not finding his sweetheart on the new camping grounds, the lover inquires and searches for her. She used to ride in a litter on a *humejla'*, docile camel of low stature, and to signal to her lover with a stick with which she guided her animal. A *dwejd* is a small herd owned by one family. When [233] the son who usually cares for the herd goes out on a raid the herd falls to the care of the daughter. A *'azîb* is a pasture at such a distance from the camp that the camels must spend at least three or four nights away and do not come to water or to the camp till the fifth day. *Mzerfel*, like *dowmal*, signifies the fast trot of a camel. *Fela'* is a pasture with good grass and perennials.

Šiddû min az-zemel, 'aljân
šêl al-lahad mâ jedânîhi
w-al-ḥokm ḥokm eben ša'lân
makrûden jâ-lli terâğîhi.

Saddle the pack camels called 'Aljân,
Who will not accept a galling load.
As for the command, the command belongs to Eben [Ša'lân;
Crushed be he who would oppose him!

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Zemel is the name given to the pack camels, always males, which carry the tent, supplies, and whole equipment of the chief. In the war cry of the Rwala all the herds are called 'Alja', which is here applied to the camels in the word 'Aljân. *Laḥda* (pl., *luḥûd*) are the callous spots or blisters on the camel's back and flanks caused by the heavy, unequally distributed load or by uneven saddles whether for freight, *heddâğe*, or for riding, *šdâd*. If these callous spots disappear, well and good; if they become blisters and open, suppurating sores, *dabra* (pl., *dabar*), are the consequence. The camels owned by the Rwala will not bear packs that hurt them, and the ruling Eben Ša'lân kin will not bear opposition.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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539x

Já rab'aten binjat
biddat 'arâwiha
w-rawwaḥat zerfât
jerfa-l-'aša biha
teḥûfaha mnife
jefraḥ biḍâriha.

Oh, the men's compartment, it was put up
And its rope ends stretched taut.
For their night's rest the fleet-footed mares returned,
And each rider hopes to get his supper in the tent.
It is being prepared by Mnife,
The thought of whom makes them all glad.

Rab'a is the men's compartment in the tent of a chief; also, the whole tent. *'Arâwi* are loops, or more properly the single bow knots of the tent ropes, which can be loosened or tightened according to the strength of the wind. *Rawwaḥat zerfât* are the slaves, servants, and other youths, who ride out on horseback in the evening to defend the returning herds against a possible attack. The word *rawwaḥ* always implies a night's lodging. [233]

Já ḫajji já 'aweten li
farîḥakom lâ jadmi
w-eildḥakom mustafilli
jakpom galb al-'admi
'adawwakom mustamelli
'ajjet 'njûneh tandmi.

Little brother of mine, of the same descent as I,
One thrown from his horse by thee suffers not long.
For renowned are thy arms,
Which cut in twain the backbones.
Thine enemy is shaken with fright,
And his eye refuses to close in sleep.

The maiden praises the bravery of her lover, who is closely related to her. The words *'aweten li*, if spoken quickly, sound like *'awet elli*, because the *en* tends to double the following syllable, *li*. *'Awe* denotes kinship on the father's side. *Min eja ja'su' fîda* means "from whom does he hail, to what kin does So-and-So belong?" "*Ja'su' min âl fîda*, he hails from such-and-such a kin." *Farîḥ* signifies a warrior rolling on the ground, thus thrown from his saddle.

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Jâ ḫajji jâ mâli
warâk li šenjân
jâ ḫajji-bṛi-mâri
bilammat al-ʿorbân
fowḳ aškaḥen ʿâli
nowfen ʿala-l-žaʿdân
ummeh ʿatejbijje
w-abûh min al-ʿadwân
w-alâjefeh haǧme
sowden čema-l-ṛorbân.

O little brother of mine! O my all!
Both thy mother and thy sister hate me.
O little brother of mine! I would fain show my bravery
In a throng of Arabs
On a tall ash-gray,
Surpassing the stud camels,
Whose mother hails from the ʿAtejbe
And father from the ʿAdwân,
And to whom is united a herd
Of she-camels black as the raven.

The maiden wishes to accompany her Arabs into the fiercest fighting, hoping thus to gain the good will of her lover's mother and sisters.

[592] *Warâk*, behind thee, here signifies female relatives. In the part of the tent reserved for the men the male members of the family sit with their backs to the wall which divides them from the women's compartment. Anyone who has transactions with the men takes a seat facing them and if he wishes to mention the female members of the family says briefly: "Behind thee, behind you." *Lammat al-ʿorbân* means "the Arabs will assemble (or flock together) to repel a hostile attack." The ʿAtejbe camp east of al-Medîna and Mecca; the ʿAdwân to the southeast of them. In Neǧd the predominating color of the camels is black, *amlaḥ*.

Jâ rabbi tsâʿefni
ʿala kill mâ-rid
fowḳ awṛaḥen ʿâli
bžên al-mṛâlîž
wa-ṛlejjemen jaṭni
elja jûbsat ar-riž

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

ṣafra suḥûbijje
biḳarm al-wâlid.

857 ●
539 ×

O my Lord! Oh, mayest thou help me
To all that I desire:
I fain would sit on a tall white camel
In a fancy litter,
And with me a young hero who would protect me
At such time when my spittle dries up;
A young hero on a white mare with a long tail,
Of noble breed.

Zên al-ma'âliž is a fancifully ornamented *žetab* litter, fastened on a tall white camel. *Ḳulâm* signifies a young but valiant man. The saliva dries up from fear when the enemy falls upon the moving clan and tries to rob the belle of both the camel and the fancy litter. It is then that she needs a brave defender.

Jâ sema' rabbana O the name of our Lord!
biḏarâk nederreḡ Shielded by thee we wish to walk.
naṭlobak ṭûlat al- Grant us, pray, that as long as we live
'omr mâ nefterež. We may not part.

The sweetheart will not part from her beloved.

Ŕiden baṛa ŕiden
suḥben daraḡ ma'ha
jalfi 'ala šowḳeh
w-ḥelw lâma'ha
ja'ḡibeh beẓ-ẓalma
mlâ'až ṭanâja'ha.

A lover longs for a sweetheart
As for clouds which give rain.
When he comes to his darling
With lips, ah! so sweet,
He is dazzled in the darkness
By clinging to her teeth.

Jâ marḥaba jâ marḥaba
beṭwêreš al-žible lefa'
w-elja lefa ḡâna-l-ḥaja.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

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Hail, hail to thee,
O little pilgrim! who didst arrive from the south,
And when he came rain too arrived.

Ṭwêreż al-žible is the south wind, which is usually followed by rain.

Jâ ṭwêreš al-žible	O pilgrim from the south!
'ajjent ḥajjâni	Hast thou not seen my kinsfolk?
w-alli wara boṣra	They are wont to camp beyond Boṣra
w-alli bḥawrâni.	And in the Ḥawrân.

The south wind is besought to bring rain also to the territory northwest of Boṣra and the whole country around the Ḥawrân so that the herds of the girl's kin may find good pasture when they encamp there.

work. If they deserve it they are spanked with a stick, not only by their mother or father, but by the slaves both male and female. The Rwala believe that the rod originated in Paradise, *al-ʿaṣa aẓharat min al-ǧenna*, and that it also leads man back to it. The older boys attend to the mares, guard them on the pasture grounds, take them to water, and ride on them while migrating; they also bring fuel to the men's quarters, serve the guests with water, etc. They squat with the men around the fire listening to the conversation and learn also to recite poems and songs, in this manner acquainting themselves with all public affairs. Boys learn to shoot before they are fourteen and take part in at least one raid before they are sixteen. At this period the father would not think of punishing the disobedience of his son simply with a stick but uses a saber or a dagger instead. By cutting or stabbing them the father not merely punishes the boys but hardens them for their future life. In the opinion of the Bedouins the son who disobeys is guilty of rebellion, for which the proper punishment is the saber, *as-sejf lemin ʿaṣa'*.

BOYS' GAMES

The boys are never idle. When they are not helping their parents, they play. Some of their games are dangerous; all, however, tend to harden them and sharpen their faculties.

In playing *ramḥa* two lines are formed. The members of each side, holding their companions by the hand, take position and advance against the other side, kicking their opponents till one whole side rolls down, *jetarâmaḥûn*. Many leave the game with their bellies black and blue, but will stand up as long as they can bear the pain.

A very dangerous game is *šâra*. The boys bring their slings, *miẓlaʿ* (pl., *maẓâliʿ*), gather a supply of pebbles, separate into two hostile groups, and, declaring war on each other, throw stones from their slings, *jetašârûn*. Blood always flows. Often a boy loses an eye, gets a broken head or a split bone in his hand or leg, or even falls down dead; and yet the parents never forbid the game. For a dead boy the kin of the player who killed him must pay the blood price; for other serious hurts half of that. If the guilty party cannot be found, the relatives of all the boys participating in the game must pay, compensation of this kind being called *medda' ṛšejje*.

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1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala MD4

643 669 virtual dictator of Arabia, to whom the world to-day accords its sincere admiration.

At the time of which I speak, however—in 1912—
622 619 721 Nauaf, the son of Nuri Sha'lan, was at war against the hereditary enemy of the Ruala, the Shammar Bedouins and their ruler, Ibn Rashid, who held Jauf. The capture of that oasis was the objective of long and bitter fighting. Much blood was shed; every year took its long toll of human lives. Now, however, Nauaf had come close to his goal and soon Jauf actually fell into his hands.

114 Nauaf had three sons, amongst whom was the young Prince, Amir Fuaz; it is with him I would begin my tale. For to this child I owe the fact that I was privileged to live with the Ruala as one of them, that I was permitted to visit them eleven times in twenty-two years; that I wandered, hunted, and fought with them; that on horseback or camel-back, I crossed and recrossed their grazing-grounds year in and year out; that I was adopted into the tribe as a Rueyli chieftain; and that they knew and loved me as I knew and loved them.

856 ●868 Amir Fuaz was just eight years of age. Even so, he already had the reputation of being an adroit rider and a good shot, though his legs were yet rather short to grip the flanks of a mare and his arms to weak to balance a carbine for any length of time. "Wordly learning", as the Arabs call reading and writing, held no interest for him. He preferred to go camel-riding with me or to join
777 in the hunt. His mother, Misha'il, who had gone blind, proudly related to me that it was an omen of good for the future that Nuri Sha'lan had laid the halter of his war-mare and a silver *khanjar* in the boy's cradle. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Run as the hunted beast runs from the face of the heroic youth,
From the faces of those whose beards and moustaches are covered with fat.

Haǧǧ means a panic, helter-skelter flight. *Ṛulma'* or *ṣabwa'* are youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, who are ever making raids, from which they always return with rich booty and then feast on the fat camels they have captured until their budding chin beards, *lḥa*, and mustaches, *šawâreb*, shine with fat, *dasmîn*. They are well fed, of great endurance, and never abandon the pursuit of the enemy's fleeing mares or camels until they have captured them.

Songs of Booty

The returning victors are not met by the women or girls of the camp. When near they break into songs of booty.

1. *Jowmen wald al-hejs jabḥa mažẓa'eh*
   wa' mâ ḳaṭa'na lejleten ḥarmesijje
   wa' hâj jâ lallâh wa' hâj jâ lallâh.
2. *Jâ nâšeden 'anna min ajje žebîle*
   'ejâl ar-rwejli min aḫjâr al-ḥamâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
3. *Ḥowfân aẓ-ẓulma' maṛâwîr aẓ-ẓaḥa'*
   nowda' 'ala čabd al-ma'âdi debâjel
   wa' hâj . . .
4. *Elja-ddejt maǧhûdi w-maǧhûd fâṭeri*
   mâ-ni 'ala-d-dinja čeṭîr al-ḥasâjef
   wa' hâj . . .

1. While the idler shook up his bed,
   Hey! through how many dark nights have we ridden!
   Hey! glory be and by Allâh himself!
2. O thou who askest about us of what tribe we were,
   (Know that) we are descendants of the Rwala, counted among the best of tribes.
   Hey! glory!
3. Like thieves in a dark night, like attackers after the passing of the dew
   We are wont to plant ulcers in the enemy's stomach.
   Hey! glory!

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

Loosen your spittle! Look at the abundance! The *ğîre* oath rests on you!" Should they be reluctant to accept the invitation, they usually declare their readiness to have the oath rest on them and continue on their way. (On the *ğîre* oath see above, p. 460.) But if some one implores them with the words: "The *ğîre* oath of the slave Râšed rests on you, *'alejkom ğîrat al-'abd râšed*," they must stop and eat something. Who the slave Râšed may have been, nobody knows. It is said of him that he was most hospitable and even forced travelers to eat with him. 727 574

Within three days after his return either the leader or the man appointed by him offers the customary sacrifice, *'ažire*. He kills a she-camel and exclaims: 727 782

"O Allâh, this is our custom! This belongs to the face of Allâh and to the face of our ancestor! *Jâ-llâh hâḏi 'âdatna hâḏi liwağh allâh w-liwağh ğeddina*." Every kin reveres its ancestor but never knows at what period he lived or where he was buried. The blood of the sacrificed animal is caught into the bulging iron sheet used for baking bread, *sâğ*, and with it the humps of the captured animals and the necks of the riding camels are besmeared. This is done in order to make sure of fresh booty.

A boy who has taken part in his first raid and brought back booty with him tries to buy a goat or a sheep in order to sacrifice it. Its blood he then sprinkles over his booty, *ḏbîḥa rušûš al-čâseb*; if a she-camel, he besmears her whole hump, if a mare, her whole forehead. From the tail of the captured mare he cuts a lock of hair, which he hangs up in his tent. This he does with every horse he captures to let all the guests know how many he has already taken; this custom is called *šeḏeb*. [883]

After the return from a raid the story of who has fallen, where, and in what manner, quickly spreads. The female relatives of the slain men then walk out of the camp to a distance whence even a loud cry cannot be heard, there to bewail their dead. 727 765

A mother cries: "Alas, woe is me! alas, my child! alas, woe is me! alas thou whom I bore in my womb! alas, woe is me! alas, thou little son of mine! *Wa' wâjli wa' waledi wa' wâjli wa' ğenîni wa' wâjli wa' bunajja*."

A wife cries three times: "Alas, woe is me! ah, ruined is my tent! *wa' wâjli wa' hadem beiti*."